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VOLUME III.

MYTHS AND LANGUAGES.

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THE NATIVE RACES
OF THE
PACIFIC STATES.

MYTHOLOGY, LANGUAGES.

CHAPTER I.

SPEECH AND SPECULATION.

Difference between Man and Brutes—Mind-Language and Soul-Language—Origin of Language: A Gift of the Creator, a Human Invention, or an Evolution—Nature and Value of Myth—Origin of Myth: The Divine Idea, A Fiction of Sorcery, The Creation of a Designing Priesthood—Origin of Worship, of Prayer, of Sacrifice—Fetichism and the Origin of Animal-Worship—Religion and Mythology.

Hitherto we have beheld Man only in his material organism; as a wild though intellectual animal. We have watched the intercourse of uncultured mind with its environment. We have seen how, to clothe himself, the savage robs the beast; how, like animals, primitive man constructs his habitation, provides food, rears a family, exercises authority, holds property, wages war, indulges in amusements, gratifies social instincts; and that in all this, the savage is but one remove from the brute. Ascending the scale, we have examined the first stages of human progress and analyzed an incipient civilization. We will now pass the frontier which separates mankind from animal-kind, and enter the domain of the immaterial and supernatural; phenomena which philosophy purely positive cannot explain.

The primary indication of an absolute superiority in man over other animals is the faculty of speech; not those mute or vocal symbols, expressive of passion and emotion, displayed alike in brutes and men; but the power to separate ideas, to generate in the mind and embody in words, sequences of thought. True, upon the threshold of this inquiry, as in whatever relates to primitive man, we find the brute creation hotly pursuing, and disputing for a share in this progressional power. In common with man, animals possess all the organs of sensation. They see, hear, feel, taste, and smell. They have even the organs of speech; but they have not speech. The source of this wonderful faculty lies further back, obscured by the mists which ever settle round the immaterial. Whether brutes have souls, according to the Aristotelean theory of soul, or whether brute-soul is immortal, or of quality and destiny unlike and inferior to that of man-soul, we see in them unmistakable evidence of mental faculties. The higher order of animals possess the lower order of intellectual perceptions. Thus pride is manifested by the caparisoned horse, shame by the beaten dog, will by the stubborn mule. Brutes have memory; they manifest love and hate, joy and sorrow, gratitude and revenge. They are courageous or cowardly, subtle or simple, not merely up to the measure of what we commonly term instinct, but with evident exercise of judgment; and, to a certain point, we might even claim for them foresight, as in laying in a store of food for winter. But with all this there seems to be a lack of true or connected thought, and of the faculty of abstraction, whereby conceptions are analyzed and impressions defined.

They have also a language, such as it is; indeed, all the varieties of language common to man. What gesture-language can be more expressive than that employed by the horse with its ears and by the dog with its tail, wherein are manifestations of every shade of joy, sorrow, courage, fear, shame, and anger? In their brutish physiognomy, also, one may read the language of the emotions, which, if not so delicately pictured as in the face of man, is none the less distinctive. Nor are they without their vocal language. Every fowl and every quadruped possesses the power of communicating intelligence by means of the voice. They have their noise of gladness, their signal cry of danger, their notes of anger and of woe. Thus we see in brutes not only intelligence but the power of communicating intelligence. But intelligence is not thought, neither is expression speech. The language of brutes, like themselves, is soulless.

The next indication of man's superiority over brutes, is the faculty of worship. The wild beast, to escape the storm, flies howling to its den; the savage, awe-stricken, turns and prays. The lowest man perceives a hand behind the lightning, hears a voice abroad upon the storm, for which the highest brute has neither eye nor ear. This essential of humanity we see primordially displayed in mythic phenomena; in the first struggle of spiritual manhood to find expression. Language is symbol significant of thought, mythology is symbol significant of soul. The one is the first distinctive sound that separates the ideal from the material, the other the first respiration of the soul which distinguishes the immortal from the animal. Language is thought incarnate; mythology, soul incarnate. The one is the instrument of thought, as the other is the essence of thought. Neither *is* thought; both are closely akin to thought; separated from either, in some form, perfect intellectual manhood cannot develop. I do not mean to say with some, that thought without speech cannot exist; unless by speech is meant any form of expression symbolical, emotional, or vocal, or unless by thought is meant something more than mere self-consciousness without sequence and without abstraction. There can be no doubt that speech is the living breath of thought, and that the exercise of speech reacts upon the mental and emotional faculties. In brutes is found neither speech nor myth; in the deaf and dumb, thought and belief are shadowy and undefined; in infants, thought is but as a fleeting cloud passing over the brain. Yet for all this, deaf mutes and children who have no adequate form of expression cannot be placed in the category of brutes. The invention of the finger-alphabet opened a way to the understanding of the deaf and dumb; but long before this is learned, in every instance, these unfortunates invent a gesture-language of their own, in which they think as well as speak. And could we but see the strangely contorted imagery which takes possession of a gesture-thinker's brain, we should better appreciate the value of words. So, into the mouth of children words are put, round which thoughts coalesce; but evidences of ideas are discovered some time before they can be fully expressed by signs or sounds. Kant held the opinion that the mind of a deaf mute is incapable of development, but the wonderful success of our modern institutions has dissipated forever that idea.

The soul of man is a half-conscious inspiration from which perception and expression are inseparable. Nature speaks to it in that subtle sympathy by which the immaterial within holds converse with the immaterial without, in the soft whisperings of the breeze, in the fearful bellowings of the tempest. Between the soul and body there is the closest sympathy, an interaction in every relation. Therefore these voices of nature speaking to nature's offspring, are answered back in various ways according to the various organisms addressed. The animal, the intellectual, the spiritual, whatsoever the entity consists of, responds, and responding expands and unfolds. Once give an animal the power to speak and mental development ensues; for speech cannot continue without ideas, and ideas cannot spring up without intellectual evolution. A dim, half-conscious, brutish thought there may be; but the faculty of abstraction, sequences of thought, without words either spoken or unspoken, cannot exist.

It is not at all probable that a system of gesture-language was ever employed by any primitive people, prior or in preference to vocal language. To communicate by signs requires no little skill and implies a degree of artifice and forethought far beyond that required in vocal or emotional language. Long before a child arrives at the point of intelligence necessary for conveying thought by signs, it is well advanced in a vocal language of its own.

In mythology, language assumes personality and independence. Often the significance of the word becomes the essential idea. Zeus, from meaning simply sky, becomes god of the sky; Eos, originally the dawn, is made the goddess of the opening day. Not the idea but the expression of the idea becomes the deity. And so, by these creations of fancy, the imagination expands; in the embodiment of the idea, the mind enlarges with its own creation. Then yet bolder metaphors are thrown off like soap-bubbles, which no sooner take form in words than they are also deified. Thus soul and thought and speech act and react on one another, all the evolutions of conception seeking vent in sound or speculation; and thus language, the expression of mind, and mythology, the expression of soul, become the exponents of divine humanity.

But what then is Language, what is Myth, and whence are they? Broadly, the term language may be applied to whatever social beings employ to communicate passion or sentiment, or to influence one another; whatever is made a vehicle of intelligence, ideographic or phonetic, is language. In this category may be placed, as we have seen, gestures, both instinctive and artificial; emotional expression, displayed in form or feature; vocal sounds, such as the cries of birds, the howling of beasts. Indeed, language is everywhere, in everything. While listening to the rippling brook, the roaring sea, the murmuring forest, as well as to the still small voice within, we are but reading from the vocabulary of nature.

Thus construed, the principle assumes a variety of shapes, and may be followed through successive stages of development. In fact, neither form nor feature can be set in motion, or even left in a state of repose, without conveying intelligence to the observer. The countenance of man, whether it will or not, perpetually speaks, and speaks in most exquisite shades of significance, and with expression far more delicate than that employed by tongue or pen. The face is the reflex of the soul; a transparency which glows with light, divine or devilish, thrown upon it from within. It is a portrait of individual intelligence, a photograph of the inner being, a measure of innate intelligence. And in all pertaining to the actions and passions of mankind, what can be more expressive than the language of the emotions? There are the soft, silent wooings of love, the frantic fury of hate, the dancing delirium of joy, the hungry cravings of desire, the settled melancholy of dead hopes. But more definitely, language is articulate human speech or symbolic expression of ideas.

How man first learned to speak, and whence the power of speech was originally derived, are questions concerning which tradition is uncommunicative. Even mythology, which attempts the solution of supernatural mysteries, the explanation of all phenomena not otherwise accounted for, has little to say as to the genesis of this most potential of all human powers.

Many theories have been advanced concerning the origin of language. Some of them are exploded; others in various stages of modification remain, no two philologists thinking exactly alike. The main hypotheses are three; the subordinate ones are legion. Obviously, speech must be either a direct, completed gift of the Creator, with one or more independent beginnings; or a human invention; or an evolution from a natural germ.

Schleicher conceives primordial language to be a simple organism of vocal gestures; Gould Brown believes language to be partly natural and partly artificial; Adam Smith and Dugald Stewart give to man the creation and development of speech by his own artificial invention. According to Heroditus, the Phrygians and the Egyptians disputed over the question of the antiquity of their languages. Psammetichus thereupon confided two babes to the care of goats, apart from every human sound. At the end of two years they were heard to pronounce the word *bekos*, the Phrygian for bread. The Phrygians therefore claimed for their language the seniority.

In ancient times it was thought that there was some one primeval tongue, a central language from which all the languages of the earth radiated. The Sythic, Ethiopic, Chinese, Greek, Latin, and other languages advanced claims for this seniority. Plato believed language to be an invention of the gods, and by them given to man. Orthodox religionists did not hesitate to affirm that Hebrew, the language of Paradise, was not only given in a perfected state to man, but was miraculously preserved in a state of purity for the chosen Israel. After the dispersion from Babel, such nations as relapsed into barbarism became barbaric in speech. And in the roots of every dialect of both the old world and the new, the Fathers were able to discern Hebrew analogies sufficient to confirm them in their dogma. Indeed other belief was heresy.

There were others who held that, when gesture-language and the language of the emotions were found insufficient for the growing necessities of man, by common consent, it was agreed that certain objects should be represented by certain sounds, and that so, when a word had been invented for every object, language was made.

Another doctrine, called by Mr. Wedgwood, its enthusiastic advocate, 'onomatopœia,' and by Professor Max Müller the 'bow-wow' theory, explains the origin of language in the effort of man to imitate the cries of nature. Thus, for dog the primitive languageless man would say bow-wow; to the rivulet, the wind, the birds and beasts, names were applied which as far as possible were but reproductions of the sounds made by these elements or animals.

Thus philology up to a comparatively late period was a speculation rather than a science. Philosophers sought to know whence language came rather than what language is. But when the great discovery concerning the

Arian and Semitic families was made, comparative philologists went to work after the manner of practical investigators in other branches of study, by collecting, classifying and comparing vocabularies, and therefrom striking out a path backward to original trunks. Catalogues of languages were published, one in 1800 by Hervas, a Spanish Jesuit, containing three hundred dialects, followed by Adelung and Vater's Mithridates, from 1806–17. But not until Sanscrit was made a subject of European study did it become apparent that affinities of tongues are subject to the laws that govern affinities of blood. Then it was that a similarity was discovered, not only between the Sanscrit and the Greek and Latin tongues, but between these languages and the Teutonic, Celtic, Iranic, and Indic, all of which became united in the great Arian family. At the same time, the ancient language of the Jews, the Arabic, and the Aramaic—which constitute the Semitic family—were found to be totally different from the Arian in their radical structure. From these investigations, philologists were no less convinced that the Indo-European languages were all of the same stock, than that the Semitic idioms did not belong to it. The doctrine of the Fathers therefore would not stand; for it was found that all languages were not derivations from the Hebrew, nor from any other known central tongue.

Then too, the subordination of tongues to the laws of evolution became apparent. It was discovered that language was in a state of constant change; that, with all its variations, human speech could be grouped into families, and degrees of relationship ascertained; and that, by the comparison of vocabularies, a classification at once morphological and genealogical could be made. Varieties of tongues, as numberless as the phases of humanity, could be traced back towards their beginnings and resolved into earlier forms. It was discovered that in the first order of linguistic development, words are monosyllabic. In this rudimentary stage, to which the Chinese, Tibetan, and perhaps the Japanese belong, roots, or sounds expressive only of the material or substantial parts of things, are used. In the second stage, called the polysynthetic, aggregative, or agglutinate, a modifying termination, significant of the relations of ideas or things to each other, is affixed or glued to the root. To the agglutinate languages belong the American and Turanian families. In the third, called the inflectional stage, which comprises only the Arian and Semitic families, the two elements are more perfectly developed, and it is only in this stage that language can attain the highest degree of richness and refinement.

While these stages or conditions are recognized by all, it is claimed on one side that although settled languages retain their grammatical character, every agglutinate language must once have been monosyllabic, or radical, and every inflectional language once agglutinate; and on the other side it is averred that the assertion is incapable of proof, for no historical evidence exists of any one type ever having passed from one of these stages to another. Now if speech is a perfected gift of the Creator, how happens it that we find language in every stage of development or relapse, from the cluckings of Thlinkeets to the classic lines of Homer and of Shakspeare? In his physiological structure, so far as is known, Man is neither more nor less perfect now than in the days of Adam. How then if language is an organism, is it, unlike other organisms, subject to extreme and sudden change? In animated nature there are two principles; one fixed and finished as an organism, subject to perpetual birth and decay, but incapable of advancing or retrograding; the other, elemental life, the germ or centre of a future development. The one grows, the other unfolds. We have no evidence that instincts and organic functions were more or less perfect in the beginning than now. If therefore language is an instinct or an organism, a perfect gift of the Creator, how can it exist otherwise than in a concrete and perfect state like other instincts and organisms?

The absurdity that human speech is the invention of primitive man—that upon some grassy knoll a company of half-clad barbarians met, and without words invented words, without significant sounds produced sounds significant of every object, therein by mutual consent originating a language—may be set aside. Of all conjectures concerning the origin of language, the hypothesis that words are an artificial invention is the least tenable. And what is most surprising to us, at the present day, is that such men as Locke and Adam Smith and Dugald Stewart could for a moment have entertained the idea. Obviously, without language there could be no culture, and without culture, words never could have been invented. Words are the symbols of objects and ideas. Certain words may be arbitrarily selected, and, by the tacit agreement or general concurrence of society, may be made to signify certain things. And in this sense words may originate conventionally. But though words may have been conventionally selected, they were never selected by conventions. We then have the discoveries of modern philologists, not only to positively deny the infallibility of the common-origin theory, but to bring forward a number of other claimants for the greatest antiquity, as well entitled to a hearing as the Hebrew.

Diversity in the origin of speech does not of necessity imply diversity in the origin of race. Thus with a unity of race, circumstances may be conceived in which independent tongues may have arisen in different localities; whereas with a diversity of race, but one language hypothetically may have been given to all. A common origin is probable, a diversity of origin is possible; neither can be proved or disproved. The radical differences in the structure of the three great types, the monosyllabic, the agglutinate, and the inflectional; and the inherent heterogeneities of the several families of the same type, as of the Chinese and Siamese, of the American and Turanian, or even of the Arian and Semitic, would seem to present insurmountable obstacles to the theory of a common origin; while on the other hand the wonderful mutations of types and trunks, the known transformations of language, and the identifications by some philologists, of the same stock in each of the three progressional stages, render the theory of a unity of origin in language equally probable. Therefore the question of unity or diversity of tongues, as we speak of unity or diversity of race, can be of but little moment to us. Language shows the connection between nations widely separated, leads us back beyond tradition into the obscure past, follows the sinuosities of migrations, indicates epochs in human development, points towards the origin of peoples, serves as a guide in following the radiation of races from common centres. Yet a similarity in the sound, or even in the construction of two words, does not necessarily imply relationship. Two totally distinct languages may have borrowed the same word from a third language; which fact would never establish relationship between the borrowers. When like forms are found in different languages, in order to establish a relationship, historical evidence must be applied as a test, and the words followed up to their roots.

Stripped of technicalities, the question before us is reduced to a few simple propositions. All men speak; there never yet was found a nation without articulate language. Aside from individual and abnormal exceptions, no primitive tribe has ever been discovered, where part of the people spoke, and part were speechless. Language is as much a part of man, as any physical constituent; yet unlike physical organs, as the eye, the ear, the hand, language is not born with the individual. It is not in the blood. The Caucasian infant stolen by Apaches, cannot converse with its own mother when restored to her a few years after.

Therefore speech is not an independent, perfected gift of the Creator, but an incidental acquirement. Furthermore language is an attribute of society. It belongs to the people and not to the individual. The child before mentioned, if dropped by the Apaches among the bears and by them nurtured and reared, is doomed to mutism or bear-language. Man was made a social being; speech was made as a means of communicating intelligence between social beings; one individual alone never could originate, or even preserve a language.

But how then happens it, if man did not make it, and God did not give it him, that human speech is universal? With the organism of man the Creator implants the organs of speech. With the elemental and progressional life of man the Creator implants the germ of speech. In common with the element of progress and civilization, innate from the beginning, speech has developed by slow degrees through thousands of cycles and by various stages, marching steadily forward with the forward march of the intellect. Comparative philology, in common with all other sciences, accords to man a remote antiquity. Bunsen estimates that at least twenty thousand years are required for a language to pass from one rudimentary stage to another.

The mind receives impressions and the soul intuitions, and to throw them off in some form is an absolute necessity. Painful impressions tend to produce bodily contortions and dolorous sounds; pleasant impressions to illumine the features and to make musical the voice. And not only is this compressed emotion destined to find expression, but to impress itself upon others. Emotion is essentially sympathetic. Why certain objects are represented by certain sounds we can never know. Some think that between every word and the object or idea which it represents, there was in the first instance an intimate relationship. By degrees certain natural articulations became associated with certain ideas; then new names were suggested by some fancied analogy to objects already named. Everything else being equal, similar conditions and causations produce similar impressions and are expressed by similar sounds. Hence a certain uniformity between all human tongues; and a tendency in man to imitate the sounds in nature, the cries of animals, the melodies of winds and waters, accounts for the origin of many words.

From giving expression in some outward form to our inward emotion there is no escape. Let us now apply to the expression of feeling and emotion the same law of evolution which governs all social and intellectual phenomena, and from a language of exclamations, we have first the monosyllabic noun and verb, then auxilliaries, — adverbs, adjectives, prepositions and pronouns, — and finally inflections of parts of speech by which the finer shades of meaning may be expressed.

The spontaneous outbursts of feeling, or the metaphorical expressions of emotion, arising instinctively and acting almost simultaneously with the conception or impression made upon the mind, develop with time into settled forms of speech. Man speaks as birds fly or fishes swim. The Creator supplies the organs and implants the instinct. Speech, though intuitive, is more than intuition; for, as we have seen, speech is a social rather than an individual attribute. Darwin perceives in language not only a spontaneous generation, but a natural selection of grammatical forms; the best words, the clearest and shortest expressions, continually displacing the weaker. So words are made to fit occasions, and dropped as soon as better ones can be found.

Languages are not inherited, yet language is an inheritance. Language is not artificially invented, yet languages are but conventional agreements. Languages are not a concrete perfected gift of the Creator, yet the germ of language is ineradicably implanted in man, and was there implanted by none but man's Creator. This then is Language: it is an acquisition, but an acquisition from necessity; it is a gift, but, when given, an undeveloped germ; it is an artifice, in so far as it is developed by the application of individual agencies.

Here, for a while, we will leave Language and turn to Mythology, the *mythos* 'fable' and *logos* 'speech' of the Grecians.

Under analysis mythology is open to broad yet significant interpretations. As made up of legendary accounts of places and personages, it is history; as relating to the genesis of the gods, the nature and adventures of divinities, it is religion; placed in the category of science, it is the science of fable; of philosophy, the philosophy of intuitive beliefs. A mass of fragmentary truth and fiction not open to rationalistic criticism; a system of tradition, genealogical and political, confounding the subjective with the objective; a partition wall of allegories, built of dead facts cemented with wild fancies,—it looms ever between the immeasurable and the measurable past.

Thick black clouds, portentous of evil, hang threateningly over the savage during his entire life. Genii murmur in the flowing river, in the rustling branches are felt the breathings of the gods, goblins dance in vapory twilight, and demons howl in the darkness.

In the myths of wild, untutored man, is displayed that inherent desire to account for the origin of things, which, even at the present time, commands the profoundest attention of philosophy; and, as we look back upon the absurd conceptions of our savage ancestry with feelings akin to pity and disgust, so may the speculations of our own times appear to those who shall come after us. Those weird tales which to us are puerility or poetry, according as we please to regard them, were to their believers history, science, and religion. Yet this effort, which continues from the beginning to the end, is not valueless; in it is embodied the soul of human progress. Without mythology, the only door at once to the ideal and inner life of primitive peoples and to their heroic and historic past would be forever closed to us. Nothing so reflects their heart-secrets, exposes to our view their springs of action, shadows forth the sources of their hopes and fears, exhibits the models after which they moulded their lives.

Within crude poetic imagery are enrolled their religious beliefs, are laid the foundations of their systems of worship, are portrayed their thoughts concerning causations and the destinies of mankind. Under symbolic veils is shrouded their ancient national spirit, all that can be known of their early history and popular ideas. Thus are explained the fundamental laws of nature; thus we are told how earth sprang from chaos, how men and beasts and plants were made, how heaven was peopled, and earth, and what were the relative powers and successive dynasties of the gods. Heroes are made gods; gods are materialized and brought down to men.

Of the value of mythology it is unnecessary here to speak. Never was there a time in the history of philosophy when the character, customs, and beliefs of aboriginal man, and everything appertaining to him, were held in such high esteem by scholars as at present. As the ultimate of human knowledge is approached, the inquirer is thrown back upon the past; and more and more the fact becomes apparent, that what is, is but a reproduction of what has been; that in the earlier stages of human development may be found the counterpart of every phase of modern social life. Higher and more heterogeneous as are our present systems of politics and philosophy, every principle, when tracked to its beginning, proves to have been evolved, not originated.

As there never yet was found a people without a language, so every nation has its mythology, some popular and attractive form for preserving historical tradition and presenting ethical maxims; and as by the range of their vocabularies we may follow men through all the stages of their progress in government, domestic affairs and mechanical arts, so, by beliefs expressed, we may determine at any given epoch in the history of a race their ideal and intellectual condition. Without the substance there can be no shadow, without the object there can be no name for it; therefore when we find a language without a word to denote property or chastity, we may be sure that the wealth and women of the tribe are held in common; and when in a system of mythology certain important metaphysical or æsthetic ideas and attributes are wanting, it is evident that the intellect of its composers has not yet reached beyond a certain low point of conception.

Moreover, as in things evil may be found a spirit of good, so in fable we find an element of truth. It is now a recognized principle of philosophy, that no religious belief, however crude, nor any historical tradition, however absurd, can be held by the majority of a people for any considerable time as true, without having in the beginning some foundation in fact. More especially is the truth of this principle apparent when we consider that in all the multitudinous beliefs of all ages, held by peoples savage and civilized, there exist a concurrence of ideas and a coincidence of opinion. Human conceptions of supernatural affairs spring from like intuitions. As human nature is essentially the same throughout the world and throughout time, so the religious instincts which form a part of that universal humanity generate and develop in like manner under like conditions. The desire to penetrate hidden surroundings and the method of attempting it are to a certain extent common to all. All wonder at the mysterious; all attempt the solution of mysteries; all primarily possess equal facilities for arriving at correct conclusions. The genesis of belief is uniform, and the results under like conditions analogous.

We may conclude that the purposes for which these fictitious narratives were so carefully preserved and handed down to posterity were two-fold,—to keep alive certain facts and to inculcate certain doctrines.

Something there must have been in every legend, in every tradition, in every belief, which has ever been entertained by the majority of a people, to recommend it to the minds of men in the first instance. Error absolute cannot exist; false doctrine without an amalgam of verity speedily crumbles, and the more monstrous the falsity the more rapid its decomposition. Myths were the oracles of our savage ancestors; their creed, the rule of their life, prized by them as men now prize their faith; and, by whatever savage philosophy these strange conceits were eliminated, their effect upon the popular mind was vital. Anaxagoras, Socrates, Protagoras, and Epicurus well knew and boldly proclaimed that the gods of the Grecians were disreputable characters, not the kind of deities to make or govern worlds; yet so deep rooted in the hearts of the people were the maxims of the past, that for these expressions one heretic was cast into prison, another expelled from Athens, and another forced to drink the hemlock. And the less a fable presents the appearance of probability, the more grotesque and extravagant it is, the less the likelihood of its having originated in pure invention; for no extravagantly absurd invention without a particle of truth could by any possibility have been palmed off upon a people, and by them accepted, revered, recited, preserved as veritable incident or solution of mystery, and handed down to those most dear to them, to be in like manner held as sacred.

Therefore we may be sure that there never was a myth without a meaning; that mythology is not a bundle of ridiculous fancies invented for vulgar amusement; that there is not one of these stories, no matter how silly or absurd, which was not founded in fact, which did not once hold a significance. "And though I have well weighed and considered all this," concluded Lord Bacon, nearly three hundred years ago, "and thoroughly seen into the levity which the mind indulges for allegories and illusions, yet I cannot but retain a high value for the ancient mythology." Indeed, to ancient myths has been attributed the preservation of shattered fragments of lost sciences, even as some have alleged that we are indebted to the writings of Democritus and Aristotle for modern geographical discoveries.

That these ductile narratives have suffered in their transmission to us, that through the magnifying and refracting influences of time, and the ignorance and fanaticism of those to whom they were first recited, we receive them mutilated and distorted, there can be no doubt. Not one in a thousand of those aboriginal beliefs which were held by the people of the Pacific Coast at the time of its first occupation by foreigners, has been preserved. And for the originality and purity of such as we have, in many instances, no one can vouch. Infatuated ecclesiastics who saw in the native fable indisputable evidence of the presence of an apostle, or the interposition of a tutelary saint in the affairs of benighted heathendom, could but render the narrative in accordance with their prepossessions. The desire of some to prove a certain origin for the Indians, and the contempt of others for native character, also led to imperfect or colored narrations. But happily, enough has been preserved in authentic picture-writings, and by narrators whose integrity and intelligence are above suspicion, to give us a fair insight into the native psychological structure and belief; and if the knowledge we have is but infinitesimal in comparison with what has been lost, we may thereby learn to prize more highly such as we have.

Again we come to the ever-recurring question—Whence is it? Whence arise belief, worship, superstition? Whence the striking likeness in all supernatural conceptions between nations and ages the most diverse? Why is it that so many peoples, during the successive stages of their progress, have their creation myth, their origin myth, their flood myth, their animal, and plant, and planet myths? This coincidence of evolution can scarcely be the result of accident. Mythologies, then, being like languages common to mankind, uniform in substance yet varying in detail, what follows with regard to the essential system of their supernatural conceptions? Is it a perfected gift of the Creator, the invention of a designing priesthood, or a spontaneous generation and natural development? So broad a question, involving as it does the weightiest matters connected with man, may scarcely expect exactly the same answer from any two persons. Origin of life, origin of mind, origin of belief, are as much problems to the profoundest philosopher of to-day, as they were to the first wondering, bewildered savage who wandered through primeval forests.

Life is defined by Herbert Spencer as "the coördination of actions, or their continuous adjustment;" by Lewes as "a series of definite and successive changes, both of structure and composition, which take place within an individual without destroying its identity;" by Schelling as "the tendency to individuation;" by Richeraud as "a collection of phenomena which succeed each other during a limited time in an organized body;" and by De Blainville as "the two-fold internal movement of composition and decomposition, at once general and continuous." According to Hume, Mind is but a bundle of ideas and impressions which are the sum of all knowledge, and consequently, "the only things known to exist." In the positive philosophy of Auguste Comte, intellectual development is divided into three phases; namely, the Supernatural, in which the mind seeks for supernatural causes; the Metaphysical, wherein abstract forces are set up in place of supernatural agencies; and the Positive, which inquires into the laws which engender phenomena. Martineau, commenting upon intuition and the mind's place in nature, charges the current doctrine of evolution with excluding the element of life from developing organisms. Until the origin of mind, and the relation of mind to its environment is determined, the origin of the supernatural must remain unaccounted for. Yet we may follow the principle of worship back to very near its source, if we are unable entirely to account for it.

We have seen how the inability of brutes to form in the mind long sequences of thought, prevents speech; so, in primitive societies, when successions of unrecorded events are forgotten before any conception of general laws can be formed therefrom, polytheism in its grossest form is sure to prevail. Not until the earlier stages of progress are passed, and, from a multitude of correlative and oft-repeated experiences, general deductions made, can there be any higher religious conceptions than that of an independent cause for every consequence.

By some it is alleged that the religious sentiment is a divine idea perfected by the Creator and implanted in man as part of his nature, before his divergence from a primitive centre. Singularly enough, the Fathers of the Church referred the origin of fable as well as the origin of fact to the Hebrew Scriptures. Supported by the soundest sophistry, they saw in every myth, Grecian or barbarian, a biblical character. Thus the Greek Hercules was none other than the Hebrew Sampson; Arion was Jonah, and Deucalion Noah. Other mythological characters were supposed by them to have been incarnated fiends, who disappeared after working for a time their evil upon men.

There have been those who held myths to be the fictions of sorcery, as there are now those who believe that forms of worship were invented by a designing priesthood, or that mythology is but a collection of tales, physical, ethical and historical, invented by the sages and ancient wise men of the nation, for the purpose of overawing the wicked and encouraging the good. Some declare that religion is a factitious or accidental social phenomenon; others that it is an aggregation of organized human experiences; others that it is a bundle of sentiments which were originally projected by the imagination, and ultimately adopted as entities; others that it is a feeling or emotion, the genesis of which is due to surrounding circumstances.

Many believe all mythological personages to have been once real human heroes, the foundations of whose histories were laid in truth, while the structure was reared by fancy. The Egyptians informed Herodotus that their deities—the last of whom was Orus son of Osiris, the Apollo of the Grecians—were originally their kings. Others affirm that myths are but symbolic ideas deified; that they are but the embodiment of a maxim in the form of an allegory, and that under these allegorical forms were taught history, religion, law and morality.

Intermingled with all these hypotheses are elements of truth, and yet none of them appear to be satisfying explanations. All imply that religion, in some form, is an essential constituent of humanity, and that whatever its origin and functions, it has exercised from the earliest ages and does yet exercise the most powerful influence upon man; working like leaven in the lump, keeping the world in a ferment, stirring up men to action, banding and disrupting nations, uniting and dividing communities, and forming the nucleus of numberless societies and institutions.

In every society, small and great, there are undoubtedly certain intellects of quicker than ordinary perception, which seize upon occasions, and by a skillful use of means obtain a mastery over inferior minds. It is thus that political and social, as well as ecclesiastical power arises. Not that the leader creates a want—he is but the mouth-piece or agent of pent-up human instincts. One of these instincts is dependence. That we are created subordinate, not absolute nor unrestrained, is a fact from which none can escape. Thraldom, constant and insurmountable, we feel we have inherited. Most naturally, therefore, the masses of mankind seek from among their fellows some embodiment of power, and ranging themselves under the banner of leaders, follow blindly whithersoever they are led. Perceiving the power thus placed in their hands, these born leaders of men are not slow to invent means for retaining and increasing it. To the inquiry of the child or unsophisticated savage, who, startled by a peal of distant thunder, cries, "What is that?" the explanation is given: "That is the storm-god speaking." "I am afraid, protect me!" implores the supplicant. "I will, only obey," is the reply. The answer is sufficient, curiosity is satisfied, and terror allayed; the barbarian teacher gains a devotee. In this manner, the superstructure of creeds, witchcrafts, priestcrafts, may have arisen; some gods may thus have been made, forms of worship invented, and intercourse opened with beings supernal and infernal. Then devotion advances and becomes an art; professors by practice become experts. Meanwhile, craft is economized; the wary Shamán rain-doctor—like the worthy clergyman of civilized orthodoxy, who refused to pray for rain "while the wind was in that quarter"—watches well the gathering ripeness of the cloud before he attempts to burst it with an arrow. And in the end, a more than ordinary skill in the exercise of this power, deifies or demonizes the possessor.

But whence arises the necessity for craft and whence the craft? The faculty of invention implies skill. Skill successfully to play upon the instincts of humanity can only be acquired through the medium of like instincts, and although the skill be empirical, the play must be natural. Craft alone will not suffice to satisfy the desire; the hook must be baited with some small element of truth before the most credulous will seize it. If religious beliefs are the fruits of invention, how shall we account for the strange coincidences of thought and worship which prevail throughout all myths and cults? Why is it that all men of every age, in conditions diverse, and in countries widely sundered, are found searching out the same essential facts? All worship; nearly all have their creation-myth, their flood-myth, their theory of origin, of distribution from primitive centres, and of a future state. In this regard as in many another, civilization is but an evolution of savagism; for almost every principle of modern philosophy there may be found in primitive times its parallel.

The nature and order of supernatural conceptions are essentially as follows: The first and rudest form of belief is Fetichism, which invests every phenomenon with an independent personality. In the sunshine, fire, and water, in the wind and rock and stream, in every animal, bird, and plant, there is a separate deity; for every effect there is a cause. Even Kepler, whose intellect could track the planets in their orbits, must needs assume a guiding spirit for every world. It is impossible for the mind to conceive of self-creative or self-existent forces.

In time the personalities of the fetich-worshiper become to some extent generalized. Homogeneous appearances are grouped into classes, and each class referred to a separate deity, and hence Polytheism. Pantheism then comes in and makes all created substance one with the creator; nature and the universe are God. From the impersonating of the forces of nature to the creation of imaginary deities there is but a step. Every virtue and vice, every good and evil becomes a personality, under the direct governance of which lie certain passions and events; and thus in place of one god for many individuals, each individual may have a multitude of his own personal gods. The theogony of Hesiod was but a system of materialized love and hate; while, on the other hand, the gods of Homer, although personating human passions, were likewise endowed with moral perceptions. In them the blind forces of nature are lighted up into a human-divine intelligence.

In Monotheism the distinct personalities, which to the savage underlie every appearance, become wholly generalized, and the origin of all phenomena is referred to one First Cause. The subtle and philosophic Greeks well knew that God to be God must be omnipotent, and omnipotency is indivisible. That the Aztecs could believe and practice the absurdities they did is less an object of wonder, than that the intellectual philosophers of Athens could have tolerated the gods of Homer. Indeed, the religion of the more cultivated Greeks appears to us monstrous, in proportion as they were superior to other men in poetry, art, and philosophy.

Comparative mythologists explain the origin of worship by two apparently oppugnant theories. The first is that whatever is seen in nature strange and wonderful, is deemed by primitive man an object worthy of worship. The other is, that upon certain noted individuals are fastened metaphorical names, symbolic of some quality alike in them and in the natural object after which they are called; that this name, which at the first was but the surname of an individual, after its possessor is dead and forgotten, lives, reverts to the plant or animal whence it came, becomes impersonal, and is worshiped by a conservative posterity. In other words, one theory fastens upon natural phenomena, human attributes, and worships nature under covering of those attributes, while the other worships in the natural object only the memory of a dead and forgotten man. I have no doubt that in both of these hypotheses are elements of truth.

In the earlier acts of worship the tendency is to assimilate the object worshiped and the character of the worshiper, and also to assign habitations to deities, behind man's immediate environment. Every people has its heaven and hell; the former most generally located beyond the blue sky, and the latter in the dark interior caves of the earth. Man in nature reproduces himself; invests appearances with attributes analogous to his own. This likeness of the supernatural to the natural, of gods to man, is the first advance from fetichism, but as the intellect advances anthropomorphism declines. As one by one the nearest mysteries are solved by science, the emptiness of superstition becomes apparent, and the wonderless wonder is referred by the waking mind to general laws of causation; but still clinging to its first conceptions it places them on objects more remote. Man fixes his eyes upon the planets, discovers their movements, and fancies their controlling spirit also controls his destiny; and when released by reason from star-worship, as formerly from fetichism, again an advance is made, always nearing the doctrine of universal law.

In one tersely comprehensive sentence Clarke gives the old view of what were called natural religions: "They considered them, in their source, the work of fraud; in their essence, corrupt superstitions; in their doctrines, wholly false; in their moral tendency, absolutely injurious; and in their result, degenerating more and more into greater evil."

And this view seems to him alike uncharitable and unreasonable: "To assume that they are wholly evil is disrespectful to human nature. It supposes man to be the easy and universal dupe of fraud. But these religions do not rest on such a sandy foundation, but on the feeling of dependence, the sense of accountability, the recognition of spiritual realities very near to this world of matter, and the need of looking up and worshiping some unseen power higher and better than ourselves. We shall find them always feeling after God, often finding him. We shall see that in their origin they are not the work of priestcraft, but of human nature; in their essence not superstitions, but religions; in their doctrines true more frequently than false; in their moral tendency good rather than evil. And instead of degenerating toward something worse, they come to prepare the way for something better."

The nearest case to deliberate invention of deities, was, perhaps, the promulgation as objects of worship by the Roman pontiffs, of such abstractions as Hope (Spes), Fear (Pallor), Concord (Concordia), Courage (Virtus), etc. How far these gods were gods, however, in even the ordinary heathen sense of the word, is doubtful. In any case, they were but the extension of an old and existent principle—the personification of divine aspects or qualities; they added no more to what went before than a new Saint or Virgin of Loretto does to the Catholic Church.

"It was a favorite opinion with the Christian apologists, Eusebius and others," says Gladstone, "that the pagan deities represented deified men. Others consider them to signify the powers of external nature personified. For others they are, in many cases, impersonations of human passions and propensities, reflected back from the mind of man. A fourth mode of interpretation would treat them as copies, distorted and depraved, of a primitive system of religion given by God to man. The Apostle St. Paul speaks of them as devils; by which he may perhaps intend to convey that, under the names and in connection with the worship of those deities, the worst influences of the Evil One were at work. This would rather be a subjective than an objective description; and would rather convey an account of the practical working of a corrupted religion, than an explanation of its origin or its early course. As between the other four, it seems probable that they all, in various degrees and manners, entered into the composition of the later paganism, and also of the Homeric or Olympian system. That system, however, was profoundly adverse to mere Nature-worship; while the care of departments or provinces of external nature were assigned to its leading personages. Such worship of natural objects or elemental powers, as prevailed in connection with it, was in general local or secondary. And the deification of heroes in the age of Homer was rare and merely titular. We do not find that any cult or system of devotion was attached to it."

So humanly divine, so impotently great are the gods of Homer; so thoroughly invested with the passions of men, clothed in distinctive shades of human character; such mingled virtue and vice, love and hate, courage and cowardice; animal passions uniting with noble sentiments; base and vulgar thoughts with lofty and sublime ideas; and all so wrought up by his inimitable fancy into divine and supernatural beings, as to work most powerfully upon the nature of the people.

These concrete conceptions of his deities have ever been a source of consolation to the savage; for, by thus bringing down the gods to a nearer level with himself, they could be more materially propitiated, and their protection purchased with gifts and sacrifices. Thus the Greeks could obtain advice through oracles, the Hindoo could pass at once into eternal joys by throwing himself under the car of Juggernaut, while the latter-day offender calls in the assistance of the departed, buys forgiveness with charities, and compounds crime by building churches.

The difficulty is, that in attempting to establish any theory concerning the origin of things, the soundest logic is little else than wild speculation. Mankind progress unconsciously. We know not what problems we ourselves are working out for those who come after us; we know not by what process we arrive at many of our conclusions; much of that which is clear to ourselves is never understood by our neighbor, and never will be even known by our posterity. Events the most material are soon forgotten, or else are made spiritual and preserved as myths. Blot out the process by which science arrived at results, and in every achievement of science, in the steam engine, the electric telegraph, we should soon have a heaven-descended agency, a god for every machine. Where mythology ceases and history begins, is in the annals of every nation a matter of dispute. What at first appears to be wholly fabulous may contain some truth, whereas much of what is held to be true is mere fable, and herein excessive skepticism is as unwise as excessive credulity.

Historical facts, if unrecorded, are soon lost. Thus when Juan de Oñate penetrated New Mexico in 1596, Fray Marco de Niza, and the expedition of Coronado in 1540, appear to have been entirely forgotten by the Cibolans. Fathers Crespi and Junípero Serra, in their overland explorations of 1769, preparatory to the establishment of a line of Missions along the Californian seaboard, could find no traces, in the minds of the natives, of Cabrillo's voyage in 1542, or of the landing of Sir Francis Drake in 1579; although, so impressed were the savages in the latter instance, that, according to the worthy chaplain of the expedition, they desired "with submission and fear to worship us as gods." Nor can we think civilized memories—which ascribe the plays of Shakespeare to Bacon, and parcel out the Iliad of Homer among numberless unrecorded verse-makers—more tenacious. Frederick Augustus Wolf denies that a Homer ever existed; or, if he did, that he ever wrote his poem, as writing was at that time not generally known; but he claims that snatches of history, descending orally from one generation to another, in the end coalesced into the matchless Iliad and Odyssey. The event which so strongly impressed the father, becomes vague in the mind of the son, and in the third generation is either lost or becomes legendary. Incidents of recent occurrence, contemporary perhaps with the narration, are sometimes so misinterpreted by ignorance or distorted by prejudice, as to place the fact strangely at variance with the recital. Yet no incident nor action falls purposeless to the ground. Unrecorded it may be, unwitnessed, unheard by beings material; a thought-wave even, lost in space invisible, acting, for aught we know, only upon the author; yet so acting, it casts an influence, stamps on fleeting time its record, thereby fulfilling its destiny. Thus linger vapory conceits long after the action which created them has sunk into oblivion; undefined shadows of substance departed; none the less impressive because mingled with immortal imagery.

Turn now from outward events to inner life; from events grown shadowy with time, to life ever dim and mysterious alike to savage and sage. Everywhere man beholds much that is incomprehensible; within, around, the past, the future. Invisible forces are at work, invisible agencies play upon his destiny. And in the creations of fancy, which of necessity grow out of the influence of nature upon the imagination, it is not strange that mysteries darken, facts and fancies blend; the past and the future uniting in a supernatural present.

We are never content with positive knowledge. From the earliest workings of the mind, creations of fancy play as important a part in ethical economy as positive perceptions. Nor does culture in any wise lessen these fanciful creations of the intellect. In the political arena of civilized nations, wars and revolutions for the enforcement of opinion concerning matters beyond the reach of positive knowledge, have equaled if they have not exceeded wars for empire or ascendancy. In the social and individual affairs of life we are governed more by the ideal than by the real. On reaching the limits of positive knowledge, reason pauses, but fancy overleaps the boundary, and wanders forward in an endless waste of speculation.

The tendency of intellectual progress, according to the philosophy of Herbert Spencer, is from the concrete to the abstract, from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, from the knowable to the unknowable. Primordially nothing was known; as superstitions and priestcraft grew rank, everything became known; there was not a problem in the natural or in the supernatural world unsolvable by religion. Now, when some elements of absolute knowledge are beginning to appear, we discover, not only that little is positively known, but that much of what has been hitherto deemed past controverting, is, under the present régime of thought, absolutely unknowable. Formerly ultimate religious knowledge was attained by the very novices of religion, and ultimate scientific knowledge was explained through their fanatical conceptions. Not only were all the mysteries of the material universe easily solved by the Fathers, but heaven was measured and the phenomena of hell minutely described. Now we are just beginning to comprehend that ultimate facts will probably ever remain unknowable facts, for when the present ultimate is attained, an eternity of undiscovered truth will still lay stretched out before the searcher. Until the finite becomes infinite, and time lapses into eternity, the realm of thought will remain unfilled. At present, and until the scope of the intellect is materially enlarged, such theories as the origin of the universe—held by atheists to be self-existent, by pantheists to have been self-created, and by theists to have been originated by an external agency—must remain, as they are now admitted to be, questions beyond even the comprehension of the intellect. Likewise scientific ultimates—such as the qualities of time and space, the divisibility of matter, the co-ordination of motion and rest, the correlation of forces, the mysteries of gravitation, light and heat—are found to be not only not solvable, but not conceivable. And, as with the external, so with the inward life; we cannot conceive the nature, nor explain the origin and duration, of consciousness. The endless speculations of biology and psychology only leave impressions at once of the strength and weakness of the mind of man; strong in empirical knowledge, impotent in every attempt rationally to penetrate the unfathomable. Nowhere in mythology do we find the world self-created or self-existent. Some external agency is ever brought in to perform the work, and in the end the structure of the universe is resolved into its original elements.

Primordial man finds himself surrounded by natural phenomena, the operations of which his intelligence is capable of grasping but partially. Certain appetites sharpen, at once, certain instincts. Hunger makes him acquainted with the fruits of the earth; cold with the skins of beasts. Accident supplies him with rude implements, and imparts to him a knowledge of his power over animals. But as instinct merges into intellect, strange powers in nature are felt; invisible agents wielding invisible weapons; realities which exist unheard and move unseen; outward manifestations of hidden strength. Humanity, divine, but wild and wondering, half-fed, half-clad, ranges woods primeval, hears the roar of battling elements, sees the ancient forest-tree shivered into fragments by heaven's artillery, feels the solid earth rise up in rumbling waves beneath his feet. He receives, as it were, a blow from within the darkness, and flinging himself upon the ground he begs protection; from what he knows not, of whom he knows not. "Bury me not, O tumultuous heavens," he cries, "under the clouds of your displeasure!" "Strike me not down in wrath, O fierce flaming fire!" "Earth, be firm!" Here, then, is the origin of prayer. And to render more effectual his entreaties, a gift is offered. Seizing upon whatever he prizes most, his food, his raiment, he rushes forth and hurls his propitiatory offering heavenward, earthward, whithersoever his frenzied fancy dictates. Or, if this is not enough, the still more dearly valued gift of human blood or human life is offered. His own flesh he freely lacerates; to save his own life he gives that of his enemy, his slave, or even his child. Hence arises sacrifice.

And here also conjurings commence. The necessity is felt of opening up some intercourse with these mysterious powers; relations commercial and social; calamities and casualties, personal and public, must be traced to causes, and the tormenting demon bought off. But it is clearly evident that these elemental forces are not all of them inimical to the happiness of mankind. Sunshine, air and water, the benign influences in nature, are as powerful to create, as the adverse elements are to destroy. And as these forces appear conflicting, part productive of life and enjoyment, and part of destruction, decay, and death, a separation is made. Hence principles of good and evil are discovered; and to all these unaccountable forces in nature, names and properties are given, and causations invented. For every act there is an actor—for every deed a doer; for every power and passion there is made a god.

Thus we see that worship in some form is a human necessity, or, at least, a constant accompaniment of humanity. Until perfect wisdom and limitless power are the attributes of humanity, adoration will continue; for men will never cease to reverence what they do not understand, nor will they cease to fear such elements of strength as are beyond their control. The form of this conciliatory homage appears to arise from common human instincts; for, throughout the world and in all ages, a similarity in primitive religious forms has existed. It is a giving of something; the barter of a valuable something for a something more valuable. As in his civil polity all crimes may be compounded or avenged, so in his worship, the savage gives his pride, his property, or his blood.

At first, this spirit power is seen in everything; in the storm and in the soft evening air; in clouds and cataracts, in mountains, rocks, and rivers; in trees, in reptiles, beasts, and fishes. But when progressive man obtains a more perfect mastery over the brute creation, brute worship ceases; as he becomes familiar with the causes of some of the forces in nature, and is better able to protect himself from them, the fear of natural objects is lessened. Leaving the level of the brute creation he mounts upward, and selecting from his own species some living or dead hero, he endows a king or comrade with superhuman attributes, and worships his dead fellow as a divine being. Still he tunes his thoughts to subtler creations, and carves with skillful fingers material images of supernatural forms. Then comes idolatry. The great principles of causation being determined and embodied in perceptible forms, adorations ensue. Cravings, however, increase. As the intellect expands, one idol after another is thrown down. Mind assumes the mastery over matter. From gods of wood and stone, made by men's fingers, and from suns and planets, carved by the fingers of omnipotence, the creature now turns to the Creator. A form of ideal worship supplants the material form; gods known and tangible are thrown aside for the unknown God. And well were it for the intellect could it stop here. But, as the actions of countless material gods were clear to the primitive priest, and by him satisfactorily explained to the savage masses; so, in this more advanced state men are not wanting who receive from their ideal god revelations of his actions and motives. To its new, unknown, ideal god, the partially awakened human mind attaches the positive attributes of the old, material deities, or invents new ones, and starts anew to tread the endless mythologic circle; until in yet a higher state it discovers that both god and attributes are wholly beyond its grasp, and that with all its progress, it has advanced but slightly beyond the first savage conception;—a power altogether mysterious, inexplicable to science, controlling phenomena of mind and matter.

Barbarians are the most religious of mortals. While the busy, overworked brain of the scholar or man of business is occupied with more practical affairs, the list-less mind of the savage, thrown as he is upon the very bosom of nature, is filled with innumerable conjectures and interrogatories. His curiosity, like that of a child, is proverbial, and as superstition is ever the resource of ignorance, queer fancies and fantasms concerning life and death, and gods and devils float continually through his unenlightened imagination.

Ill-protected from the elements, his comfort and his uncertain food-supply depending upon them, primitive man regards nature with eager interest. Like the beasts, his forest companions, he places himself as far as possible in harmony with his environment. He migrates with the seasons; feasts when food is plenty, fasts in famine-time; basks and gambols in the sunshine, cowers beneath the fury of the storm, crawls from the cold into his den, and there quasi-torpidly remains until nature releases him. Is it therefore strange that savage intellect peoples the elements with supernatural powers; that God is everywhere, in everything; in the most trifling accident and incident, as well as in the sun, the sea, the grove; that when evil comes God is angry, when fortune smiles God is favorable; and that he speaks to his wild, untutored people in signs and dreams, in the tempest and in the sunshine. Nor does he withhold the still, small voice, which breathes upon minds most darkened, and into breasts the most savage, a spirit of progress, which, if a people be left to the free fulfillment of their destiny, is sure, sooner or later, to ripen into full development.

We will now glance at the origin of fetichism, which indeed may be called the origin of ideal religion, from the other standpoint; that which arises from the respect men feel for the memory of their departed ancestors.

The first conception of a dualty in man's nature has been attributed to various causes; it may be the result of a combination of causes. There is the shadow upon the ground, separate, yet inseparable; the reflection of the form upon the water; the echo of the voice, the adventures of fancy portrayed by dreams. Self is divisible from and inseparably connected with this other self. Herefrom arise innumerable superstitions; it was portentous of misfortune for one's clothes to be stepped on; no food must be left uneaten; nail clippings and locks of hair must not fall into the hands of an enemy. Catlin, in sketching his portraits, often narrowly escaped with his life, the Indians believing that in their likenesses he carried away their other self. And when death comes, and this other self departs, whither has it gone? The lifeless body remains, but where is the life? The mind cannot conceive of the total extinguishment of an entity, and so the imagination rears a local habitation for every departed spirit. Every phenomenon and every event is analyzed under this hypothesis. For every event there is not only a cause, but a personal cause, an independent agent behind every consequence. Every animal, every fish and bird, every rock and stream and plant, the ripening fruit, the falling rain, the uncertain wind, the sun and stars, are all personified. There is no disease without its god or devil, no fish entangled in the net, no beast or bird that falls before the hunter, without its special sender.

Savages are more afraid of a dead man than a live one. They are overwhelmed with terror at the thought of this unseen power over them. The spirit of the departed is omnipotent and omnipresent. At any cost or hazard it must be propitiated. So food is placed in the grave; wives and slaves, and horses and dogs, are slain, and in spirit sent to serve the ghost of the departed; phantom messengers are sent to the region of shadows from time to time; the messengers sometimes even volunteering to go. So boats and weapons and all the property of the deceased are burned or deposited with him. In the hand of the dead child is placed a toy; in that of the departed warrior, the symbolic pipe of peace, which is to open a tranquil entrance into his new abode; clothes, and ornaments, and paint, are conveniently placed, and thus a proper personal appearance guaranteed. Not that the things themselves are to be used, but the souls of things. The body of the chief rots, as does the material substance of the articles buried with it; but the soul of every article follows the soul of its owner, to serve its own peculiar end in the land of phantoms.

The Chinese, grown cunning with the great antiquity of their burial customs, which require money and food to be deposited for the benefit of the deceased, spiritualize the money, by making an imitation coin of pasteboard, while the food, untouched by the dead, is finally eaten by themselves.

But whence arises the strange propensity of all primitive nations to worship animals, and plants, and stones, things animate and inanimate, natural and supernatural? Why is it that all nations or tribes select from nature some object which they hold to be sacred, and which they venerate as deity? It is the opinion of Herbert Spencer that "the rudimentary form of all religion is the propitiation of dead ancestors, who are supposed to be still existing, and to be capable of working good or evil to their descendants." It is the universal custom with savage tribes, as the character of their members becomes developed, to drop the real name of individuals and to fix upon them the attribute of some external object, by whose name only they are afterwards known. Thus a swift runner is called the 'antelope,' the slow of foot, the 'tortoise,' a merciless warrior, the 'wolf,' a dark-eyed maid may be likened to the 'raven,' a majestic matron to the 'cypress.' And so the rivulet, the rock, the dawn, the sun, and even elements invisible, are seized upon as metaphors and fastened upon individuals, according to a real or fancied resemblance between the qualities of nature and the character of the men. Inferiority and baseness, alike with nobleness and wise conduct, perpetuate a name. Even in civilized societies, a nickname often takes the place of the real name. Schoolboys are quick to distinguish peculiarities in their fellows, and fasten upon them significant names. A dull scholar is called 'cabbage-head,' the girl with red ringlets, 'carrots.' In the family there is the greedy 'pig,' the darling 'duck,' the little 'lamb.' In new countries, and abnormal communities, where strangers from all parts are promiscuously thrown together, not unfrequently men live on terms of intimacy for years without ever knowing each other's real name. Among miners, such appellations as 'Muley Bill,' 'Sandy,' 'Shorty,' 'Sassafras Jack,' often serve all the purposes of a name. In more refined circles, there is the hypocritical 'crocodile,' the sly 'fox,' the gruff 'bear.' We say of the horse, 'he is as fleet as the wind,' of a rapid accountant, 'he is as quick as lightning.' These names, which are used by us but for the moment, or to fit occasions, are among rude nations permanent—in many instances the only name a person ever receives.

Sometimes the nickname of the individual becomes first a family name and then a tribal name; as when the chief, 'Coyote,' becomes renowned, his children love to call themselves 'Coyotes.' The chieftainship descending to the son and grandson of Coyote, the name becomes famous, the Coyote family the dominant family of the tribe; members of the tribe, in their intercourse with other tribes, call themselves 'coyotes,' to distinguish themselves from other tribes; the head, or tail, or claws, or skin, of the coyote ornaments the dress or adorns the body; the name becomes tribal, and the animal the symbol or totem of the tribe. After a few generations have passed, the great chieftain, Coyote, and his immediate progeny are forgotten; meanwhile the beast becomes a favorite with the people; he begins to be regarded as privileged; is not hunted down like other beasts; the virtues and exploits of the whole Coyote clan become identified with the brute; the affections of the people are centered in the animal, and finally, all else being lost and forgotten, the descendants of the chieftain, Coyote, are the offspring of the veritable beast, coyote.

Concerning image-worship and the material representation of ideal beings, Mr. Tylor believes that "when man has got some way in developing the religious element in him, he begins to catch at the device of setting up a puppet, or a stone, as the symbol and representative of the notions of a higher being which are floating in his mind."

Primitive languages cannot express abstract qualities. For every kind of animal or bird or plant there may be a name, but for animals, plants, and birds in general, they have no name or conception. Therefore, the abstract quality becomes the concrete idea of a god, and the descendants of a man whose symbolic name was 'dog,' from being the children of the man become the children of the dog.

Hence also arise monsters, beings compounded of beast, bird, and fish, sphinxes, mermaids, human-headed brutes, winged animals; as when the descendant of the 'hawk' carries off a wife from the 'salmon' tribe, a totem representing a fish with a hawk's head for a time keeps alive the occurrence and finally becomes the deity.

Thus realities become metaphors and metaphors realities; the fact dwindles into shadowy nothingness and the fancy springs into actual being. The historical incident becomes first indistinct and then is forgotten; the metaphorical name of the dead ancestor is first respected in the animal or plant, then worshiped in the animal or plant, and finally the nickname and the ancestor both are forgotten and the idea becomes the entity, and the veritable object of worship. From forgetfulness of primogenitor and metaphor, conceiving the animal to be the very ancestor, words are put into the animal's mouth, the sayings of the ancestor become the sayings of the brute; hence mythological legends of talking beasts, and birds, and wise fishes. To one animal is attributed a miraculous cure, to another, assistance in time of trouble; one animal is a deceiver, another a betrayer; and thus through their myths and metaphors we may look back into the soul of savagism and into their soul of nature.

That this is the origin of some phases of fetichism there can be no doubt; that it is the origin of all religions, or even the only method by which animal and plant worship originates, I do not believe. While there are undoubtedly general principles underlying all religious conceptions, it does not necessarily follow, that in every instance the methods of arriving at those fundamental principles must be identical. As with us a child weeps over a dead mother's picture, regarding it with fond devotion, so the dutiful barbarian son, in order the better to propitiate the favor of his dead ancestor, sometimes carves his image in wood or stone, which sentiment with time lapses into idolatry. Any object which strikes the rude fancy as analogous to the character of an individual may become an object of worship.

The interpretation of myth can never be absolute and positive; yet we may in almost every instance discover the general purport. Thus a superior god, we may be almost sure, refers to some potent hero, some primitive ruler, whom tradition has made superhuman in origin and in power; demigods, subordinate or inferior beings in power, must be regarded as legendary, referring to certain influential persons, identified with some element or incident in which the deified personage played a conspicuous part.

Although in mythology religion is the dominant element, yet mythology is not wholly made up of religion, nor are all primitive religions mythical. "There are few mistakes" says Professor Max Müller "so widely spread and so firmly established as that which makes us confound the religion and the mythology of the ancient nations of the world. How mythology arises, necessarily and naturally, I tried to explain in my former lectures, and we saw that, as an affection or disorder of language, mythology may infect every part of the intellectual life of man. True it is that no ideas are more liable to mythological disease than religious ideas, because they transcend those regions of our experience within which language has its natural origin, and must therefore, according to their very nature, be satisfied with metaphorical expressions. Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man. Yet even the religions of the ancient nations are by no means inevitably and altogether mythological. On the contrary, as a diseased frame pre-supposes a healthy frame, so a mythological religion pre-supposes, I believe, a healthy religion."

The universal secrets of supernatural beings are wrapped up in probable or possible fable; the elements of physical nature are impersonated in allegories, and arrayed in forms perceptible to the imagination; deities are sometimes introduced into the machinery of the supernatural in order to gratify that love for the marvelous which every attempt to explain the mysterious forces of nature creates in the ignorant mind. Yet it cannot truly be said that any form of religion, much less any religion was wholly invented. Fanatics sometimes originate doctrines, and the Church sets forth its dogmas, but there must be a foundation of truth or the edifice cannot stand. Inventions there undoubtedly have been and are, but inventions, sooner or later fall to the ground, while the essential principles underlying religion and mythology, though momentarily overcome or swept away, are sure to remain.

Every one of the fundamental ideas of religion is of indigenous origin, generating spontaneously in the human heart. It is a characteristic of mythology that the present inhabitants of the world descended from some nobler race. From the nobler impulses of fancy the savage derives his origin. His higher instincts teach him, that his dim distant past, and his impenetrable future, are alike of a lighter, more ethereal nature; that his earthly nature is base, that that which binds him to earth is the lowest, vilest part of himself.

The tendency of positive knowlege is to overthrow superstition. Hence as science develops, many tenets of established religions, palpably erroneous, are dropped, and the more knowledge becomes real, the more real knowledge is denied. Superstition is not the effect of an active imagination, but shows rather a lack of imagination, for we see that the lower the stage of intelligence, and the feebler the imagination, the greater the superstition. A keen, vivid imagination, although capable of broader and more complicated conceptions, is able to explain the cruder marvels, and consequently to dispel the coarser phases of superstition, while the dull intellect accepts everything which is put upon it as true. Ultimate religious conceptions are symbolic rather than actual. Ultimate ideas of the universe are even beyond the grasp of the profoundest intellect. We can form but an approximate idea of the sphere on which we live. To form conceptions of the relative and actual distances and magnitudes of heavenly bodies, of systems of worlds, and eternities of space, the human mind is totally inadequate. If, therefore, the mind is unable to grasp material visible objects, how much less are we able to measure the invisible and eternal.

When therefore the savage attempts to solve the problem of natural phenomena, he first reduces broad conceptions to symbolic ideas. He moulds his deity according to the measure of his mind; and in forming a skeleton upon which to elaborate his religious instincts, proximate theories are accepted, and almost any explanation appears to him plausible. The potential creations of his fancy are brought within the compass of his comprehension; symbolic gods are moulded from mud, or carved from wood or stone; and thus by segregating an infinitesimal part of the vast idea of deity, the worshiper meets the material requirements of his religious conceptions. And although the lower forms of worship are abandoned as the intellect unfolds, the same principle is continued. We set up in the mind symbols of the ultimate idea which is too great for our grasp, and imagining ourselves in possession of the actual idea, we fall into numberless errors concerning what we believe or think. The atheistic hypothesis of self-existence, the pantheistic hypothesis of self-creation, and the theistic hypothesis of creation by an external agency are equally unthinkable, and therefore as postulates equally untenable. Yet underlying all, however gross or superstitious the dogma, is one fundamental truth, namely, that there is a problem to be solved, an existent mysterious universe to be accounted for.

Deep down in every human breast is implanted a religiosity as a fundamental attribute of man's nature; a consciousness that behind visible appearances is an invisible power; underlying all conception is an instinct or intuition from which there is no escape, that beyond material actualities potential agencies are at work; and throughout all belief, from the stupidest fetichism to the most exalted monotheism, as part of these instinctive convictions, it is held that the beings, or being, who rule man's destiny may be propitiated.

The first cry of nature is hushed. From time immemorial nations and peoples have come and gone, whence and whither no one knows; entering existence unannounced they disappear and leave no trace, save perhaps their impress on the language or the mythology of the world. Thus from historic fact blended with the religious sentiments springs the Mythic Idea.

In the following chapters, I have attempted, as far as practicable, to classify the Myths of the Pacific States under appropriate heads. In making such a classification there is no difficulty, except where in one myth occur two or more divisions of the subject, in which case it becomes necessary, either to break the narrative, or make exceptions to the general rule of classifying. I have invariably adopted the latter alternative. The divisions which I make of Mythology are as follows: I. Origin and End of Things; II. Physical Myths; III. Animal Myths; IV. Gods, Supernatural Beings, and Worship; V. The Future State.

CHAPTER II.

ORIGIN AND END OF THINGS.

Quiché Creation-Myth—Aztec Origin-Myths—The Papagos—Montezuma and the Coyote—The Moquis—The Great Spider's Web of the Pimas—Navajo and Pueblo Creations—Origin of Clear Lake and Lake Tahoe—Chareya of the Cahrocs—Mount Shasta, the Wigwam of the Great Spirit—Idaho Springs and Water Falls—How Differences in Language Occurred—Yehl, the Creator of the Thlinkeets—The Raven and the Dog.

Of all American peoples the Quichés, of Guatemala, have left us the richest mythological legacy. Their description of the creation as given in the Popol Vuh, which may be called the national book of the Quichés,[1] is, in its rude strange eloquence and poetic originality, one of the rarest relics of aboriginal thought. Although obliged in reproducing it to condense somewhat, I have

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[1] In Vienna in 1857, the book now best known as the Popol Vuh was first brought to the notice of European scholars, under the following title: *Las Historias del Origen de los Indios de esta Provincia de Guatemala, traducidas de la Lengua Quiché al Castellano para mas Comodidad de los Ministros del S. Evangelio, por el R. P. F. Francisco Ximenez, cura doctrinero por el real patronato del Pueblo de S. Thomas Chuila.—Exactamente segun el texto español del manuscrito original que se halla en la biblioteca de la Universidad de Guatemala, publicado por la primera vez, y aumentado con una introduccion y anotaciones por el Dr C. Scherzer.* What Dr Scherzer says in a paper read before the Vienna Academy of Sciences, Feb. 20th, 1856; and repeats in his introduction, about its author, amounts to this: In the early part of the 18th century Francisco Ximenez, a Dominican Father of great repute for his learning and his love of truth, filled the office of curate in the little Indian town of Chichicastenango in the highlands of Guatemala. Neither the time of his birth nor that of his death can be exactly ascertained, but the internal evidence of one of his works shows that he was engaged upon it in 1721. He left many manuscripts, but it is supposed that the unpalatable truths some of them contain with regard to the ill-treatment of the Indians by the colonial authorities sufficed, as previously in the case of Las Casas, to ensure their partial destruction and total suppression. What remains of them lay long hid in an obscure corner of the Convent of the Dominicans in Guatemala, and passed afterwards, on the supression of all

the religions orders, into the library of the University of San Carlos (Guatemala). Here Dr. Scherzer discovered them in June 1854, and carefully copied, and afterwards published as above the particular treatise with which we are now concerned. This, according to Father Ximenez himself, and according to its internal evidence, is a translation of a *literal* copy of an original book, written by one or more Quichés, in the Quiché language, in Roman letters, after the Christians had occupied Guatemala, and after the real original Popol Vuh—National Book—had been lost or destroyed—literally, was no more to be seen—and written to *replace* that lost book. 'Quise trasladar todas las historias *á la letra* de estos indios, y tambien traducirla en la lengua castellana.' 'Esto escribiremos ya en la ley de Dios en la cristiandad, los sacaremos, porque ya no hay libro comun, original donde verlo, *Ximenez, Hist. Ind. Guat.*, pp. 1, 4, 5. 'Voilà ce que nous écrirons depuis (qu'on a promulgué) la parole de Dieu, et en dedans du Christianisme; nous le reproduirons, parce qu'on ne voit plus ce Livre national,' 'Vae x-chi-ka tzibah chupan chic u chabal Dios, pa Christianoil chic; x-chi-k'-elezah, rumal ma-habi chic ilbal re Popo-Vuh,' *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Popol Vuh*, p. 5. The evidence that the author was Quiché will be found in the numerous passages scattered through the narrative in which he speaks of the Quiché nation, and of the ancestors of that nation as 'our people, 'our ancestors,' and so on. We pass now to what the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg has to say about the book. He says that Ximenes 'discovered this document, in the last years of the 17th century.' In 1855, at Guatemala, the abbé first saw Ximenez' manuscript containing this work. The manuscript contained the Quiché text and the Spanish curate's translation of that text. Brasseur de Bourbourg copied both at that time, but he was dissatisfied with the translation, believing it to be full of faults owing to the prejudices and the ignorance of the age in which it was made, as well as disfigured by abridgments and omissions. So in 1860 he settled himself among the Quichés and by the help of natives joined to his own practical knowledge of their language, he elaborated a new and literal translation, (aussi littérale qu'il a été possible de la faire). We seem justified then on the whole in taking this document for what Ximenez and its own evidence declare it to be, namely, a reproduction of an older work or body of Quiché traditional history, written because that older work had been lost and was likely to be forgotten, and written by a Quiché not long after the Spanish conquest. One consequence of the last fact would seem to be that a tinge of biblical expression has, consciously or unconsciously to the Quiché who wrote, influenced the form of the narrative. But these coincidences may be wholly accidental, the more as there are also striking resemblances to expressions in the Scandinavian Edda and in the Hindoo Veda. And even if they be not accidental, 'much remains,' adopting the language and the conclusion of Professor Max Müller, 'in these American traditions which is so different from anything else in the national literatures of other countries, that we may safely treat it as the genuine growth of the intellectual soil of America.' *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. i., p. 328. For the foregoing, as well as further information on the subject see:—*Brasseur de Bourbourg, Popol Vuh*, pp. 5-31, 195-231; *S'il existe des Sources de l'Hist. Prim.*, pp. 83-7; *Hist. des Nat. Civ., tom.* i., pp. 47-61; *Ximenez, Hist. Ind. Guat.*, pp. 5-15; *Scherzer*, in *Sitzungberichte der Akademie der Wissenshaften Wien*, 20th Feb., 1856; *Helps' Spanish Conquest*, vol. iv., pp. 455-6. Professor Müller in his essay on the Popol Vuh, has in one or two places misunderstood the narrative. There was no such creation of man as that he gives as the second, while his third creation is the second of the original. Again, he makes the four Quiché ancestors to be the progenitors of endeavored to give not only the substance, but also, as far as possible, the peculiar style and phraseology of the original. It is with this primeval picture, whose simple silent sublimity is that of the inscrutable past, that we begin:—

And the heaven was formed, and all the signs thereof set in their angle and alignment, and its boundaries fixed towards the four winds by the Creator and Former, and Mother and Father of life and existence,—he by whom all move and breathe, the Father and Cherisher of the peace of nations and of the civilization of his people,—he whose wisdom has projected the excellence of all that is on the earth, or in the lakes, or in the sea.

Behold the first word and the first discourse. There was as yet no man, nor any animal, nor bird, nor fish, nor crawfish, nor any pit, nor ravine, nor green herb, nor any tree; nothing was but the firmament. The face of the earth had not yet appeared,—only the peaceful sea and all the space of heaven. There was nothing yet joined together, nothing that clung to anything else; nothing that balanced itself, that made the least rustling, that made a sound in the heaven. There was nothing that stood up; nothing but the quiet water, but the sea, calm and alone in its boundaries: nothing existed; nothing but immobility and silence, in the darkness, in the night.[2]

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all tribes both white and black; while they were the parents of the Quiché and kindred races only. The course of the legend brings us to tribes of a strange blood, with which these four ancestors and their people were often at war. The narrative is, however, itself so confused and contradictory at points, that it is almost impossible to avoid such things; and, as a whole, the views of Professor Müller on the Popol Vuh seem just and well considered. Baldwin, *Ancient America*, pp. 191–7, gives a mere dilution of Professor Müller's essay, and that without acknowledgment.

[2] The original Quiché runs as follows: 'Are u tzihoxic vae ca ca tzinin-oc, ca ca chamam-oc, ca tzinonic; ca ca zilanic, ca ca lolinic, ca tolona puch u pa cah. Vae cute nabe tzih, nabe uchan.—Ma-habi-oc hun vinak, hun chicop; tziquin, car, tap, che, abah, hul, civan, quim, qichelah: xa-utuquel cah qolic. Mavi calah u vach uleu: xa-utuquel remanic palo, u pah cah ronohel. Ma-habi nakila ca molobic, ca cotzobic: hunta ca zilobic; ca mal ca ban-tah, ca cotz ca ban-tah pa cah. X-ma qo-vi nakila qolic yacalic; xa remanic ha, xa lianic palo, xa-utuquel remanic; x-ma qo-vi nakilalo qolic. Xa ca chamanic, ca tzininic chi gekum, chi agab.'

This passage is rendered by the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg thus: 'Voici le récit comme quoi tout était en suspens, tout était calme et silencieux;

Alone also the Creator, the Former, the Dominator, the Feathered Serpent,—those that engender, those that give being, they are upon the water, like a growing light. They are enveloped in green and blue; and therefore their name is Gucumatz.[3] Lo, now how the heavens exist, how exists also the Heart of Heaven; such is the name of God; it is thus that he is called. And they spake; they consulted together and meditated; they mingled their words and their opinion. And the creation was verily after this wise: Earth, they said, and on the instant it was formed; like a cloud or a fog was its beginning. Then the mountains rose over the water like great lobsters; in an instant the mountains and the plains were visible, and the cypress and the pine appeared. Then was the Gucumatz filled with joy, crying out: Blessed be thy coming, O Heart of Heaven, Hurakan, Thunderbolt. Our work and our labor has accomplished its end.

The earth and its vegetation having thus appeared, it was peopled with the various forms of animal life. And the Makers said to the animals: Speak now our name,

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tout était immobile, tout était paisible, et vide était l' immensité des cieux. Voilà donc la première parole et le premier discours. Il n'y avait pas encore un seul homme, pas un animal; pas d'oiseaux, de poissons, d'écrevisses, de bois, de pierre, de fondrières, de ravins, d'herbe ou be bocages: seulement le ciel existait. La face de la terre ne se manifestait pas encore: seule la mer paisible était et tout l'espace des cieux. Il n'y avait encore rien qui fît corps, rien qui se cramponnât à autre chose: rien qui se balançât, qui fît (le moindre) frôlement, qui fît (entendre) un son dans le ciel. Il n'y avait rien qui existât debout; (il n'y avait) que l'eau paisible, que la mer calme et seule dans ses bornes; car il n'y avait rien qui existât. Ce n'était que l'immobilité et le silence dans les ténèbres, dans la nuit.' *Popol Vuh*, p. 7.

And by Francisco Ximenez thus: Este es su ser dicho cuando estaba suspenso en calma, en silencio, sin moverse, sin cosa sino vacio el cielo. Y esta es la primera palabra y elocuencia; aun no habia hombres, animales, pájaros, pescado, cangrejo, palo, piedra, hoya, barranca, paja ni monte, sino solo estaba el cielo; no se manifestaba la faz de la tierra; sino que solo estaba el mar represado, y todo lo del cielo; aun no habia cosa alguna junta, ni sonaba nada, ni cosa alguna se meneaba, ni cosa que hiciera mal, ni cosa que hiciera "*cotz*," (esto es ruido en el cielo), ni habia cosa que estuviese parada en pié; solo el agua represada, solo la mar sosegada, solo ella represada, ni cosa alguna habia que estuviese; solo estaba en silencio, y sosiego en la obscuridad, y la noche.' *Hist. Ind. Guat.*, pp. 5-6.

[3] '*Gucumatz*, littéralement serpent emplumé, et dans un sens plus étendu, serpent revêtu de couleurs brillantes, de vert ou d'azur. Les plumes du guc ou quetzal offrent également les deux teintes. C'est exactment la même chose que *quetzalcohuatl* dans la langue mexicaine.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg. Hist. des Nat. Civ., tom.* i., p. 50.

honor us, us your mother and father; invoke Hurakan, the Lightning-flash, the Thunderbolt that strikes, the Heart of Heaven, the Heart of the Earth, the Creator and Former, Him who begets, and Him who gives being,—Speak, call on us, salute us! So was it said to the animals. But the animals could not answer; they could not speak at all after the manner of men; they could only cluck, and croak, each murmuring after his kind in a different manner. This displeased the Creators, and they said to the animals: Inasmuch as ye can not praise us, neither call upon our names, your flesh shall be humiliated; it shall be broken with teeth; ye shall be killed and eaten.

Again the gods took counsel together; they determined to make man. So they made a man of clay; and when they had made him, they saw that it was not good. He was without cohesion, without consistence, motionless, strengthless, inept, watery; he could not move his head, his face looked but one way; his sight was restricted, he could not look behind him; he had been endowed with language, but he had no intelligence, so he was consumed in the water.

Again is there counsel in heaven: Let us make an intelligent being who shall adore and invoke us. It was decided that a man should be made of wood and a woman of a kind of pith. They were made; but the result was in no wise satisfactory. They moved about perfectly well, it is true; they increased and multiplied; they peopled the world with sons and daughters, little wooden mannikins like themselves; but still the heart and the intelligence were wanting; they held no memory of their Maker and Former; they led a useless existence, they lived as the beasts live; they forgot the Heart of Heaven. They were but an essay, an attempt at men; they had neither blood, nor substance, nor moisture, nor fat; their cheeks were shrivelled, their feet and hands dried up; their flesh languished.

Then was the Heart of Heaven wroth; and he sent ruin and destruction upon those ingrates; he rained upon them night and day from heaven with a thick resin;

and the earth was darkened. And the men went mad with terror; they tried to mount upon the roofs and the houses fell; they tried to climb the trees and the trees shook them far from their branches; they tried to hide in the caves and dens of the earth, but these closed their holes against them. The bird Xecotcovach came to tear out their eyes; and the Camalotz cut off their head; and the Cotzbalam devoured their flesh; and the Tecumbalam broke and bruised their bones to powder. Thus were they all devoted to chastisement and destruction, save only a few who were preserved as memorials of the wooden men that had been; and these now exist in the woods as little apes.[4]

Once more are the gods in counsel; in the darkness, in the night of a desolated universe do they commune together: of what shall we make man? And the Creator and Former made four perfect men; and wholly of yellow and white maize was their flesh composed. These were the names of the four men that were made: the name of the first was Balam-Quitzé; of the second, Balam-Agab; of the third Mahucutah; and of the fourth, Iqi-Balam.[5] They had neither father nor mother, neither were they made by the ordinary agents in the work of creation; but their coming into existence was a miracle extraordinary, wrought by the special intervention of him who is preëminently The Creator. Verily, at last, were there found men worthy of their origin and their destiny; verily, at last, did the gods look on beings who could see with their eyes, and handle with their hands, and understand with their hearts. Grand of countenance and broad of limb the four sires of our race stood up under the white rays of the morning star—sole light as yet of the primeval world—stood up and looked. Their great clear eyes swept rapidly over all; they saw the woods and the rocks, the lakes and the sea, the mountains and the valleys, and the heavens that were above all; and they comprehended all and admired exceedingly. Then they returned thanks to those who had made the world and all that therein was: We offer up our thanks, twice—yea verily, thrice! We have received life; we speak, we walk, we taste; we hear and understand; we know, both that which is near and that which is far off; we see all things, great and small, in all the heaven and earth. Thanks then, Maker and Former, Father and Mother of our life! we have been created; we are.

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[4] A long rambling story is here introduced which has nothing to do with Creation, and which is omitted for the present.

[5] *Balam-Quitzé*, the tiger with the sweet smile; *Balam-Agab*, the tiger of the night; *Mahucutah*, the distinguished name; *Iqi-Balam*, the tiger of the moon. 'Telle est la signification littérale que Ximenez a donnée de ces quatre noms.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Popol Vuh*, p. 199.

But the gods were not wholly pleased with this thing; Heaven they thought had overshot its mark; these men were too perfect; knew, understood, and saw too much. Therefore there was counsel again in heaven: What shall we do with man now? It is not good, this that we see; these are as gods; they would make themselves equal with us; lo, they know all things, great and small. Let us now contract their sight, so that they may see only a little of the surface of the earth and be content. Thereupon the Heart of Heaven breathed a cloud over the pupil of the eyes of men, and a veil came over it as when one breathes on the face of a mirror; thus was the globe of the eye darkened; neither was that which was far off clear to it any more, but only that which was near.

Then the four men slept, and there was counsel in heaven: and four women were made,—to Balam-Quitzé was allotted Caha-Paluma to wife; to Balam-Agab, Chomiha; to Mahucuth, Tzununiha; and to Iqi-Balam, Cakixaha.[6] Now the women were exceedingly fair to look upon; and when the men awoke, their hearts were glad because of the women.

Next, as I interpret the narrative, there were other men created, the ancestors of other peoples, while the first four were the fathers of all the branches of the Quiché race. The different tribes at first, however, lived together amicably enough, in a primitive state; and increased and multiplied, leading happy lives under their bright and morning star, precursor of the yet unseen sun. They had as yet no worship save the breathing of the instinct of their soul, as yet no altars to the gods; only—and is there not a whole idyl in the simple words? —only they gazed up into heaven, not knowing what they had come so far to do![7] They were filled with love, with obedience, and with fear; and lifting their eyes towards heaven, they made their requests:—

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[6] *Caha-paluma*, the falling water; *Chomi-ha* or *Chomih-a*, the beautiful house or the beautiful water; in the same way, *Tzununiha* may mean either the house or the water of the humming-birds; and *Cakixaha*, either the house or the water of the aras [which are a kind of parrot]. *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, *Popol Vuh*, p. 205.

Hail! O Creator, O Former! thou that hearest and understandest us! abandon us not, forsake us not! O God, thou that art in heaven and on the earth, O Heart of Heaven, O Heart of Earth! give us descendants and a posterity as long as the light endure. Give us to walk always in an open road, in a path without snares; to lead happy, quiet, and peaceable lives, free of all reproach. It was thus they spake, living tranquilly, invoking the return of the light, waiting the rising of the sun, watching the star of the morning, precursor of the sun. But no sun came, and the four men and their descendants grew uneasy: We have no person to watch over us, they said, nothing to guard our symbols. So the four men and their people set out for Tulan-Zuiva,[8] otherwise called the Seven-caves or Seven-ravines, and there they received gods, each man as head of a family, a god; though inasmuch as the fourth man, Iqi-Balam, had no children and founded no family, his god is not usually taken into the account. Balam-Quitzé received the god Tohil; Balam Agab received the god Avilix; and Mahucutah received the god Hacavitz; all very powerful gods, but Tohil seems to have been the chief, and in a general way, god of the whole Quiché nation. Other people received gods at the same time; and it had been for all a long march to Tulan.

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[7] 'Are ma-habi chi tzukun, qui coon; xavi chi cah chi qui pacaba qui vach; mavi qu'etaam x-e be-vi naht x-qui bano.' 'Alors ils ne servaient pas encore et ne soutenaient point (les autels des dieux); seulement ils tournaient leurs visages vers le ciel, et ils ne savaient ce qu'ils étaient venus faire si loin.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, *Popol Vuh*, p. 209. It is right to add, however, that Ximenez gives a much more prosaic turn to the passage: 'No cabian de sustento, sino que levantaban las caras al cielo y no se sabian alejar.' *Hist. Ind. Guat.*, p. 84.

[8] Or as Ximenez, *Hist. Ind. Guat.*, p. 87, writes it,—*Tulanzu*, (las siete cuevas y siete barrancas).

Now the Quichés had as yet no fire, and as Tulan was a much colder climate than the happy eastern land they had left, they soon began to feel the want of it. The god Tohil who was the creator of fire had some in his possession; so to him, as was most natural, the Quichés applied, and Tohil in some way supplied them with fire.

But shortly after, there fell a great rain that extinguished all the fires of the land; and much hail also fell on the heads of the people; and because of the rain and the hail, their fires were utterly scattered and put out. Then Tohil created fire again by stamping with his sandal. Several times thus fire failed them, but Tohil always renewed it. Many other trials also they underwent in Tulan, famines and such things, and a general dampness and cold,—for the earth was moist, there being as yet no sun.

Here also the language of all the families was confused so that no one of the first four men could any longer understand the speech of another. This also made them very sad. They determined to leave Tulan; and the greater part of them, under the guardianship and direction of Tohil, set out to see where they should take up their abode. They continued on their way amid the most extreme hardships for want of food; sustaining themselves at one time upon the mere smell of their staves, and by imagining that they were eating, when in verity and in truth, they ate nothing. Their heart, indeed, it is again and again said, was almost broken by affliction. Poor wanderers! they had a cruel way to go, many forests to pierce, many stern mountains to overpass and a long passage to make through the sea, along the shingle and pebbles and drifted sand,—the sea being, however, parted for their passage.

At last they came to a mountain that they named Hacavitz, after one of their gods, and here they rested,—for here they were by some means given to understand that they should see the sun. Then indeed, was filled with an exceeding joy, the heart of Balam-Quitzé, of Balam-Agab, of Mahucutah, and of Iqi-Balam. It seemed to them that even the face of the morning star caught a new and more resplendent brightness. They shook their incense pans and danced for very gladness: sweet were their tears in dancing, very hot their incense—their precious incense. At last the sun commenced to advance: the animals, small and great, were full of delight; they raised themselves to the surface of the water; they fluttered in the ravines; they gathered at the edge of the mountains, turning their heads together toward that part from which the sun came. And the lion and the tiger roared. And the first bird that sang was that called the Queletzu. All the animals were beside themselves at the sight; the eagle and the kite beat their wings, and every bird, both small and great. The men prostrated themselves on the ground, for their hearts were full to the brim.

And the sun, and the moon, and the stars were now all established. Yet was not the sun then in the beginning the same as now; his heat wanted force, and he was but as a reflection in a mirror; verily, say the histories, not at all the same sun as that of to-day. Nevertheless he dried up and warmed the surface of the earth, and answered many good ends.

Another wonder when the sun rose! The three tribal gods, Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz, were turned into stone, as were also the gods connected with the lion, the tiger, the viper, and other fierce and dangerous animals. Perhaps we should not be alive at this moment—continues the chronicle—because of the voracity of these fierce animals, of these lions, and tigers, and vipers; perhaps today our glory would not be in existence, had not the sun caused this petrification.

And the people multiplied on this Mount Hacavitz, and here they built their city. It is here also that they began to sing that song called Kamucu, 'we see.' They sang it, though it made their hearts ache, for this is what they said in singing: Alas! We ruined ourselves in Tulan, there lost we many of our kith and kin, they still remain there, left behind! We indeed have seen the sun, but they—now that his golden light begins to appear, where are they?

And they worshiped the gods that had become stone, Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz; and they offered them the blood of beasts, and of birds, and pierced their own ears and shoulders in honor of these gods, and collected the blood with a sponge, and pressed it out into a cup before them.

Toward the end of their long and eventful life Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Agab, Mahucutah, and Iqi-Balam were impelled, apparently by a supernatural vision, to lay before their gods a more awful offering than the life of senseless beasts. They began to wet their altars with the heart's blood of human victims. From their mountain hold they watched for lonely travelers belonging to the surrounding tribes, seized, overpowered, and slew them for a sacrifice. Man after man was missing in the neighboring villages; and the people said: Lo! the tigers have carried them away,—for wherever the blood was of a man slain, were always found the tracks of many tigers. Now this was the craft of the priests, and at last the tribes began to suspect the thing and to follow the tracks of the tigers. But the trails had been made purposely intricate, by steps returning on themselves and by the obliteration of steps; and the mountain region where the altars were was already covered with a thick fog and a small rain, and its paths flowed with mud.

The hearts of the villagers were thus fatigued within them, pursuing unknown enemies. At last, however, it became plain that the gods Tohil, Avilix and Hacavitz, and their worship, were in some way or other the cause of this bereavement: so the people of the villages conspired against them. Many attacks, both openly and by ruses, did they make on the gods, and on the four men, and on the children and people connected with them; but not once did they succeed, so great was the wisdom, and power, and courage of the four men and of their deities. And these three gods petrified, as we have told, could nevertheless resume a movable shape when they pleased; which indeed they often did, as will be seen hereafter.

At last the war was finished. By the miraculous aid of a horde of wasps and hornets, the Quichés utterly defeated and put to the rout in a general battle all their enemies. And the tribes humiliated themselves before the face of Balam-Quitzé, of Balam-Agab, and of Mahucutah: Unfortunates that we are, they said, spare to us at least our lives. Let it be so, it was answered, although you be worthy of death; you shall, however, be our tributaries and serve us, as long as the sun endure, as long as the light shall follow his course. This was the reply of our fathers and mothers, upon Mount Hacavitz; and thereafter they lived in great honor and peace, and their souls had rest, and all the tribes served them there.

Now it came to pass that the time of the death of Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Agab, Mahucutah, and Iqi-Balam drew near. No bodily sickness nor suffering came upon them; but they were forewarned that their death and their end was at hand. Then they called their sons and their descendants round them to receive their last counsels.

And the heart of the old men was rent within them. In the anguish of their heart they sang the Kamucu, the old sad song that they had sung when the sun first rose, when the sun rose and they thought of the friends they had left in Tulan, whose face they should see no more for ever. Then they took leave of their wives, one by one; and of their sons, one by one; of each in particular they took leave; and they said: We return to our people; already the King of the

Stags is ready, he stretches himself through the heaven. Lo, we are about to return; our work is done; the days of our life are complete. Remember us well; let us never pass from your memory. You will see still our houses and our mountains; multiply in them, and then go on upon your way and see again the places whence we are come.

So the old men took leave of their sons and of their wives; and Balam-Quitzé spake again: Behold! he said, I leave you what shall keep me in remembrance. I have taken leave of you—and am filled with sadness, he added. Then instantly the four old men were not; but in their place was a great bundle; and it was never unfolded, neither could any man find seam therein on rolling it over and over. So it was called the Majesty Enveloped; and it became a memorial of these fathers, and was held very dear and precious in the sight of the Quichés; and they burned incense before it.[9]

Thus died and disappeared on Mount Hacavitz Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Agab, Mahucutah, and Iqi-Balam, these first men who came from the east, from the other side of the sea. Long time had they been here when they died; and they were very old, and surnamed the Venerated and the Sacrificers.

Such is the Quiché account of the creation of the earth and its inhabitants and of the first years of the existence of mankind. Although we find here described in the plainest and least equivocal terms a supreme, all-powerful Creator of all things, there are joined with him, in a somewhat perplexing manner a number of auxiliary deities and makers. It may be that those whose faith the Popol Vuh represents, conceiving and speaking of their supreme god under many aspects and as fulfilling many functions, came at times, either unconsciously or for dramatic effect, to bring this one great Being upon their mythic stage, sustaining at once many of his different parts and characters. Or perhaps, like the Hebrews, they believed that the Creator had made out of nothing or out of his own essence, in some mysterious way, angels and other beings to obey and to assist him in his sovereign designs, and that these 'were called gods.' That these Quiché notions seem foolishness to us, is no argument as to their adaptation to the life and thoughts of those who believed them; for, in the words of Professor Max Müller, "the thoughts of primitive humanity were not only different from our thoughts, but different also from what we think their thoughts ought to have been."[10]

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[9] The following passage in a letter from the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, to Mr. Rafn of Copenhagen, bearing date 25th October, 1858, may be useful in this connection:—'On sait que la coutume toltèque et mexicaine était de conserver, comme chez les chrétiens, les reliques des héros de la patrie: on enveloppait leurs os avec des pierres précieuses dans un paquet d'étoffes auquel on donnait le nom de Tlaquimilolli; ces paquets demeuraient à jamais fermés et on les déposait au fond des sanctuaires où on les conservait comme des objects sacrés.' *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, 1858, tom. iv., p. 268. One of these 'bundles,' was given up to the Christians by a Tlascaltec some time after the conquest. It was reported to contain the remains of Camaxtli, the chief god of Tlascala. The native historian, Camargo, describes it as follows: 'Quand on défit le paquet où se trouvaient les cendres de l'idole Camaxtle, on y trouva aussi un paquet de cheveux blonds,...... on y trouva aussi une émeraude, et de ses cendres on avait fait une pâte, en les pétrissant avec le sang des enfants que l'on avait sacrifiés.' *Hist. de Tlaxcallan*; in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. xcix., 1843, p. 179.

Yet whatever be the inconsistencies that obscure the Popol Vuh, we find them multiplied in the Mexican cosmogony, a tangled string of meagre and apparently fragmentary traditions. There appear to have been two principal schools of opinion in Anáhuac, differing as to who was the Creator of the world, as well as on other points,—two veins of tradition, perhaps of common origin, which often seem to run into one, and are oftener still considered as one by historians to whom these heathen vanities were matters of little importance. The more advanced school, ascribing its inspiration to Toltec sources, seems to have flourished notably in Tezcuco, especially while the famous Nezahualcoyotl reigned there, and to have had very definite monotheistic ideas. It taught, as is asserted in unmistakable terms, that all things had been made by one God, omnipotent and invisible; and to this school were probably owing the many gentle and beautiful ideas and rites, mingled with the hard, coarse, and prosaic cult of the mass of the people.[11]

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[10] See *Cox's Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, vol. i., p. 333.

The other school may be considered as more distinctively national, and as representing more particularly the ordinary Mexican mind. To it is to be ascribed by far the larger part of all we know about the Mexican religion.[12] According to the version of this school, Tezcatlipoca, a god whose birth and adventures are set forth hereafter, was the creator of the material heaven and earth, though not of mankind; and sometimes even the honor of this partial creation is disputed by others of the gods.

One Mexican nation, again, according to an ancient writer of their own blood, affirmed that the earth had been created by chance; and as for the heavens, they had always existed.[13]

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[11] Even supposing there were no special historical reasons for making this distinction, it seems convenient that such a division should be made in a country where the distinction of classes was so marked as in Mexico. As Reade puts the case, *Martrydom of Man*, p. 177, 'In those countries where two distinct classes of men exist, the one intellectual and learned, the other illiterate and degraded, there will be in reality two religions, though nominally there may be only one.'

[12] 'Les prêtres et les nobles de Mexico avaient péri presque tous lors de la prise de cette ville, et ceux qui avaient échappé au massacre s'étaient réfugiés dans des lieux inaccessibles. Ce furent donc presque toujours des gens du peuple sans éducation et livrés aux plus grossiéres superstitions qui leur firent les récits qu'ils nous ont transmis; Les missionnaires, d'ailleurs, avaient plus d'intérêt á connaître les usages qu'ils voulaient déraciner de la masse du peuple qu'à comprendre le sens plus élevé que la partie éclairée de la nation pouvait y attacher.' *Ternaux-Compans, Essai sur la Théogonie Mexicaine*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. lxxxv., 1840, p. 274.

[13] This last statement rests on the authority of Domingo Muñoz Camargo, a native of the city of Tlascala who wrote about 1585. See his *Hist. de Tlaxcallan* as translated by Ternaux Compans in the *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. xcix., 1843, p. 129. 'Les Indiens ne croyaient pas que le monde eût été créé, mais pensaient qu'il était le produit du hazard. Ils disaient aussi que les cieux avaient toujours existé.' 'Estos, pues, alcanzaron con claridad el verdadero orígen y principio de todo el Universo, porque asientan que el cielo y la tierra y cuanto en ellos se halla es obra de la poderosa mano de un Dios Supremo y único, á quien daban el nombre de Tloque Nahuaque, que quiere decir, criador de todas las cosas. Llamábanle tambien Ipalnemohualoni, que quiere decir, por quien vivimos y somos, y fué la única deidad que adoraron en aquellos primitivos tiempos; y aun despues que se introdujo la idolatría y el falso culto, le creyeron siempre superior á todos sus dioses, y le invocaban levantando los ojos al cielo. En esta creencia se mantuvieron constantes hasta la llegada de los es-

From the fragments of the Chimalpopoca manuscript given by the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg we learn that the Creator—whoever he may have been—produced his work in successive epochs. In the sign Tochtli, the earth was created; in the sign Acatl was made the firmament, and in the sign Tecpatl the animals. Man it is added, was made and animated out of ashes or dust by God on the seventh day, Ehecatl, but finished and perfected by that mysterious personage Quetzalcoatl. However this account may be reconciled with itself or with others, it further appears that man was four times made and four times destroyed.[14]

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pañoles, como afirma Herrera, no solo los mejicanos, sino tambien los de Michoacan.' *Veytia, Historia Antigua de Méjico*, tom. i., p. 7. 'Los Tultecas alcanzaron y supieron la creacion del mundo, y como el Tloque Nahuaque lo crió y las demas cosas que hay en él, como son plantas, montes, animales, aves, agua y peces; asimismo supieron como crió Dios al hombre y una muger, de donde los hombres descendieron y se multiplicaron, y sobre esto añaden muchas fábulas que por escusar prolijidad no se ponen aqui.' *Ixtlilxochitl, Relaciones*, in Kingsborough, vol. ix., p. 321. 'Dios Criador, que en lengua Indiana llamò Tlòque Nahuàque, queriendo dàr à entender, que este Solo, Poderoso, y Clementissimo Dios.' *Boturini, Idea de una Hist.*, p. 79, 'Confessauan los Mexicanos a vn supremo Dios, Señor, y hazedor de todo, y este era el principal que venerauan, mirando al cielo, llamandole criador del cielo y tierra.' *Herrera, Hist. Gen* , dec. iii., lib. ii., cap. 15, p. 85. 'El dios que se llamaba Titlacaâon, (Tezcatlipuca), decian que era criador del cielo y de la tierra y era todo poderoso.' *Sahagun, Hist. Ant. Mex.*, tom. i., lib.iii., p. 241. 'Tezcatlipoca, Questo era il maggior Dio, che in que' paesi si adorava, dopo il Dio invisibile, o Supremo Essere, di cui abbiam ragionato.......Era il Dio della Providenza, l'anima del Mondo, il Creator del Cielo e della Terra, ed il Signor di tutte le cose.' *Clavigero, Storia Antica del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 7. 'La creacion del cielo y de la tierra aplicaban á diversos dioses, y algunos á Tezcatlipuca y á Uzilopuchtli, ó segun otros, Ocelopuchtli, y de los principales de Mexico.' *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, p. 81.

[14] 'Lorsque le ciel et la terre s'étaient faits, quatre fois déjà l'homme avait été formé....de cendres Dieu l'avait formé et animé.' The *Codex Chimalpopoca*, or *Chimalpopoca MS.*, after *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. des Nat. Civ.*, tom. i., p. 53. This Codex Chimalpopoca, so called by the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, is an anonymous manuscript in the Mexican language. What we really know of this much-talked-of document is little, and will be best given in the original form. The following is the first notice I find of this manuscript, with its appurtenances, being Boturini's description of it as possessed at one time by him. *Catálogo*, pp. 17–18. 'Una historia de los Reynos de Culhuàcan, y Mexico en lengua Nàhuatl, y papel Europèo de Autor Anonymo, y tiene añadida una Breve Relacion de los Dioses, y Ritos de la Gentilidad en lengua Castellana que escribiò el Bachiller Don Pedro Ponce, Indio Cazique Beneficiado, que fuè del Partido de Tzumpahuàcan. Está todo copiado de letra de Don Fernando de Alba, y le falta la primera foja.' With regard to the term *Nahuatl* used in this *Catalogue*, see id p. 9[illegible]: 'Los Manuscritos en lengua Nàhuatl, que en este Catálogo se citan, se entiende ser en lengua Mexicana!' This manuscript, or a copy of it, fell into the hands of the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg in the city of Mexico, in the year 1850, *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Bibliothèque Mexico-Guatémalienne, Intro-*

This may perhaps be looked upon as proceeding from what I have called for convenience the Toltecan school, though this particular fragment shows traces of Christian influence. What follows seems however to belong to a distinctively Mexican and ruder vein of thought. It is gathered from Mendieta, who was indebted again to Fray Andres de Olmos, one of the earliest missionaries among the Mexicans of whom he treats; and it is decidedly one of the most authentic accounts of such matters extant.

The Mexicans in most of the provinces were agreed that there was a god in heaven called Citlalatonac, and a goddess called Citlalicue;[15] and that this goddess had given birth to a flint knife, Tecpatl. Now she had many sons living with her in heaven, who seeing this extraordinary thing were alarmed, and flung the flint down to the earth. It fell in a place called Chicomoztoc, that is to say the Seven Caves, and there immediately sprang up from it one thousand six hundred gods. These gods being alone on the earth,—though as will hereafter appear, there had been men in the world at a former period,—sent up their messenger Tlotli, the Hawk, to pray their mother to empower them to create men, so that they might have servants as became their lineage. Citlalicue seemed to be a little

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duction, p. xxi., and the learned Abbé describes it as follows:—'Codex Chimalpopoca (Copie du), contenant les Epoques, dites Histoire des Soleils et l'Histoire des Royaumes de Colhuacan et de Mexico, texte Mexicain (corrigé d'après celui de M. Aubin), avec un essai de traduction française en regard. gr. in 4°—Manuscrit de 93 ff., copié et traduit par le signataire de la bibliothèque. C'est la copie du document marqué au n° 13, § viii., du catalogue de Boturini, sous le titre de: Historia de los Reynos de Colhuacan y Mexico, etc. Ce document, où pour la première fois j'ai soulevé le voile énigmatique qui recouvrait les symboles de la religion et de l'histoire du Mexique et le plus important de tous ceux qui nous soient restés des annales antiques mexicaines. Il renferme chronologiquement l'histoire géologique du monde, par séries de 13 ans, à commencer de plus de dix mille ans avant l'ère chrétienne, suivant les calculs mexicains.' *Id.*, p. 47.

[15] Otherwise called, according to Clavigero, the god *Ometeuctli*, and the goddess *Omecihuatl*. Ternaux-Compans says: 'Les noms d'Ometeuctli et d'Omecihuatl ne se trouvent nulle part ailleurs dans la mythologie mexicaine; mais on pourrait les expliquer par l'étymologie. *Ome* signifie deux en mexicain, et tous les auteurs sont d'accord pour traduire littéralement leur nom par deux seigneurs et deux dames.' *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. lxxxvi., 1840, p. 7.

ashamed of these sons of hers, born in so strange a manner, and she twitted them cruelly enough on what they could hardly help: Had you been what you ought to have been, she exclaimed, you would still be in my company. Nevertheless she told them what to do in the matter of obtaining their desire: Go beg of Mictlanteuctli, Lord of Hades, that he may give you a bone or some ashes of the dead that are with him; which having received you shall sacrifice over it, sprinkling blood from your own bodies. And the fallen gods having consulted together, sent one of their number, called Xolotl,[16] down to hades as their mother had advised. He succeeded in getting a bone of six feet long from Mictlanteuctli; and then, wary of his grisly host, he took an abrupt departure, running at the top of his speed. Wroth at this, the infernal chief gave chase; not causing to Xolotl, however, any more serious inconvenience than a hasty fall in which the bone was broken in pieces. The messenger gathered up what he could in all haste, and despite his stumble made his escape. Reaching the earth, he put the fragments of bone into a basin, and all the gods drew blood from their bodies and sprinkled it into the vessel. On the fourth day there was a movement among the wetted bones and a boy lay there before all; and in four days more, the blood-letting and sprinkling being still kept up, a girl was lifted from the ghastly dish. The children were given to Xolotl to bring up; and he fed then on the juice of the maguey.[17] Increasing in stature, they became man and woman; and from them are the people of the present day descended, who, even as the primordial bone was broken into unequal pieces, vary in size and shape. The name of this first man was Iztacmixcuatl, and the name of his wife Ilancueitl,[18] and they had six sons born to them, whose descendants, with their god-masters, in process of time moved eastward from their original home, almost universally described as having been towards Jalisco.

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[16] *Xolotl*, 'servant or page.'--*Molina, Vocabulario en lengua Castellana Mexicana.* Not 'eye' as some scholiasts have it.

[17] Literally, in the earliest copy of the myth that I have seen, *the milk of the thistle*, 'la leche de cardo,' which term has been repeated blindly, and apparently without any idea of its meaning, by the various writers that have followed. The old authorities, however, and especially Mendieta, from whom I take the legend, were in the habit of calling the maguey a thistle; and indeed the tremendous prickles of the Mexican plant may lay good claim to the *Nemo me impune lacessit* of the Scottish emblem. 'Maguey, que es el cardon de donde sacan la miel.' *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles*, p. 110. 'Metl es un arbol ó cardo que en lengua de las Islas se llama maguey.' *Motolinia, Hist. de los Ind.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. de Doc.*, tom. i., p. 243. 'Et similmente-cogliono le foglie di questo albero, ò cardo che si tengono là, come qua le vigne, et chiamanlo magueis.' *Relatione fatta per un Gentil'huomo del Signor Cortese*, in *Ramusio Viaggi*, tom. iii., fol. 307.

Now there had been no sun in existence for many years; so the gods being assembled in a place called Teotihuacan, six leagues from Mexico, and gathered at the time round a great fire, told their devotees that he of them who should first cast himself into that fire, should have the honor of being transformed into a sun. So one of them called Nanahuatzin,—either as most say, out of pure bravery, or as Sahagun relates, because his life had become a burden to him through a syphilitic disease,—flung himself into the fire. Then the gods began to peer through the gloom in all directions for the expected light and to make bets as to what part of heaven he should first appear in. And some said Here, and some said There; but when the sun rose they were all proved wrong, for not one of them had fixed upon the east.[19] And in that same hour, though they knew it

[18] Motolinia in *Icazbalceta*, *Col.* tom. i., pp. 6-10, says this first man and woman were begotten between the rain and the dust of the earth—'engendrada de la lluvia y del polvo de la tierra'—and in other ways adds to the perplexity; so that I am well inclined to agree with Müller, *Amerikanische Urreligionen*, p. 518, when he says these cosmogonical myths display marks of local origin and of the subsequent fusion of several legends into an incongruous whole. 'Aus dieser Menge von Verschiedenheiten in diesen Kosmogonien ist ersichtlich, dass viele Lokalmythen hier wie in Peru uuabhängig von einauder entstanden die man äusserlich mit einander verband, die aber in mancherlei Widersprüchen auch noch später ihre ursprüngliche Unabhängigkeit zu erkennen geben.'

[19] Here, as elsewhere in this legend we follow Andres de Olmos' account as given by Mendieta. Sahagun, however differs from it a good deal in places. At this point for example, he mentions some notable personages who guessed right about the rising of the sun:—'Otros se pusieron á mirar ácia el oriente, y digeron aquí, de esta parte ha de salir el Sol. El dicho de estos fué verdadero. Dicen que los que miraron ácia el Oriente, fueron Quetzalcoatl, que tambien se llama Ecatl, y otro que se llama Totec, y por otro nombre Anaoatlytecu, y por otro nombre Tlatavictezcatlipuca, y otros que se llaman Minizcoa,' or as in Kingsborough's edition, *Mex. Antiq*, vol. vii., p. 186. 'por

not, the decree went forth that they should all die by sacrifice.

The sun had risen indeed, and with a glory of the cruel fire about him that not even the eyes of the gods could endure; but he moved not. There he lay on the horizon; and when the deities sent Tlotli their messenger to him, with orders that he should go on upon his way, his ominous answer was, that he would never leave that place till he had destroyed and put an end to them all. Then a great fear fell upon some, while others were moved only to anger; and among the latter was one Citli, who immediately strung his bow and advanced against the glittering enemy. By quickly lowering his head the Sun avoided the first arrow shot at him; but the second and third had attained his body in quick succession, when, filled with fury, he seized the last and launched it back upon his assailant. And the brave Citli laid shaft to string nevermore, for the arrow of the sun pierced his forehead.

Then all was dismay in the assembly of the gods, and despair filled their heart, for they saw that they could not prevail against the shining one; and they agreed to die, and to cut themselves open through the breast. Xolotl was appointed minister, and he killed his companions one by one, and last of all he slew himself also.[20] So they died like gods; and each left to the sad and wondering men who were his servants, his garments for a memorial. And these servants made up, each party, a bundle of the raiment that had been left to

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otro nombre Anaoatl y Tecu, y por otro nombre Tlatavictezcatlipuca, y otros que se llaman Mimizcoa, que son inumerables; y cuatro mugeres, la una se llama Tiacapan, la otra Teicu, la tercera Tlacoeoa, la cuarta Xocoyotl.' *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. viii., p. 248.

[20] Besides differences of authorities already noticed, I may add that Sahagun describes the personage who became the sun,—as well as him who, as we shall soon see, became the moon,—as belonging before his transformation to the number of the gods, and not as one of the men who served them. Further, in recounting the death of the gods, Sahagun says that to the Air, Ecatl, Quetzalcoatl, was alloted the task of killing the rest; nor does it appear that Quetzalcoatl killed himself. As to Xolotl, he plays quite a cowardly part in this version; trying to elude his death, he transformed himself into various things, and was only at last taken and killed under the form of a fish called *Axolotl*.

them, binding it about a stick into which they had bedded a small green stone to serve as a heart. These bundles were called *tlaquimilloli*, and each bore the name of that god whose memorial it was; and these things were more reverenced than the ordinary gods of stone and wood of the country. Fray Andres de Olmos found one of these relics in Tlalmanalco, wrapped up in many cloths, and half rotten with being kept hid so long.[21]

Immediately on the death of the gods the sun began his motion in the heavens; and a man called Tecuzistecatl, or Tezcociztecatl, who, when Nanahuatzin leaped into the fire, had retired into a cave, now emerged from his concealment as the moon. Others say that instead of going into a cave, this Tecuzistecatl, had leaped into the fire after Nanahuatzin, but that, the heat of the fire being somewhat abated, he had come out less brilliant than the sun. Still another variation is, that the sun and moon came out equally bright, but this not seeming good to the gods, one of them took a rabbit by the heels and slung it into the face of the moon, dimming its lustre with a blotch whose mark may be seen to this day.

After the gods had died in the way herein related, leaving their garments behind as relics, those servants went about everywhere, bearing these relics like bundles upon their shoulders, very sad and pensive and wondering if ever again they would see their departed gods. Now the name of one of these deceased deities was Tezcatlipoca, and his servant having arrived at the sea coast, was favored with an apparition of his master in three different shapes. And Tezcatlipoca spake to his servant saying: Come hither, thou that lovest me so well, that I may tell thee what thou hast to do. Go now to the House of the Sun and fetch thence singers and instruments so that thou mayest make me a festival; but first call upon the whale, and upon the siren, and upon the tortoise, and they shall make thee a bridge to the sun.

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[21] This kind of idol answers evidently to the mysterious 'Envelope' of the Quiché myth. See also note 9.

Then was all this done; and the messenger went across the sea upon his living bridge, towards the House of the Sun, singing what he had to say. And the Sun heard the song, and he straitly charged his people and servants, saying: See now that ye make no response to this chant, for whoever replies to it must be taken away by the singer. But the song was so exceeding sweet that some of them could not but answer, and they were lured away, bearing with them the drum, *teponaztli*, and the kettle-drum, *vevetl.* Such was the origin of the festivals and the dances to the gods; and the songs sung during these dances they held as prayers, singing them always with great accuracy of intonation and time:

In their oral traditions, the Tezcucans agreed with the usual Mexican account of creation—the falling of the flint from heaven to earth, and so on—but what they afterward showed in a picture, and explained to Fray Andres de Olmos as the manner of the creation of mankind, was this: The event took place in the land of Aculma, on the Tezcucan boundary at a distance of two leagues from Tezcuco and of five from Mexico. It is said that the sun, being at the hour of nine, cast a dart into the earth at the place we have mentioned and made a hole; from this hole a man came out, the first man and somewhat imperfect withal, as there was no more of him than from the arm-pits up, much like the conventional European cherub, only without wings. After that the woman came up out of the hole. The rest of the story was not considered proper for printing by Mendieta; but at any rate from these two are mankind descended. The name of the first man was Aculmaitl,—that is to say, *aculli*, shoulder, and *maitl*, hand or arm,—and from him the town of Aculma is said to take its name.[22] And this etymology seems to make it probable that the details of this myth are derived, to some extent, from the name of the place in which it was located; or that the name of the first man belonging to an early phase of the language, has been misunderstood, and that to the false etymology the details of the myth are owing.

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[22] Besides the Chimalpopoca manuscript, the earliest summaries of the Mexican creation-myths are to be found in *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, pp. 77–81; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. iii., p. 233, tom. ii., lib. vii., pp. 246–250; *Boturini, Idea de una Hist.*, pp. 37–43; *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. i., pp. 31–5, tom. ii., pp. 76–8; *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., pp. 8–10.

As already stated there had been men on the earth previous to that final and perfect creation of man from the bone supplied by Mictlanteuctli, and wetted by the gods with their own blood at the place of the Seven Caves. These men had been swept away by a succession of great destructions. With regard to the number of these destructions it is hard to speak positively, as on no single point in the wide range of early American religion, does there exist so much difference of opinion. All the way from twice to five times, following different accounts, has the world been desolated by tremendous convulsions of nature. I follow most closely the version of the Tezcucan historian Ixtlilxochitl, as being one of the earliest accounts, as, prima facie, from its origin, one of the most authentic, and as being supported by a majority of respectable historians up to the time of Humboldt.

Of the creation which ushered in the first age we know nothing; we are only told by Boturini, that giants then began to appear on the earth. This First Age, or 'sun,' was called the Sun of the Water, and it was ended by a tremendous flood in which every living thing perished, or was transformed, except, following some accounts, one man and one woman of the giant race, of whose escape more hereafter. The Second Age, called the Sun of the Earth, was closed with earthquakes, yawnings of the earth, and the overthrow of the highest mountains. Giants, or Quinamés, a powerful and haughty race still appear to be the only inhabitants of the world. The Third Age was the Sun of the Air. It was ended by tempests and hurricanes, so destructive that few indeed of the inhabitants of the earth were left; and those that were saved, lost, according to the Tlascaltec account, their reason and speech, becoming monkeys.

The present is the Fourth Age. To it appear to belong the falling of the goddess-born flint from heaven, the birth of the sixteen hundred heroes from that flint, the birth of mankind from the bone brought from hades, the transformation of Nanahuatzin into the sun, the transformation of Tezcatecatl into the moon, and the death of the sixteen hundred heroes or gods. It is called the Sun of Fire, and is to be ended by a universal conflagration.[23]

Connected with the great flood of water, there is a

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[23] *Ixtlilxochitl*, *Hist. Chichimeca* in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. ix., pp. 205–6. The same author, in his *Relaciones*, *Ib.* pp. 321–2, either through his own carelessness or that of a transcriber, transposes the second and third Ages. To see that it is an oversight of some sort, we have but to pass to the summary he gives at the end of these same *Relaciones*, *Ib.*, p. 459, where the account is again found in strict agreement with the version given in the text. Camargo, *Hist. de Tlax.* in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. xcix., 1843, p. 132, giving as we may suppose the Tlascaltec version of the general Mexican myth, agrees with Ixtlilxochitl as to the whole number of Ages, following, however, the order of the error above noticed in the *Relaciones*. The Tlascaltec historian, moreover, affirms that only two of these Ages are past, and that the third and fourth destructions are yet to come. M. Ternaux-Compans, *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. lxxxvi., 1840, p. 5, adopts this Tlascaltec account as the general Mexican tradition; he is followed by Dr. Prichard, *Researches*, vol v., pp., 360-1. Dr. Prichard cites Bradford as supporting the same opinion, but erroneously, as Bradford. *Am. Antiq.*, p. 328, follows Humboldt. Boturini, *Idea de una Hist.*, p. 3, and Clavigero, *Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 57, agree exactly with the text. The Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg also accepts the version of three past destructions, *S'il existe des Sources de l'Hist. Prim.*, pp. 26–7. Professor J. G. Müller, *Amerikanische Urreligionen*, pp. 510–12, admits that the version of three past destructions and one to come, as given in the text, and in the order there given, 'seems to be the most ancient Mexican version;' though he decides to follow Humboldt, and adopts what he calls the 'latest and fullest form of the myth.' The *Spiegazione delle Tavole del Codice Mexicano* [Vaticano] contradicts itself, giving first two past destructions, and farther on four, *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., pp. 163–7; as does also the *Explic. del Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, *Ib.*, pp. 134–6. Kingsborough himself seems to favor the idea of three past destructions and four ages in all; see *Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vi., p. 171, note. Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, fol. 297–8; Leon y Gama, *Dos Piedras*, parte i., pp. 94–5; Humboldt, *Vues.*, tom. ii., pp. 118–129; Prescott, *Conq. of Mex.*, vol. i., p. 61; Gallatin, in *Am. Ethnol. Soc. Transact.*, vol. i., p. 325,—describe four past destructions and one yet to come, or five Ages, and the Chimalpopoca MS., see note 13, seems also to favor this opinion. Lastly, Mendieta, *Hist. Ecles.*, p. 81, declares that the Mexicans believe in five Suns, or Ages, in times past; but these suns were of inferior quality, so that the soil produced its fruits only in a crude and imperfect state. The consequence was that in every case the inhabitants of the world died through the eating of divers things. This present and sixth Sun was good, however, and under its influence all things were produced properly. Torquemada—who has, indeed, been all along appropriating, by whole chapters, the so long inedited work of Mendieta; and that, if we believe Icazbalceta, *Hist. Ecles.*, *Noticias del Autor.*, pp. xxx. to xlv., under circumstances of peculiar turpitude—of course gives also five past Ages, repeating Mendieta word for word with the exception of a single 'la.' *Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., p. 79.

Mexican tradition presenting some analogies to the story of Noah and his ark. In most of the painted manuscripts supposed to relate to this event, a kind of boat is represented floating over the waste of water, and containing a man and a woman. Even the Tlascaltecs, the Zapotecs, the Miztecs, and the people of Michoacan are said to have had such pictures. The man is variously called Coxcox, Teocipactli, Tezpi, and Nata; the woman Xochiquetzal and Nena.[24]

The following has been usually accepted as the ordinary Mexican version of this myth: In Atonatiuh, the Age of Water, a great flood covered all the face of the earth, and the inhabitants thereof were turned into fishes. Only one man and one woman escaped, saving themselves in the hollow trunk of an *ahahuete* or bald cypress; the name of the man being Coxcox, and that of of his wife Xochiquetzal. On the waters abating a little they grounded their ark on the Peak of Colhuacan, the Ararat of Mexico. Here they increased and multiplied, and children began to gather about them, children who were all born dumb. And a dove came and gave them tongues, innumerable languages. Only fifteen of the descendants of Coxcox, who afterward became heads of families, spake the same language or could at all understand each other; and from these fifteen are descended the Toltecs, the Aztecs, and the Acolhúas. This dove is not the only bird mentioned in these deluvial traditions, and must by no means be confounded with the birds of another palpably Christianized story. For in Michoacan a tradition was preserved, following which the name of the Mexican Noah was Tezpi. With better fortune than that ascribed to Coxcox, he was able to save, in a spacious vessel, not only himself and his wife, but also his children, several animals, and a quantity of grain for the common use. When the waters began to subside, he sent out a vulture that it might go to and fro on the earth and bring him word again when the dry land began to appear. But the vulture fed upon the carcasses that were strewed in every part, and never returned. Then Tezpi sent out other birds, and among these was a humming-bird. And when the sun began to cover the earth with a new verdure, the humming-bird returned to its old refuge bearing green leaves. And Tezpi saw that his vessel was aground near the mountain of Colhuacan and he landed there.

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[24] Professor J. G. Müller, *Amerikanische Urreligionen*, p. 568, remarks of these two personages: 'Rein nordisch ist der chichimekische Coxcox, der schon bei der Fluthsage genannt wurde, der Tezpi der Mechoakaner. Das ist auch ursprünglich ein Wassergott und Fischgott, darum trägt er auch den Namen Cipactli, Fisch, Teocipactli, göttlicher Fisch, Huehuetonacateocipactli, alter Fischgott von unserem Fleisch. Darum ist auch seine Gattin eine Pflanzengöttin mit Namen Xochiquetzal d. h. geflügelte Blume.'

The Mexicans round Cholula had a special legend, connecting the escape of a remnant from the great deluge with the often-mentioned story of the origin of the people of Anáhuac from Chicomoztoc, or the Seven Caves. At the time of the cataclysm, the country, according to Pedro de los Rios, was inhabited by giants. Some of these perished utterly; others were changed into fishes; while seven brothers of them found safety by closing themselves into certain caves in a mountain called Tlaloc. When the waters were assuaged, one of the giants, Xelhua, surnamed the Architect, went to Cholula and began to build an artificial mountain, as a monument and a memorial of the Tlaloc that had sheltered him and his when the angry waters swept through all the land. The bricks were made in Tlamanalco, at the foot of the Sierra de Cocotl, and passed to Cholula from hand to hand along a file of men—whence these came is not said—stretching between the two places. Then were the jealousy and the anger of the gods aroused, as the huge pyramid rose slowly up, threatening to reach the clouds and the great heaven itself; and the gods launched their fire upon the builders and slew many, so that the work was stopped.[25] But the half-finished structure, afterwards dedicated by the Cholultecs to Quetzalcoatl, still remains to show how well Xelhua, the giant, deserved his surname of the Architect.

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[25] *Boturini*, *Idea de una Hist.* pp. 113-4; *Id.*, *Catálogo*, pp. 39-40; *Clavigero*, *Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. i., pp. 129-30, tom. ii., p. 6; *Spiegazione delle Tavole del Codice Mexicano* [Vaticano] tav. vii., in *Kingsborough's Mex-Ant.*, vol. v., pp. 164-5; *Gemelli Carreri*, in *Churchill's Col. Voy.*, vol. iv., p. 481; *Humboldt*, *Vues.*, tom. i., pp. 114-15, tom ii., pp., 175-8; *Tylor's Ana.*

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huac, pp. 276-7; *Gondra*, in *Prescott, Conquista de Mexico*, tom. iii., pp. 1-10. A careful comparison of the passages given above will show that this whole story of the escape of Coxcox and his wife in a boat from a great deluge, and of the distribution by a bird of different languages to their descendants, rests on the interpretation of certain Aztec paintings, containing supposed pictures of a flood, of Coxcox and his wife, of a canoe or rude vessel of some kind, of the mountain Culhuacan, which was the Mexican Ararat, and of a bird distributing languages to a number of men. Not one of the earliest writers on Mexican mythology, none of those personally familiar with the natives and with their oral traditions as existing at the time of, or immediately after the conquest, seems to have known this legend; Olmos, Sahagun, Motolinia, Mendieta, Ixtlilxochitl, and Camargo, are all of them silent with regard to it. These facts must give rise to grave suspicions with regard to the accuracy of the commonly accepted version, notwithstanding its apparently implicit reception up to this time by the most critical historians. These suspicions will not be lessened by the result of the researches of Don José Fernando Ramirez, Conservator of the Mexican National Museum, a gentleman not less remarkable for his familiarity with the language and antiquities of Mexico than for the moderation and calmness of his critical judgments, as far as these are known. In a communication dated April, 1858, to Garcia y Cubas, *Atlas Geográfico, Estadístico e Histórico de la República Mejicana*, entrega 29, speaking of the celebrated Mexican picture there for the first time, as he claims, accurately given to the public,—Sigüenza's copy of it, as given by Gemelli Carerri, that given by Clavigero in his *Storia del Messico*, that given by Humboldt in his *Atlas Pittoresque*, and that given by Kingsborough being all incorrect,—Señor Ramirez says:—The authority of writers so competent as Sigüenza and Clavigero imposed silence on the incredulous, and after the illustrious Baron von Humboldt added his irresistible authority, adopting that interpretation, nobody doubted that "the traditions of the Hebrews were found among the people of America;" that, as the wise Baron thought, "their Coxcox, Teocipactli, or Tezpi is the Noah, Xisutrus, or Menou of the Asiatic families;" and that "the Cerro of Culhuacan is the Ararat of the Mexicans." Grand and magnificent thought, but unfortunately only a delusion. The blue square No. 1, with its bands or obscure lines of the same color, cannot represent the terrestrial globe covered with the waters of the flood, because we should have to suppose a repetition of the same deluge in the figure No. 40, where it is reproduced with some of its principal accidents. Neither, for the same reason, do the human heads and the heads of birds which appear to float there, denote the submerging of men and animals, for it would be necessary to give the same explanation to those seen in group No. 39. It might be argued that the group to the left (of No. 1), made up of a human head placed under the head of a bird, represented phonetically the name Coxcox, and denoted the Aztec Noah; but the group on the right, formed of a woman's head with other symbolic figures above it, evidently does not express the name Xochiquetzal, which is said to have been that of his wife.....Let us now pass on to the dove giving tongues to the primitive men who were born mute. The commas which seem to come from the beak of the bird there represented, form one of the most complex and varied symbols, in respect to their phonetic force, which are found in our hieroglyphic writing. In connection with animated beings they designate generically the emission of the voice....In the group before us they denote purely and simply that the bird was singing or speaking—to whom?—to the group of persons before it, who by the direction of their faces and bodies show clearly and distinctly the attention with which they listened. Consequently the designer of the before-mentioned drawing for Clavigero, Yet another record remains to us of a traditional Mexican deluge, in the following extract from the Chimalpopoca Manuscript. Its words seem to have a familiar sound; but it would hardly be scientific to draw from such a fragment any very sweeping conclusion as to its relationship, whether that be Quiché or Christian:—

When the Sun, or Age, Nahui-Atl came, there had passed already four hundred years; then came two hundred years, then seventy and six, and then mankind were lost and drowned and turned into fishes. The waters and the sky drew near each other; in a single day all was lost; the day Four Flower consumed all that there was of our flesh. And this year was the year Ce-Calli; on the first day, Nahui-Atl, all was lost. The very mountains were swallowed up in the flood and the waters remained, lying tranquil during fifty and two spring-times. But before the flood began, Titlacahuan had warned the man Nata and his wife Nena, saying:

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pre-occupied with the idea of signifying by it the pretended confusion of tongues, changed with his pencil the historic truth, giving to these figures opposite directions. Examining attentively the inexactitudes and errors of the graver and the pencil in all historical engravings relating to Mexico, it is seen that they are no less numerous and serious than those of the pen. The interpretations given to the ancient Mexican paintings by ardent imaginations led away by love of novelty or by the spirit of system, justify to a certain point the distrust and disfavor with which the last and most distinguished historian of the Conquest of Mexico (W. H. Prescott) has treated this interesting and precious class of historical documents. Señor Ramirez goes on thus at some length to his conclusions, which reduce the original painting to a simple record of a wandering of the Mexicans among the lakes of the Mexican valley,—that journey beginning at a place 'not more than nine miles from the gutters of Mexico,'—a record having absolutely no connection either with the mythical deluge, already described as one of the four destructions of the world, or with any other. The bird speaking in the picture, he connects with a well-known Mexican fable given by Torquemada, in which a bird is described as speaking from a tree to the leaders of the Mexicans at a certain stage of their migration, and repeating the work *Tihui*, that is to say, 'Let us go.' A little bird called the *Tihuitochan*, with a cry that the vulgar still interpret in a somewhat similar sense, is well known in Mexico, and is perhaps at the bottom of the tradition. It may be added that Torquemada gives a painted manuscript, possibly that under discussion, as his authority for the story. The boat, the mountain, and the other adjuncts of the picture are explained in a like simple way, as the hieroglyphics, for the most part, of various proper names. Our space here will not permit further details,—though another volume will contain this picture and a further discussion of the subject,—but I may remark in concluding that the moderation with which Señor Ramirez discusses the question, as well as his great experience and learning in matters of Mexican antiquity, seem to claim for his views the serious consideration of future students.

Make now no more pulque, but hollow out to yourselves a great cypress, into which you shall enter when, in the month Tozoztli, the waters shall near the sky. Then they entered into it, and when Titlacahuan had shut them in, he said to the man: Thou shalt eat but a single ear of maize, and thy wife but one also. And when they had finished eating, each an ear of maize, they prepared to set forth, for the waters remained tranquil and their log moved no longer; and opening it they began to see the fishes. Then they lit a fire, rubbing pieces of wood together, and they roasted fish. And behold the deities Citlallinicué and Citlallatonac looking down from above, cried out: O divine Lord! what is this fire that they make there? wherefore do they so fill the heaven with smoke? And immediately Titlacahuan Tetzcatlipoca came down, and set himself to grumble, saying: What does this fire here? Then he seized the fishes and fashioned them behind and before, and changed them into dogs.[26]

We turn now to the traditions of some nations situated on the outskirts of the Mexican Empire, traditions differing from those of Mexico, if not in their elements, at least in the combination of those elements. Following our usual custom, I give the following legend belonging to the Miztecs just as they themselves were accustomed to depict and to interpret it in their primitive scrolls:—[27]

In the year and in the day of obscurity and darkness, yea even before the days or the years were, when the world was in a great darkness and chaos, when the earth was covered with water and there was nothing but mud and slime on all the face of the earth,—behold a god became visible, and his name was the Deer, and his surname was the Lion-Snake. There appeared also a very beautiful goddess called the Deer, and surnamed the Tiger-Snake.[26] These two gods were the origin and begining of all the gods.

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[26] Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Hist. des Nat. Civ.*, tom. i., pp. 425–7.

[27] Fr. Gregorio Garcia, *Origen de los Ind.*, pp. 327–9, took this narrative from a book he found in a convent in Cuilapa, a little Indian town about a league and a half south of Oajaca. The book had been compiled by the vicar of that convent, and—'escrito con sus Figuras, como los Indios de aquel Reino Mixteco las tenian en sus Libros, ò Pergaminos arrollados, con la declaracion de lo que significaban las Figuras, en que contaban su Origen, la Creacion del Mundo, i Diluvio General.'

Now when these two gods became visible in the world, they made, in their knowledge and omnipotence, a great rock, upon which they built a very sumptuous palace, a masterpiece of skill, in which they made their abode upon earth. On the highest part of this building there was an axe of copper, the edge being uppermost, and on this axe the heavens rested.

This rock and the palace of the gods were on a mountain in the neighborhood of the town of Apoala in the province of Mizteca Alta. The rock was called The Place of Heaven; there the gods first abode on earth, living many years in great rest and content, as in a happy and delicious land, though the world still lay in obscurity and darkness.

The father and mother of all the gods being here in their place, two sons were born to them, very handsome and very learned in all wisdom and arts. The first was called the Wind of Nine Snakes, after the name of the day on which he was born; and the second was called, in like manner, the Wind of Nine Caves. Very daintily indeed were these youths brought up. When the elder wished to amuse himself, he took the form of an eagle, flying thus far and wide; the younger turned himself into a small beast of a serpent shape, having wings that he used with such agility and sleight that he became invisible, and flew through rocks and walls even as through the air. As they went, the din and clamor of these brethren was heard by those over whom they passed. They took these figures to manifest the power that was in them, both in transforming themselves and in resuming again their original shape. And they abode in great peace in the mansion of their parents, so they agreed to make a sacrifice and an offering to these gods, to their father and to their mother. Then they took each a censer of clay, and put fire therein, and poured in ground *beleño* for incense; and this offering was the first that had ever been made in the world. Next the brothers made to themselves a garden, in which they put many trees, and fruit-trees, and flowers, and roses, and odorous herbs of different kinds. Joined to this garden they laid out a very beautiful meadow, which they fitted up with all things necessary for offering sacrifice to the gods. In this manner the two brethren left their parents' house, and fixed themselves in this garden to dress it and to keep it, watering the trees and the plants and the odorous herbs, multiplying them, and burning incense of powder of beleño in censers of clay to the gods, their father and mother. They made also vows to these gods, and promises, praying that it might seem good to them to shape the firmament and lighten the darkness of the world, and to establish the foundation of the earth, or rather to gather the waters together so that the earth might appear,—as they had no place to rest in save only one little garden. And to make their prayers more obligatory upon the gods, they pierced their ears and tongues with flakes of flint, sprinkling the blood that dropped from the wounds over the trees and plants of the garden with a willow branch, as a sacred and blessed thing. After this sort they employed themselves, postponing pleasure till the time of the granting of their desire, remaining always in subjection to the gods, their father and mother, and attributing to them more power and divinity than they really possessed.

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[26] 'Que aparecieron visiblemente un Dios, que tuvo por Nombre *un Ciervo*, i por sobrenombre *Culebra de Leon;* i una Diosa mui linda, i hermosa, que su Nombre fue *un Ciervo* : por sobrenombre *Culebra de Tigre.*' *Garcia*, *Id.*, pp. 3-7-9

Fray Garcia here makes a break in the relation,—that he may not weary his readers with so many absurdities,—but it would appear that the firmament was arranged and the earth made fit for mankind, who about that time must also have made their appearance. For there came a great deluge afterwards, wherein perished many of the sons and daughters that had been born to the gods; and it is said that when the deluge was passed the human race was restored as at the first, and the Miztec kingdom populated, and the heavens and the earth established.

This we may suppose to have been the traditional origin of the common people; but the governing family of Mizteca proclaimed themselves the descendants of two youths born from two majestic trees that stood at the entrance of the gorge of Apoala, and that maintained themselves there despite a violent wind continually rising from a cavern in the vicinity.

Whether the trees of themselves produced these youths, or whether some primeval Æsir, as in the Scandinavian story, gave them shape and blood and breath and sense, we know not. We are only told that soon or late the youths separated, each going his own way to conquer lands for himself. The braver of the two coming to the vicinity of Tilantongo, armed with buckler and bow, was much vexed and oppressed by the ardent rays of the sun, which he took to be the lord of that district striving to prevent his entrance therein. Then the young warrior strung his bow, and advanced his buckler before him, and drew shafts from his quiver. He shot there against the great light even till the going down of the same; then he took possession of all that land, seeing he had grievously wounded the sun, and forced him to hide behind the mountains. Upon this story is founded the lordship of all the caciques of Mizteca, and upon their descent from this mighty archer their ancestor. Even to this day, the chiefs of the Miztecs blazon as their arms a plumed chief with bow, arrows, and shield, and the sun in front of him setting behind gray clouds.[29]

Of the origin of the Zapotecs, a people bordering on these Miztecs, Burgoa says, with a touching simplicity, that he could find no account worthy of belief. Their historical paintings he ascribes to the invention of the devil, affirming hotly that these people were blinder in such vanities than the Egyptians and the Chaldeans.

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[29] *Burgoa, Geog. Descrip.*, tom i., fol. 128, 176.

Some, he said, to boast of their valor made themselves out the sons of lions and divers wild beasts; others, grand lords of ancient lineage, were produced by the greatest and most shady trees; while still others of an unyielding and obstinate nature, were descended from rocks. Their language, continues the worthy Provincial, striking suddenly and by an undirected shot the very center of mythological interpretation,—their language was full of metaphors; those who wished to persuade spake always in parables, and in like manner painted their historians.[30]

In Guatemala, according to the relations given to Father Gerónimo Roman by the natives, it was believed there was a time when nothing existed but a certain divine Father called Xchmel, and a divine Mother called Xtmana. To these were born three sons,[31] the eldest of whom, filled with pride and presumption, set about a creation contrary to the will of his parents. But he could create nothing save old vessels fit for mean uses, such as earthen pots, jugs, and things still more despicable; and he was hurled into hades. Then the two younger brethren, called respectively Hunchevan and Hunavan, prayed their parents for permission to attempt the work in which their brother had failed so signally. And they were granted leave, being told at the same time, that inasmuch as they had humbled themselves, they would succeed in their undertaking. Then they made the heavens, and the earth with the plants thereon, and fire and air, and out of the earth itself they made a man and a woman,—presumably the parents of the human race.

According to Torquemada, there was a deluge some time after this, and after the deluge the people continued to invoke as god the great Father and the great Mother already mentioned. But at last a principal woman[32] among them, having received a revelation from heaven, taught them the true name of God, and how that name should be adored; all this, however, they afterward forgot.[33]

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[30] *Burgoa, Geog. Descrip.*, fol. 196-7.

[31] One of the Las Casas MSS, gives, according to Helps, 'trece hijos' instead of 'tres hijos;' the latter, however, being the correct reading, as the list of names in the same manuscript shows, and as Father Roman gives it. See note 33.

In Nicaragua, a country where the principal language was a Mexican dialect, it was believed that ages ago the world was destroyed by a flood in which the most part of mankind perished. Afterward the *teotes*, or gods, restocked the earth as at the beginning. Whence came the teotes, no one knows; but the names of two of them who took a principal part in the creation were Tamagostat and Cipattonal.[34]

Leaving now the Central American region we pass north into the Papago country, lying south of the Gila, with the river Santa Cruz on the east and the Gulf of California on the west. Here we meet for the first time the coyote, or prairie wolf; we find him much more than an animal, something more even than a man, only a little lower than the gods. In the following Papago myth[35] he figures as a prophet, and as a minister and assistant to a certain great hero-god Montezuma, whom we are destined to meet often, and in many characters, as a central figure in the myths of the Gila valley:—

The Great Spirit made the earth and all living things, before he made man. And he descended from heaven, and digging in the earth, found clay such as the potters use, which, having again ascended into the sky, he dropped into the hole that he had dug. Immediately there came out Montezuma and, with the assistance of Montezuma, the rest of the Indian tribes in order. Last of all came the Apaches, wild from their natal hour, running away as fast as they were created. Those first days of the world were happy and peaceful days. The sun was nearer the earth than he is now; his grateful rays made all the seasons equal, and rendered garments unnecessary. Men and beasts talked together, a common language made all brethren. But an awful destruction ended this happy age. A great flood destroyed all flesh wherein was the breath of life; Montezuma and his friend the Coyote alone escaping. For before the flood began, the Coyote prophesied its coming, and Montezuma took the warning and hollowed out a boat to himself, keeping it ready on the topmost summit of Santa Rosa. The Coyote also prepared an ark; gnawing down a great cane by the river bank, entering it, and stopping up the end with a certain gum. So when the waters rose these two saved themselves, and met again at last on dry land after the flood had passed away. Naturally enough Montezuma was now anxious to know how much dry land had been left, and he sent the Coyote off on four successive journeys, to find exactly where the sea lay toward each of the four winds. From the west and from the south, the answer swiftly came: The sea is at hand. A longer search was that made towards the east, but at last there too was the sea found. On the north only was no water found, though the faithful messenger almost wearied himself out with searching. In the meantime the Great Spirit, aided by Montezuma, had again repeopled the world, and animals and men began to increase and multiply. To Montezuma had been allotted the care and government of the new race; but puffed up with pride and self importance, he neglected the most important duties of his onerous position, and suffered the most disgraceful wickedness to pass unnoticed among the people. In vain the Great Spirit came down to earth and remonstrated with his vicegerent, who only scorned his laws and advice, and ended at last by breaking out into open rebellion. Then indeed the Great Spirit was filled with anger, and he returned to heaven, pushing back the sun on his way, to that remote part of the sky he now occupies. But Montezuma hardened his heart, and collecting all the tribes to aid him, set about building a house that should reach up to heaven itself. Already it had attained a great height, and contained many apartments lined with gold, silver, and precious stones, the whole threatening soon to make good the boast of its architect, when the Great Spirit launched his thunder, and laid its glory in ruins. Still Montezuma hardened himself; proud and inflexible, he answered the thunderer out of the haughty defiance of his heart; he ordered the temple-houses to be desecrated, and the holy images to be dragged in the dust, he made them a scoff and byword for the very children in the village streets. Then the Great Spirit prepared his supreme punishment. He sent an insect flying away towards the east, towards an unknown land, to bring the Spaniards. When these came, they made war upon Montezuma and destroyed him, and utterly dissipated the idea of his divinity.[36]

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[32] This tradition, says the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Hist. des Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., pp. 74–5, has indubitably reference to a queen whose memory has become attached to very many places in Guatemala, and Central America generally. She was called *Atit*, Grandmother; and from her the volcano of Atitlan, received the name *Atital-huyu*, by which it is still known to the aborigines. This Atit lived during four centuries, and from her are descended all the royal and princely families of Guatemala.

[33] *Roman, República de los Indios Occidentales*, part 1, lib. 2, cap. 15, after *Garcia, Origen de los Ind.*, pp. 329-30; *Las Casas, Hist. Apologética*, MS., cap. 235, after *Helps' Span. Conq.*, vol. ii., p. 140; *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 53–4; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. des Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., pp. 74–5.

[34] The first of these two names is erroneously spelt 'Famagoztad' by M. Ternaux-Compans, Mr. Squier, and the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg; the two latter perhaps led astray by the error of M. Ternaux-Compans, an error which first appeared in that gentleman's translation of Oviedo. *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, tom. iv., p. 40. *Peter Martyr*, dec. vi., cap. 4.

[35] This tradition was 'gathered principally from the relations of Con Quien, the intelligent chief of the central Papagos.' *Davidson*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1865, pp. 131-3.

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[36] The legendary Montezuma, whom we shall meet so often in the mythology of the Gila valley, must not be confounded with the two Mexican monarchs of the same title. The name itself would seem, in the absence of proof to the contrary, to have been carried into Arizona and New Mexico by the Spaniards or their Mexican attendants, and to have become gradually associated in the minds of some of the New Mexican and neighboring tribes, with a vague, mythical, and departed grandeur. The name Montezuma became thus, to use Mr. Tylor's words, that of the great 'Somebody' of the tribe. This being once the case, all the lesser heroes would be gradually absorbed in the greater, and their names forgotten. Their deeds would become his deeds, their fame his fame. There is evidence enough that this is a general tendency of tradition, even in historical times. The pages of Mr. Cox's scholarly and comprehensive work, *The Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, teem with examples of it. In Persia, deeds of every kind and date are referred to Antar. In Russia, buildings of every age are declared to be the work of Peter the Great. All over Europe, in Germany, France, Spain, Switzerland, England, Scotland, Ireland, the exploits of the oldest mythological heroes figuring in the Sagas, Eddas, and Nibelungen Lied have been ascribed in the folk-lore and ballads of the people to Barbarossa, Charlemagne, Boabdil, Charles V., William Tell, Arthur, Robin Hood, Wallace, and St. Patrick.

The Pimas,[37] a neighboring and closely allied people to the Papagos, say that the earth was made by a certain Chiowotmahke, that is to say Earth-prophet. It appeared in the beginning like a spider's web, stretching far and fragile across the nothingness that was. Then the Earth-prophet flew over all lands in the form of a butterfly, till he came to the place he judged fit for his purpose, and there he made man. And the thing was after this wise: The Creator took clay in his hands, and mixing it with the sweat of his own body, kneaded the whole into a lump. Then he blew upon the lump till it was filled with life and began to move; and it became man and woman. This Creator had a son called Szeukha, who, when the world was beginning to be tolerably peopled, lived in the Gila valley, where lived also at the same time a great prophet, whose name has been forgotten. Upon a certain night when the prophet slept, he was wakened by a noise at the door of his house, and when he looked, a great Eagle stood before him. And the Eagle spake: Arise, thou that healest the sick, thou that shouldest know what is to come, for behold a deluge is at hand. But the prophet laughed the bird to scorn and gathered his robes about him and slept. Afterwards the Eagle came again and warned him of the waters near at hand; but he gave no ear to the bird at all. Perhaps he would not listen because this Eagle had an exceedingly bad reputation among men, being reported to take at times the form of an old woman that lured away girls and children to a certain cliff so that they were never seen again; of this, however, more anon. A third time, the Eagle came to warn the prophet, and to say that all the valley of the Gila should be laid waste with water; but the prophet gave no heed. Then, in

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The connection of the name of Montezuma with ancient buildings and legendary adventures in the mythology of the Gila valley seems to be simply another example of the same kind.

[37] I am indebted for these particulars of the belief of the Pimas to the kindness of Mr. J. H. Stout of the Pima agency, who procured me a personal interview with five chiefs of that nation, and their very intelligent and obliging interpreter, Mr. Walker, at San Francisco, in October, 1873.

the twinkling of an eye, and even as the flapping of the Eagle's wings died away into the night, there came a peal of thunder and an awful crash; and a green mound of water reared itself over the plain. It seemed to stand upright for a second, then, cut incessantly by the lightnng, goaded on like a gret beast, it flung itself upon the prophet's hut. When the morning broke there was nothing to be seen alive but one man—if indeed he were a man; Szeukha, the son of the Creator, had saved himself by floating on a ball of gum or resin. On the waters falling a little, he landed near the mouth of the Salt River, upon a mountain where there is a cave that can still be seen, together with the tools and utensils Szeukha used while he lived there. Szeukha was very angry with the Great Eagle, who he probably thought had had more to do with bringing on the flood than appears in the narrative. At any rate the general reputation of the bird was sufficiently bad, and Szeukha prepared a kind of rope ladder from a very tough species of tree, much like woodbine, with the aid of which he climbed up to the cliff where the Eagle lived, and slew him.[38] Looking about here, he found the mutilated and decaying bodies of a great multitude of those that the Eagle had stolen and taken for a prey; and he raised them all to life again and sent them away to repeople the earth. In the house or den of the Eagle, he found a woman that the monster had taken to wife, and a child. These he sent also upon their way, and from these are descended that great people called Hohocam, 'ancients or grandfathers,' who were led in all their wanderings by an eagle, and who eventually passed into Mexico.[39] One of these Hohocam named Sivano, built the Casa Grande on the Gila, and indeed the ruins of this structure are called after his name to this day. On the death of Sivano, his son led a branch of the Hohocam to Salt River, where he built certain edifices and dug a large canal, or *acequia*. At last it came about that a woman ruled over the Hohocam. Her throne was cut out of a blue stone, and a mysterious bird was her constant attendant. These Hohocam were at war with a people that lived to the east of them, on the Rio Verde, and one day the bird warned her that the enemy was at hand. The warning was disregarded or it came too late, for the eastern people came down in three bands, destroyed the cities of the Hohocam, and killed or drove away all the inhabitants.

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[38] For the killing of this Great Eagle Szeukha had to do a kind of penance, which was never to scratch himself with his nails, but always with a small stick. This custom is still observed by all Pimas; and a bit of wood, renewed every fourth day, is carried for this purpose stuck in their long hair.

[39] With the reader, as with myself, this clause will probably call up something more than a mere suspicion of Spanish influence tinging the incidents of the legend. The Pimas themselves, however, asserted that this tradition existed among them long before the arrival of the Spaniards and was not modified thereby. One fact that seems to speak for the comparative purity of their traditions is that the name of Montezuma is nowhere to be found in them, although Cremony, *Apaches*, p. 102, states the contrary.

Most of the Pueblo tribes call themselves the descendants of Montezuma;[40] the Moquis, however, have a quite different story of their origin. They believe in a great Father living where the sun rises; and in a great Mother, whose home is where the sun goes down. The Father is the father of evil, war, pestilence, and famine; but from the Mother are all joys, peace, plenty, and health. In the beginning of time the Mother produced from her western home nine races of men in the following primary forms: First, the Deer race; second, the Sand race; third, the Water race; fourth, the Bear race; fifth, the Hare race; sixth, the Prairie-wolf race; seventh, the Rattle-snake race; eighth, the Tobacco-plant race; and ninth, the Reed-grass race. All these the Mother placed respectively on the spots where their villages now stand, and transformed them into the men who built the present Pueblos. These race-distinctions are still sharply kept up; for they are believed to be realities, not only of the past and present, but also of the future; every man when he dies shall be resolved into his primeval form; shall wave in the grass, or drift in the sand, or prowl on the prairie as in the beginning.[41]

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[40] *Gregg's Commerce of the Prairies*, vol. i., p. 268.

[41] *Ten Broeck* in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iv., pp. 85-6.

The Navajos, living north of the Pueblos, say that at one time all the nations, Navajos, Pueblos, Coyoteros, and white people, lived together, underground in the heart of a mountain near the river San Juan. Their only food was meat, which they had in abundance, for all kinds of game were closed up with them in their cave; but their light was dim and only endured for a few hours each day. There were happily two dumb men among the Navajos, flute-players who enlivened the darkness with music. One of these striking by chance on the roof of the limbo with his flute, brought out a hollow sound, upon which the elders of the tribes determined to bore in the direction whence the sound came. The flute was then set up against the roof, and the Raccoon sent up the tube to dig a way out; but he could not. Then the Moth-worm mounted into the breach, and bored and bored till he found himself suddenly on the outside of the mountain and surrounded by water. Under these novel circumstances, he heaped up a little mound and set himself down on it to observe and ponder the situation. A critical situation enough! for, from the four corners of the universe, four great white Swans bore down upon him, every one with two arrows, one under either wing. The Swan from the north reached him first, and having pierced him with two arrows, drew them out and examined their points, exclaiming as the result: He is of my race. So also, in succession, did all the others. Then they went away; and towards the directions in which they departed, to the north, south, east, and west, were found four great *arroyos*, by which all the water flowed off, leaving only mud. The worm now returned to the cave, and the Raccoon went up into the mud, sinking in it mid-leg deep, as the marks on his fur show to this day. And the wind began to rise, sweeping up the four great arroyos, and the mud was dried away. Then the men and the animals began to come up from their cave, and their coming up required several days. First came the Navajos, and no sooner had they reached the surface then they commenced gaming at *patole*, their favorite game. Then came the Pueblos and other Indians who crop their hair and build houses. Lastly came the white people, who started off at once for the rising sun and were lost sight of for many winters.

While these nations lived underground they all spake one tongue; but with the light of day and the level of earth, came many languages. The earth was at this time very small and the light was quite as scanty as it had been down below; for there was as yet no heaven, nor sun, nor moon, nor stars. So another council of the ancients was held and a committee of their number appointed to manufacture these luminaries. A large house or workshop was erected; and when the sun and moon were ready, they were entrusted to the direction and guidance of the two dumb fluters already mentioned. The one who got charge of the sun came very near, through his clumsiness in his new office, to making a Phaethon of himself and setting fire to the earth. The old men, however, either more lenient than Zeus or lacking his thunder, contented themselves with forcing the offender back by puffing the smoke of their pipes into his face. Since then the increasing size of the earth has four times rendered it necessary that he should be put back, and his course farther removed from the world and from the subterranean cave to which he nightly retires with the great light. At night also the other dumb man issues from this cave, bearing the moon under his arm, and lighting up such part of the world as he can. Next the old men set to work to make the heavens, intending to broider in the stars in beautiful patterns, of bears, birds, and such things. But just as they had made a beginning a prairie-wolf rushed in, and crying out: Why all this trouble and embroidery? scattered the pile of stars over all the floor of heaven, just as they still lie.

When now the world and its firmament had been finished, the old men prepared two earthen *tinages* or water-jars, and having decorated one with bright colors, filled it with trifles; while the other was left plain on the outside, but filled within with flocks and herds and riches of all kinds. These jars being covered and presented to the Navajos and Pueblos, the former chose the gaudy but paltry jar; while the Pueblos received the plain and rich vessel; each nation showing in its choice traits which characterize it to this day. Next there arose among the Navajos a great gambler, who went on winning the goods and the persons of his opponents till he had won the whole tribe. Upon this, one of the old men became indignant, set the gambler on his bowstring and shot him off into space,—an unfortunate proceeding, for the fellow returned in a short time with firearms and the Spaniards. Let me conclude by telling how the Navajos came by the seed they now cultivate: All the wise men being one day assembled, a turkey-hen came flying from the direction of the morning star, and shook from her feathers an ear of blue corn into the midst of the company; and in subsequent visits brought all the other seeds they possess.[42]

Of some tribes, we do not know that they possess any other ideas of their origin than the name of their first ancestor, or the name of a creator or a tradition of his existence.

The Sinaloas, from Culiacan north to the Yaqui River, have dances in honor of a certain Viriseva, the mother of the first man. This first man, who was her son, and called Vairubi, they hold in like esteem.[43] The Cochimis, of Lower California, amid an apparent multiplicity of gods, say there is in reality only one, who created heaven, earth, plants, animals, and man.[44] The Pericues, also of Lower California, call the creator Niparaja, and say that the heavens are his dwelling-place. A sect of the same tribe, add that the stars are made of metal, and are the work of a certain Purutabui; while the moon has been made by one Cucunumic.[45]

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[42] *Ten Broeck* in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iv., pp. 89–90; and *Eaton*, *Ib.*, pp. 218–9. The latter account differs a little from that given in the text, and makes the following addition: After the Navajos came up from the cave, there came a time when, by the ferocity of giants and rapacious animals, their numbers were reduced to three—an old man, an old woman, and a young woman. The stock was replenished by the latter bearing a child to the sun.

[43] *Ribas, Hist.*, pp. 18, 40.

[44] *Clavigero, Storia della Cal.*, tom i., p. 139.

The nations of Los Angeles County, California, believe that their one god, Quaoar, came down from heaven; and, after reducing chaos to order, put the world on the back of seven giants. He then created the lower animals, and lastly a man and a woman. These were made separately out of earth and called, the man Tobohar, and the woman Pabavit.[46]

Hugo Reid, to whom we are mainly indebted for the mythology of Southern California, and who is an excellent authority, inasmuch as his wife was an Indian woman of that country, besides the preceding gives us another and different tradition on the same subject: Two great Beings made the world, filled it with grass and trees, and gave form, life, and motion to the various animals that people land and sea. When this work was done, the elder Creator went up to heaven and left his brother alone on the earth. The solitary god left below, made to himself men-children, that he should not be utterly companionless. Fortunately also, about this time, the moon came to that neighborhood; she was very fair in her delicate beauty, very kind hearted, and she filled the place of a mother to the men-children that the god had created. She watched over them, and guarded them from all evil things of the night, standing at the door of their lodge. The children grew up very happily, laying great store by the love with which their guardians regarded them; but there came a day when their heart saddened, in which they began to notice that neither their god-creator nor their moon foster-mother gave them any longer undivided affection and care, but that instead, the two great ones seemed to waste much precious love upon each other. The tall god began to steal out of their lodge at dusk, and spend the night watches in the company of the white-haired moon, who, on the other hand, did not seem on these occasions to pay such absorbing attention to her sentinel duty as at other times. The children grew sad at this, and bitter at the heart with a boyish jealousy. But worse was yet to come: one night they were awakened by a querulous wailing in their lodge, and the earliest dawn showed them a strange thing, which they afterwards came to know was a new-born infant, lying in the doorway. The god and the moon had eloped together; their Great One had returned to his place beyond the æther, and that he might not be separated from his paramour, he had appointed her at the same time a lodge in the great firmament; where she may yet be seen, with her gauzy robe and shining silver hair, treading celestial paths. The child left on the earth was a girl. She grew up very soft, very bright, very beautiful, like her mother; but like her mother also, O so fickle and frail! She was the first of woman-kind, from her are all other women descended, and from the moon; and as the moon changes so they all change, say the philosophers of Los Angeles.[47]

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[45] *Clavigero, Storia della Cal.*, tom. i., pp. 135-7.

[46] *Hugo Reid*, in *Los Angeles Star*.

A much more prosaic and materialistic origin is that accorded to the moon in the traditions of the Gallinomeros of Central California.[48] In the beginning, they say, there was no light, but a thick darkness covered all the earth. Man stumbled blindly against man and against the animals, the birds clashed together in the air, and confusion reigned everywhere. The Hawk happening by chance to fly into the face of the Coyote, there followed mutual apologies and afterwards a long discussion on the emergency of the situation. Determined to make some effort toward abating the public evil, the two set about a remedy. The Coyote gathered a great heap of tules, rolled them into a ball, and gave it to the Hawk, together with some pieces of flint. Gathering all together as well as he could, the Hawk flew straight up into the sky, where he struck fire with the flints, lit his ball of reeds, and left it there, whirling along all in a fierce red glow as it continues to the present; for it is the sun. In the same way the moon was made, but as the tules of which it was constructed were rather damp, its light has been always somewhat uncertain and feeble.[49]

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[47] *Hugo Reid, Ib.*

[48] Russian River Valley, Sonoma County.

In northern California, we find the Mattoles,[50] who connect a tradition of a destructive flood with Taylor Peak, a mountain in their locality, on which they say their forefathers took refuge. As to the creation, they teach that a certain Big Man began by making the naked earth, silent and bleak, with nothing of plant or animal thereon, save one Indian, who roamed about in a wofully hungry and desolate state. Suddenly there rose a terrible whirlwind, the air grew dark and thick with dust and drifting sand, and the Indian fell upon his face in sore dread. Then there came a great calm, and the man rose and looked, and lo, all the earth was perfect and peopled; the grass and the trees were green on every plain and hill; the beasts of the fields, the fowls of the air, the creeping things, the things that swim, moved everywhere in his sight. There is a limit set to the number of the animals, which is this: only a certain number of animal spirits are in existence; when one beast dies, his spirit immediately takes up its abode in another body, so that the whole number of animals is always the same, and the original spirits move in an endless circle of earthy immortality.[51]

We pass now to a train of myths in which the Coyote again appears, figuring in many important and somewhat mystical rôles,—figuring in fact as the great Somebody of many tribes. To him, though involuntarily as it appears, are owing the fish to be found in Clear Lake. The story runs that one summer long ago there was a terrible drought in that region, followed by a plague of grasshoppers. The Coyote ate a great quantity of these grasshoppers, and drank up the whole lake to quench his thirst. After this he lay down to sleep off the effects of his extraordinary repast, and while he slept a man came up from the south country and thrust him through with a spear. Then all the water he had drunk flowed back through his wound into the lake, and with the water the grasshoppers he had eaten; and these insects became fishes, the same that still swim in Clear Lake.[52]

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[49] *Powers' Pomo, MS.*
[50] Humboldt County.
[51] *Powers' Pomo,* MS.

The Californians in most cases describe themselves as originating from the Coyote, and more remotely, from the very soil they tread. In the language of Mr. Powers,—whose extended personal investigations give him the right to speak with authority,—"All the aboriginal inhabitants of California, without exception, believe that their first ancestors were created directly from the earth of their respective present dwelling-places, and, in very many cases, that these ancestors were coyotes."[53]

The Potoyantes give an ingenious account of the transformation of the first coyotes into men: There was an age in which no men existed, nothing but coyotes. When one of these animals died, his body used to breed a multitude of little animals, much as the carcass of the huge Ymir, rotting in Ginnunga-gap, bred the maggots that turned to dwarfs. The little animals of our story were in reality spirits, which, after crawling about for a time on the dead coyote, and taking all kinds of shapes, ended by spreading wings and floating off to the moon. This evidently would not do; the earth was in danger of becoming depopulated; so the old coyotes took counsel together if perchance they might devise a remedy. The result was a general order that, for the time to come, all bodies should be incinerated immediately after death. Thus originated the custom of burning the dead, a custom still kept up among these people. We next learn, —what indeed might have been expected of animals of such wisdom and parts,—that these primeval coyotes began by degrees to assume the shape of men. At first, it is true, with many imperfections; but, a toe, an ear, a hand, bit by bit, they were gradually builded up into the perfect form of man looking upward. For one thing they still grieve, however, of all their lost estate,—their tails are gone. An acquired habit of sitting upright, has utterly erased and destroyed that beautiful member. Lost is indeed lost, and gone is gone for ever, yet still when in dance and festival, the Potoyante throws off the weary burden of hard and utilitarian care, he attaches to himself, as nearly as may be in the ancient place, an artificial tail, and forgets for a happy hour the degeneracy of the present in simulating the glory of the past.[54]

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[52] *Powers' Pomo*, MS.

[53] *Powers' Pomo*, MS.

The Californians tell again of a great flood, or at least of a time when the whole country, with the exception of Mount Diablo and Reed Peak, was covered with water. There was a Coyote on the peak, the only living thing the wide world over, and there was a single feather tossing about on the rippled water. The Coyote was looking at the feather, and even as he looked, flesh and bones and other feathers, came and joined themselves to the first, and became an Eagle. There was a stir on the water, a rush of broad pinions, and before the widening circles reached the island-hill, the bird stood beside the astonished Coyote. The two came soon to be acquainted and to be good friends, and they made occasional excursions together to the other hill, the Eagle flying leisurely overhead while the Coyote swam. After a time they began to feel lonely, so they created men; and as the men multiplied the waters abated, till the dry land came to be much as it is at present.

Now, also, the Sacramento River and the San Joaquin began to find their way into the Pacific, through the mountains which, up to this time, had stretched across the mouth of San Francisco Bay. No Poseidon clove the hills with his trident, as when the pleasant vale of Tempe was formed, but a strong earthquake tore the rock apart and opened the Golden Gate between the waters within and those without. Before this there had existed only two outlets for the drainage of the whole country; one was the Russian River, and the other the San Juan.[55]

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[54] *Johnston*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iv., pp. 224–5.

The natives in the vicinity of Lake Tahoe, ascribe its origin to a great natural convulsion. There was a time, they say, when their tribe possessed the whole earth, and were strong, numerous, and rich; but a day came in which a people rose up stronger than they, and defeated and enslaved them. Afterwards the Great Spirit sent an immense wave across the continent from the sea, and this wave engulfed both the oppressors and the oppressed, all but a very small remnant. Then the taskmasters made the remaining people raise up a great temple, so that they, of the ruling caste, should have a refuge in case of another flood, and on the top of this temple the masters worshiped a column of perpetual fire.

Half a moon had not elapsed, however, before the earth was again troubled, this time with strong convulsions and thunderings, upon which the masters took refuge in their great tower, closing the people out. The poor slaves fled to the Humboldt River, and getting into canoes paddled for life from the awful sight behind them. For the land was tossing like a troubled sea, and casting up fire, smoke, and ashes. The flames went up to the very heaven and melted many stars, so that they rained down in molten metal upon the earth, forming the ore that the white men seek. The Sierra was mounded up from the bosom of the earth; while the place where the great fort stood sank, leaving only the dome on the top exposed above the waters of Lake Tahoe. The inmates of the temple-tower clung to this dome to save themselves from drowning; but the Great Spirit walked upon the waters in his wrath, and took the oppressors one by one like pebbles, and threw them far into the recesses of a great cavern, on the east side of the lake, called to this day the Spirit Lodge, where the waters shut them in. There must they remain till a last great volcanic burning, which is to overturn the whole earth, shall again set them free. In the depths of their cavern-prison they may still be heard, wailing and moaning, when the snows melt and the waters swell in the lake.[56]

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[55] *H. B. D.* in *Hesperian Mag.*, vol. iii., 1859, p. 326.

We again meet the Coyote among the Cahrocs of Klamath River in Northern California. These Cahrocs believe in a certain Chareya, Old Man Above, who made the world, sitting the while upon a certain stool now in the possession of the high-priest, or chief medicine-man. After the creation of the earth, Chareya first made fishes, then the lower animals, and lastly man, upon whom was conferred the power of assigning to each animal its respective duties and position. The man determined to give each a bow, the length of which should denote the rank of the receiver. So he called all the animals together, and told them that next day, early in the morning, the distribution of bows would take place. Now the Coyote greatly desired the longest bow; and, in order to be in first at the division, he determined to remain awake all night. His anxiety sustained him for some time; but just before morning he gave way, and fell into a sound sleep. The consequence was, he was last at the rendezvous, and got the shortest bow of all. The man took pity on his distress, however, and brought the matter to the notice of Chareya, who, on considering the circumstances, decreed that the Coyote should become the most cunning of animals, as he remains to this time. The Coyote was very grateful to the man for his intercession, and he became his friend and the friend of his children, and did many things to aid mankind as we shall see hereafter.[57]

The natives in the neighborhood of Mount Shasta, in Northern California, say that the Great Spirit made this mountain first of all. Boring a hole in the sky, using a large stone as an auger, he pushed down snow and ice until they had reached the desired height; then he stepped from cloud to cloud down to the great icy pile, and from it to the earth, where he planted the first trees by merely putting his finger into the soil here and there. The sun began to melt the snow; the snow produced water; the water ran down the sides of the mountains, refreshed the trees, and made rivers. The Creator gathered the leaves that fell from the trees, blew upon them, and they became birds. He took a stick and broke it into pieces; of the small end he made fishes; and of the middle of the stick he made animals,—the grizzly bear excepted, which he formed from the big end of his stick, appointing him to be master over all the others. Indeed this animal was then so large, strong, and cunning, that the Creator somewhat feared him, and hollowed out Mount Shasta as a wigwam for himself, where he might reside while on earth, in the most perfect security and comfort. So the smoke was soon to be seen curling up from the mountain, where the Great Spirit and his family lived, and still live, though their hearth-fire is alight no longer, now that the white man is in the land. This was thousands of snows ago, and there came after this a late and severe spring-time, in which a memorable storm blew up from the sea, shaking the huge lodge to its base. The Great Spirit commanded his daughter, little more than an infant, to go up and bid the wind to be still, cautioning her at the same time in his fatherly way, not to put her head out into the blast, but only to thrust out her little red arm and make a sign before she delivered her message. The eager child hastened up to the hole in the roof, did as she was told, and then turned to descend; but the Eve was too strong in her to leave without a look at the forbidden world outside and the rivers and the trees, at the far ocean and the great waves that the storm had made as hoary as the forests when the snow is on the firs. She stopped, she put out her head to look; instantly the storm took her by the long hair, and blew her down to the earth, down the mountain side, over the smooth ice and soft snow, down to the land of the grizzly bears.

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[56] *Wadsworth*, in *Hutchings' Cal. Mag.*, vol. ii., 1858, pp. 356-8.
[57] *Powers' Pomo*, MS.

Now the grizzly bears were somewhat different then from what they are at present. In appearance they were much the same it is true; but they walked then on their hind legs like men, and talked, and carried clubs, using the fore-limbs as men use their arms.

There was a family of these grizzlies living at the foot of the mountain, at the place where the child was blown to. The father was returning from the hunt with his club on his shoulder and a young elk in his hand, when he saw the little shivering waif lying on the snow with her hair all tangled about her. The old Grizzly, pitying and wondering at the strange forlorn creature, lifted it up, and carried it in to his wife to see what should be done. She too was pitiful, and she fed it from her own breast, bringing it up quietly as one of her family. So the girl grew up, and the eldest son of the old Grizzly married her, and their offspring was neither grizzly nor Great Spirit, but man. Very proud indeed were the whole grizzly nation of the new race, and uniting their strength from all parts of the country, they built the young mother and her family a mountain wigwam near that of the Great Spirit; and this structure of theirs is now known as Little Mount Shasta. Many years passed away, and at last the old grandmother Grizzly became very feeble and felt that she must soon die. She knew that the girl she had adopted was the daughter of the Great Spirit, and her conscience troubled her that she had never let him know anything of the fate of his child. So she called all the grizzlies together to the new lodge, and sent her eldest grandson up on a cloud to the summit of Mount Shasta, to tell the father that his daughter yet lived. When the Great Spirit heard that, he was so glad that he immediately ran down the mountain, on the south side, toward where he had been told his daughter was; and such was the swiftness of his pace that the snow was melted here and there along his course, as it remains to this day. The grizzlies had prepared him an honorable reception, and as he approached his daughter's home, he found them standing in thousands in two files, on either side of the door, with their clubs under their arms. He had never pictured his daughter as aught but the little child he had loved so long ago; but when he found that she was a mother, and that he had been betrayed into the creation of a new race, his anger overcame him; he scowled so terribly on the poor old grandmother Grizzly that she died upon the spot. At this all the bears set up a fearful howl, but the exasperated father, taking his lost darling on his shoulder, turned to the armed host, and in his fury cursed them. Peace! he said. Be silent for ever! Let no articulate word ever again pass your lips, neither stand any more upright; but use your hands as feet, and look downward until I come again! Then he drove them all out; he drove out also the new race of men, shut to the door of Little Mount Shasta, and passed away to his mountain, carrying his daughter; and her or him no eye has since seen. The grizzlies never spoke again, nor stood up; save indeed when fighting for their life, when the Great Spirit still permits them to stand as in the old time, and to use their fists like men. No Indian tracing his descent from the spirit mother and the grizzly, as here described, will kill a grizzly bear; and if by an evil chance a grizzly kill a man in any place, that spot becomes memorable, and every one that passes casts a stone there till a great pile is thrown up.[58]

Let us now pass on, and going east and north, enter the Shoshone country. In Idaho there are certain famous Soda Springs whose origin the Snakes refer to the close of their happiest age. Long ago, the legend runs, when the cotton-woods on the Big River were no larger than arrows, all red men were at peace, the hatchet was everywhere buried, and hunter met hunter in the game-lands of the one or the other, with all hospitality and good-will. During this state of things, two chiefs, one of the

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[58] *Joaquin Miller's Life Amongst the Modocs*, pp. 235–236, 242–6.

Shoshone, the other of the Comanche nation, met one day at a certain spring. The Shoshone had been successful in the chase, and the Comanche very unlucky, which put the latter in rather an ill humor. So he got up a dispute with the other as to the importance of their respective and related tribes, and ended by making an unprovoked and treacherous attack on the Shoshone, striking him into the water from behind, when he had stooped to drink. The murdered man fell forward into the water, and immediately a strange commotion was observable there; great bubbles and spirts of gas shot up from the bottom of the pool, and amid a cloud of vapor there arose also an old white-haired Indian, armed with a ponderous club of elk-horn. Well the assassin knew who stood before him; the totem on the breast was that of Wankanaga, the father both of the Shoshone and of the Comanche nations, an ancient famous for his brave deeds, and celebrated in the hieroglyphic pictures of both peoples. Accursed of two nations! cried the old man, this day hast thou put death between the two greatest peoples under the sun; see, the blood of this Shoshone cries out to the Great Spirit for vengeance. And he dashed out the brains of the Comanche with his club, and the murderer fell there beside his victim into the spring. After that the spring became foul and bitter, nor even to this day can any one drink of its nauseous water. Then Wankanaga, seeing that it had been defiled, took his club and smote a neighboring rock, and the rock burst forth into clear bubbling water, so fresh and so grateful to the palate that no other water can even be compared to it.[59]

Passing into Washington, we find an account of the origin of the falls of Palouse River and of certain native tribes. There lived here at one time a family of giants, four brothers and a sister. The sister wanted some beaver-fat and she begged her brothers to get it for her, —no easy task, as there was only one beaver in the country, and he an animal of extraordinary size and activity. However, like four gallant fellows, the giants set out to find the monster, soon catching sight of him near the mouth of the Palouse, then a peaceful gliding river with an even though winding channel. They at once gave chase, heading him up the river. A little distance up-stream they succeeded in striking him for the first time with their spears, but he shook himself clear, making in his struggle the first rapids of the Palouse, and dashed on up-stream. Again the brothers overtook him, pinning him to the river-bed with their weapons, and again the vigorous beast writhed away, making thus the second falls of the Palouse. Another chase, and, in a third and fatal attack, the four spear-shafts are struck again through the broad wounded back. There is a last stubborn struggle at the spot since marked by the great falls called Aputaput, a tearing of earth and a lashing of water in the fierce death-flurry, and the huge Beaver is dead. The brothers having secured the skin and fat, cut up the body and threw the pieces in various directions. From these pieces have originated the various tribes of the country, as the Cayuses, the Nez Percés, the Walla Wallas, and so on. The Cayuses sprang from the beaver's heart, and for this reason they are more energetic, daring, and successful than their neighbors.[60]

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[59] *Ruxton's Adven. in Mex.*, pp. 244-6.

In Oregon the Chinooks and neighboring people tell of a pre-human demon race, called Ulháipa by the Chinooks, and Sehuiáb by the Clallams and Lummis. The Chinooks say that the human race was created by Italapas, the Coyote. The first men were sent into the world in a very lumpish and imperfect state, their mouth and eyes were closed, their hands and feet immovable. Then a kind and powerful spirit called Ikánam, took a sharp stone, opened the eyes of these poor creatures, and gave motion to their hands and feet. He taught them how to make canoes as well as all other implements and utensils; and he threw great rocks into the rivers and made falls, to obstruct the salmon in their ascent, so that they might be easily caught.[61]

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[60] *Wilkes' Nar.* in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 496.

Farther north among the Ahts of Vancouver Island, perhaps the commonest notion of origin is that men at first existed as birds, animals, and fishes. We are told of a certain Quawteaht, represented somewhat contradictorily, as the first Aht that ever lived, thickset and hairy-limbed, and as the chief Aht deity, a purely supernatural being, if not the creator, at least the maker and shaper of most things, the maker of the land and the water, and of the animals that inhabit the one or the other. In each of these animals as at first created, there resided the embryo or essence of a man. One day a canoe came down the coast, paddled by two personages in the, at that time, unknown form of men. The animals were frightened out of their wits, and fled, each from his house, in such haste that he left behind him the human essence that he usually carried in his body. These embryos rapidly developed into men; they multiplied, made use of the huts deserted by the animals, 'and became in every way as the Ahts are now. There exists another account of the origin of the Ahts, which would make them the direct descendants of Quawteaht and an immense bird that he married,—the great Thunder Bird, Tootooch, with which, under a different name and in a different sex, we shall become more familiar presently. The flapping of Tootooch's wings shook the hills with thunder, *tootah*; and when she put out her forked tongue, the lightning quivered across the sky.

The Ahts have various legends of the way in which fire was first obtained, which legends may be reduced to the following: Quawteaht withheld fire, for some reason or other, from the creatures that he had brought into the world, with one exception; it was always to be found burning in the home of the cuttle-fish, *telhoop*. The other beasts attempted to steal this fire, but only the deer succeeded; he hid a little of it in the joint of his hind leg, and escaping, introduced the element to general use.

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[61] *Franchère's Nar.*, p. 258; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 317; *Gibbs' Chinook Vocab.*, pp., 11–13; *Id.*, *Clallam and Lummi Vocab.*, pp. 15–29; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 139.

Not all animals, it would appear, were produced in the general creation; the loon and the crow had a special origin, being metamorphosed men. Two fishermen, being out at sea in their canoes, fell to quarreling, the one ridiculing the other for his small success in fishing. Finally the unsuccessful man became so infuriated by the taunts of his companion that he knocked him on the head, and stole his fish, cutting out his tongue before he paddled off, lest by any chance the unfortunate should recover his senses and gain the shore. The precaution was well taken, for the mutilated man reached the land and tried to denounce his late companion. No sound however could he utter but something resembling the cry of a loon, upon which the Great Spirit, Quawteaht, became so indiscriminatingly angry at the whole affair that he changed the poor mute into a loon, and his assailant into a crow. So when the mournful voice of the loon is heard from the silent lake or river, it is still the poor fisherman that we hear, trying to make himself understood and to tell the hard story of his wrongs.[62]

The general drift of many of the foregoing myths would go to indicate a wide-spread belief in the theory of an evolution of man from animals.[63] Traditions are not wanting, however, whose teaching is precisely the reverse. The Salish, the Nisquallies, and the Yakimas of Washington, all hold that beasts, fishes, and even edible roots are descended from human originals. One account of this inverse Darwinian development is this: The son of the Sun—whoever he may have been—caused certain individuals to swim through a lake of magic oil, a liquid of such Circean potency that the unfortunates immersed were transformed as above related. The peculiarities of organism of the various animals, are the results of incidents of their passage; the bear dived, and is therefore fat all over; the goose swam high, and is consequently fat only up to the water-line; and so on through all the list.[64]

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[62] *Sproat's Scenes*, pp. 176-85, 203-14.

[63] To the examples already given of this we may add the case of the Haidahs of Queen Charlotte Island, of whom Mr. Poole, *Q. Char. Isl.*, p. 136, says: 'Their descent from the crows is quite gravely affirmed and steadfastly maintained.'

Moving north to the Tacullies of British Columbia, we find the Musk-rat an active agent in the work of creation. The flat earth, following the Tacully cosmogony, was at first wholly covered with water. On the water a Musk-rat swam to and fro, seeking food. Finding none there, he dived to the bottom and brought up a mouthful of mud, but only to spit it out again when he came to the surface. All this he did again and again till quite an island was formed and by degrees the whole earth. In some unexplained way this earth became afterwards peopled in every part, and so remained, until a fierce fire of several days' duration swept over it, destroying all life, with two exceptions; one man and one woman hid themselves in a deep cave in the heart of a mountain, and from these two has the world been since repeopled.[65]

From the Tacully country we pass north and west to the coast inhabited by the Thlinkeets, among whom the myth of a great Bird, or of a great hero-deity, whose favorite disguise is the shape of a bird, assumes the most elaborate proportions and importance. Here the name of this great Somebody is Yehl, the Crow or Raven, creator of most things, and especially of the Thlinkeets. Very dark, damp, and chaotic was the world in the beginning; nothing with breath or body moved there except Yehl; in the likeness of a raven he brooded over the mist, his black wings beat down the vast confusion, the waters went back before him and the dry land appeared. The Thlinkeets were placed on the earth—though how or when does not exactly appear—while the world was still in darkness, and without sun or moon or stars. A certain Thlinkeet, we are further informed, had a wife and a sister. Of the wife he was devouringly jealous, and when employed in the woods at his trade of building canoes, he had her constantly watched by eight red birds of the kind called *kun*. To make assurance surer, he even used to coop her up in a kind of box every time he left home. All this while his sister, a widow it would appear, was bringing up certain sons she had, fine tall fellows, rapidly approaching manhood. The jealous uncle could not endure the thought of their being in the neighborhood of his wife. So he inveigled them one by one, time after time, out to sea with him on pretense of fishing, and drowned them there. The poor mother was left desolate, she went to the sea-shore to weep for her children. A dolphin—some say a whale—saw her there, and pitied her; the beast told her to swallow a small pebble and drink some sea-water. She did so, and in eight months was delivered of a child. That child was Yehl, who thus took upon himself a human shape, and grew up a mighty hunter and notable archer. One day a large bird appeared to him, having a long tail like a magpie, and a long glittering bill as of metal; the name of the bird was Kutzghatushl, that is, Crane that can soar to heaven. Yehl shot the bird, skinned it, and whenever he wished to fly used to clothe himself in its skin.

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[64] *Anderson* in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 240.

[65] *Harmon's Jour.*, pp. 302–3.

Now Yehl had grown to manhood, and he determined to avenge himself upon his uncle for the death of his brothers; so he opened the box in which the well-guarded wife was shut up. Instantly the eight faithful birds flew off and told the husband, who set out for his home in a murderous mood. Most cunning, however, in his patience, he greeted Yehl with composure, and invited him into his canoe for a short trip to sea. Having paddled out some way, he flung himself on the young man and forced him overboard. Then he put his canoe about and made leisurely for the land, rid as he thought of another enemy. But Yehl swam in quietly another way, and stood up in his uncle's house. The baffled murderer was beside himself with fury, he imprecated with a potent curse a deluge upon all the earth, well content to perish himself so he involved his rival in the common destruction, for jealousy is cruel as the grave. The flood came, the waters rose and rose; but Yehl clothed himself in his bird-skin, and soared up to heaven, where he struck his beak into a cloud, and remained till the waters were assuaged.

After this affair Yehl had many other adventures, so many that "one man cannot know them all," as the Thlinkeets say. One of the most useful things he did was to supply light to mankind—with whom, as appears, the earth had been again peopled after the deluge. Now all the light in the world was stored away in three boxes, among the riches of a certain mysterious old Chief, who guarded his treasure closely. Yehl set his wits to work to secure the boxes; he determined to be born into the chief's family. The old fellow had one daughter upon whom he doted, and Yehl transforming himself into a blade of grass, got into the girl's drinking-cup and was swallowed by her. In due time she gave birth to a son, who was Yehl, thus a second time born of a woman into the world. Very proud was the old chief of his grandson, loving him even as he loved his daughter, so that Yehl came to be a decidedly spoiled child. He fell a crying one day, working himself almost into a fit; he kicked and scratched and howled, and turned the family hut into a little pandemonium as only an infant plague can. He screamed for one of the three boxes; he would have a box; nothing but a box should ever appease him! The indulgent grandfather gave him one of the boxes; he clutched it, stopped crying, and crawled off into the yard to play. Playing, he contrived to wrench the lid off, and lo! the beautiful heaven was thick with stars, and the box empty. The old man wept for the loss of his stars, but he did not scold his grandson, he loved him too blindly for that. Yehl had succeeded in getting the stars into the firmament, and he proceeded to repeat his successful trick, to do the like by the moon and sun. As may be imagined, the difficulty was much increased; still he gained his end. He first let the moon out into the sky, and some time afterward, getting possession of the box that held the sun, he changed himself into a raven and flew away with his greatest prize of all. When he set up the blazing light in heaven, the people that saw it were at first afraid. Many hid themselves in the mountains, and in the forests, and even in the water, and were changed into the various kinds of animals that frequent these places.

There are still other feats of Yehl's replete with the happiest consequences to mankind. There was a time, for instance, when all the fire in the world was hid away in an island of the ocean. Thither flew the indefatigable deity, fetching back a brand in his mouth. The distance, however, was so great that most of the wood was burned away and a part of his beak, before he reached the Thlinkeet shore. Arrived there, he dropped the embers at once, and the sparks flew about in all directions among various sticks and stones; therefore it is that by striking these stones, and by friction on this wood, fire is always to be obtained.

Light they now had, and fire; but one thing was still wanting to men; they had no fresh water. A personage called Khanukh[66] kept all the fresh water in his well, in an island to the east of Sitka, and over the mouth of the well, for its better custody, he had built his hut. Yehl set out to the island in his boat, to secure the water, and on his way he met Khanukh himself, paddling along in another boat. Khanukh spoke first: How long hast thou been living in the world? Proudly Yehl answered: Before the world stood in its place, I was there. Yehl in his turn questioned Khanukh: But how long hast thou lived in the world? To which Khanukh replied: Ever since the time that the liver came out from below.[67] Then said Yehl: Thou art older than I. Upon this Khanukh, to show that his power was as great as his age, took off his hat, and there rose a dense fog, so that the one could no longer see the other. Yehl then became afraid, and cried out to Khanukh; but Khanukh answered nothing. At last when Yehl found himself completely helpless in the darkness, he began to weep and howl; upon which the old sorcerer put on his hat again, and the fog vanished. Khanukh then invited Yehl to his house, and entertained him handsomely with many luxuries, among which was fresh water. The meal over, host and guest sat down, and the latter began a long relation of his many exploits and adventures. Khanukh listened as attentively as he could, but the story was really so interminable that he at last fell asleep across the cover of his well. This frustrated Yehl's intention of stealing the water while its owner slept, so he resorted to another stratagem: he put some filth under the sleeper, then waking him up, made him believe he had bewrayed himself. Khanukh, whose own nose abhorred him, at once hurried off to the sea to wash, and his deceiver as quickly set about securing the precious water. Just as All-father Odin, the Raven-god, stole Suttung's mead, drinking it up and escaping in the form of a bird, so Yehl drank what fresh water he could, filling himself to the very beak, then took the form of a raven and attempted to fly off through the chimney of the hut. He stuck in the flue however, and Khanukh returning at that instant recognized his guest in the struggling bird. The old man comprehended the situation, and quietly piling up a roaring fire, he sat down comfortably to watch the choking and scorching of his crafty guest. The raven had always been a white bird, but so thoroughly was he smoked in the chimney on this occasion that he has ever since remained the sootiest of fowls. At last Khanukh watching the fire, became drowsy and fell asleep; so Yehl escaped from the island with the water. He flew back to the continent, where he scattered it in every direction; and wherever small drops fell there are now springs and creeks, while the large drops have produced lakes and rivers. This is the end of the exploits of Yehl; having thus done everything necessary to the happiness of mankind, he returned to his habitation, which is in the east, and into which no other spirit, nor any man can possibly enter.

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[66] This Khanukh was the progenitor of the Wolf family of the Thlinkeets even as Yehl was that of the Raven family. The influence of this wolf-deity seems to have been generally malign, but except in connection with this water-legend, he is little mentioned in the Thlinkeet myths.

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[67] 'Seit der Zeit, entgegnete Khanukh, als von unten die Leber herauskam.' *Holmberg, Ethn. Skiz.*, p. 61. What is meant by the term 'die Leber,' literally the particular gland of the body called in English 'the liver,' I cannot say; neither Holmberg or any one else, as far as my knowledge goes, attempting any explanation.

The existing difference in language between the Thlinkeets and other people is one of the consequences of a great flood,—perhaps that flood already described as having been brought on through the jealousy of the canoe-builder. Many persons escaped drowning by taking refuge in a great floating building. When the waters fell, this vessel grounded upon a rock, and was broken into two pieces; in the one fragment were left those whose descendants speak the Thlinkeet language, in the other remained all whose descendants employ a different idiom.

Connected with the history of this deluge is another myth in which a great Bird figures. When the waters rose a certain mysterious brother and sister found it necessary to part. The name of the brother was Chethl, that is, Thunder or Lightning, and the name of the sister was Ahgishanakhou, which means the Underground Woman. As they separated Chethl said to her: Sister, you shall never see me again, but while I live you shall hear my voice. Then he clothed himself in the skin of a great bird, and flew towards the southwest. His sister climbed to the top of Mount Edgecomb, which is near Sitka, and it opened and swallowed her up, leaving a great hole, or crater. The world itself is an immense flat plate supported on a pillar, and under the world, in silence and darkness, this Under-ground Woman guards the great pillar from evil and malignant powers. She has never seen her brother since she left the upper world, and she shall never see him again; but still, when the tempest sweeps down on Edgecomb, the lightning of his eyes gleams down her crater-window, and the thundering of his wings re-echoes through all her subterranean halls.[68]

The Koniagas, north of the Thlinkeets, have their legendary Bird and Dog,—the latter taking the place occupied in the mythology of many other tribes by the wolf or coyote. Up in heaven, according to the Koniagas, there exists a great deity called Shljam Schoa. He created two personages and sent them down to the earth, and the Raven accompanied them carrying light. This original pair made sea, rivers, mountains, forests, and such things. Among other places they made the Island of Kadiak, and so stocked it that the present Koniagas assert themselves the descendants of a Dog.[69]

The Aleuts of the Aleutian Archipelago seem to disagree upon their origin. Some say that in the beginning a Bitch inhabited Unalaska, and that a great Dog swam across to her from Kadiak; from which pair the human race have sprung. Others, naming the bitch-mother of their race Mahakh, describe a certain Old Man, called Iraghdadakh, who came from the north to visit this Mahakh. The result of this visit was the birth of two creatures, male and female, with such an extraordinary mixing up of the elements of nature in them that they were each half man half fox. The name of the male creature was Acagnikakh, and by the other creature he became father of the human race. The Old Man however seems hardly to have needed any help to people the world, for like the great patriarch of Thessaly, he was able to create men by merely casting stones on the earth. He flung also other stones into the air, into the water, and over the land, thus making beasts, birds, and fishes. In another version of the narrative, the first father of the

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[68] *Barrell-Lennard's Trav.*, pp. 54-7; *Holmberg, Ethn. Skiz.*, pp. 14, 52-63; *Baer, Stat. u. Ethn.*, pp. 93-100; *Dall's Alaska*, pp. 421-22; *Macfie's Vanc. Isl.*, pp 452-5; *Richardson's Jour.*, vol. i., p. 405; *Mayne's B.C*,. p. 272.

[69] *Baer, Stat. u. Ethn.*, p. 116; *Lisiansky's Voy.*, pp. 197-8; *Dall's Alaska*, p. 405; *Holmberg, Ethn. Skiz.*, p. 140.

Aleuts is said to have fallen from heaven in the shape of a dog.[70]

In the legends of the Tinneh, living inland, north-east of the Koniagas, the familiar Bird and Dog again appear. These legends tell us that the world existed at first as a great ocean frequented only by an immense Bird, the beating of whose wings was thunder, and its glance lightning. This great flying monster descended and touched the waters, upon which the earth rose up and appeared above them; it touched the earth, and therefrom came every living creature,—except the Tinneh, who owe their origin to a Dog. Therefore it is that to this day a dog's flesh is an abomination to the Tinneh, as are also all who eat such flesh. A few years before Captain Franklin's visit they almost ruined themselves by following the advice of some fanatic reformer. Convinced by him of the wickedness of exacting labor from their near relations, the dogs, they got rid at once of the sin and of all temptation to its recommission, by killing every cur in their possession.

To return to the origin of the Tinneh, the wonderful Bird before mentioned made and presented to them a peculiar arrow, which they were to preserve for all time with great care. But they would not; they misappropriated the sacred shaft to some common use, and immediately the great Bird flew away never to return. With its departure ended the Golden Age of the Tinneh,—an age in which men lived till their throats were worn through with eating, and their feet with walking.[71]

Belonging to the Northern-Indian branch of the Tinneh we find a narrative in which the Dog holds a prominent place, but in which we find no mention at all of the Bird: The earth existed at first in a chaotic state, with only one human inhabitant, a woman who dwelt in a cave and lived on berries. While gathering these one day, she encountered an animal like a dog, which followed her home. This Dog possessed the power of transforming himself into a handsome young man, and in this shape he became the father by the woman of the first men. In course of time a giant of such height that his head reached the clouds, arrived on the scene and fitted the earth for its inhabitants. He reduced the chaos to order; he established the land in its boundaries, he marked out with his staff the position or course of the lakes, ponds, and rivers. Next he slew the Dog and tore him to pieces, as the four giants did the Beaver of the Palouse River, or as the creating Æsir did Aurgelmir. Unlike the four brothers, however, and unlike the sons of Bör, this giant of the Tinneh used the fragments not to create men or things, but animals. The entrails of the dog he threw into the water, and every piece became a fish; the flesh he scattered over the land, and every scrap became an animal; the bits of skin he sowed upon the wind, and they became birds. All these spread over the earth, and increased and multiplied; and the giant gave the woman and her progeny power to kill and eat of them according to their necessities. After this he returned to his place, and he has not since been heard of.[72]

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[70] *Choris, Voy. Pitt.*, pt. vii., p. 7; *Kotzebue's Voy.*, vol. ii., p., 165.

[71] *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 102, *et seq; Schoolcraft's Arch*, vol. v., p. 173; *Mackenzie's Voy.*, p. cxviii.; *Franklin's Nar.*, vol. i., pp. 249-50.

Leaving now this division of our subject, more particularly concerned with cosmogony, it may not be amiss to forestall possible criticism as to the disconnected manner in which the various myths are given. I have but to repeat that the mythology with which we have to deal is only known in fragments, and to submit that a broken statue, or even a broken sherd, of genuine or presumably genuine antiquity, is more valuable to science and even to poetry, than the most skillful ideal restoration.

Further, the absence of any attempt to form a connected whole out of the myths that come under our notice cannot but obviate that tendency to alter in outline and to color in detail which is so insensibly natural to any mythographer prepossessed with the spirit of a system. In advancing lastly the opinion that the disconnected arrangement is not only better adapted toward preserving the original myths in their integrity, but is also better for the student, I may be allowed to close the chapter with the second of the Rules for the Interpretation of Mythes given by so distinguished an authority as Mr. Keightley: "In like manner the mythes themselves should be considered separately, and detached from the system in which they are placed; for the single mythes existed long before the system, and were the product of other minds than those which afterwards set them in connection, not unfrequently without fully understanding them." [73]

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[72] *Hearne's Journey*, pp. 342-3.

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[73] *Keightley's Myth. of Ancient Greece and Italy*, p. 14.

CHAPTER III.

PHYSICAL MYTHS.

Sun, Moon, and Stars—Eclipses—The Moon Personified in the Land of the Crescent—Fire—How the Coyote Stole Fire for the Cahrocs—How the Frog Lost His Tail—How the Coyote Stole Fire for the Navajos—Wind and Thunder—The Four Winds and the Cross—Water, the First of Elemental Things—Its Sacred and Cleansing Power—Earth and Sky—Earthquakes and Volcanoes—Mountains—How the Hawk and Crow Built the Coast Range—The Mountains of Yosemite.

Fetichism seems to be the physical philosophy of man in his most primitive state. He looks on material things as animated by a life analogous to his own, as having a personal consciousness and character, as being severally the material body that contains some immaterial essence or soul. A child or a savage strikes or chides any object that hurts him, and caresses the gewgaw that takes his fancy, talking to it much as to a companion.

Let there be something peculiar, mysterious, or dangerous about the thing and the savage worships it, deprecates its wrath and entreats its favor, with such ceremonies, prayers, and sacrifices as he may deem likely to win upon its regard. In considering such cases mythologically, it will be necessary to examine the facts to see whether we have to deal with simple fetichism or with idolatry. That savage worships a fetich who worships the heaving sea as a great living creature, or kneels to flame as to a hissing roaring animal; but the Greeks in conceiving a separate anthropomorphic god of the sea or of the fire, and in representing that god by figures of different kinds, were only idolaters. The two things, however, are often so merged into each other that it becomes difficult or impossible to say in many instances whether a particular object, for example the sun, is regarded as the deity or merely as the representation or symbol of the deity. It is plain enough, however, that a tolerably distinct element of fetichism underlies much of the Indian mythology. Speaking of this mythology in the mass, the North American Review says: "A mysterious and inexplicable power resides in inanimate things. They, too, can listen to the voice of man, and influence his life for evil or for good. Lakes, rivers, and waterfalls are sometimes the dwelling-place of spirits, but more frequently they are themselves living beings, to be propitiated by prayers and offerings."[1]

The explicit worship of the sun and more or less that of other heavenly bodies, or at least a recognition of some supernatural power resident in or connected with them, was widely spread through Mexico, as well among the uncivilized as among the civilized tribes. The wild Chichimecs or that portion of the wild tribes of Mexico to which Alegre applied this name, owned the sun as their deity, as did also the people of the Nayarit country.[2]

In what we may call civilized Mexico, the sun was definitely worshiped under the name of Tonatiuh, the Sun in his substance, and under that of Naolin, the Sun in his four motions. He was sometimes represented by a human face surrounded with rays, at other times by a full-length human figure, while again he often seems to be confused or connected with the element fire and the god of fire. Sahagun, for instance, usually speaks of the festival of the month Izcalli as appertaining to the god of fire, but in at least one place he describes it as belonging to the sun and the fire.[3] The sun, it is tolerably certain, held, if not the highest place, one not far removed from that position in the Mexican pantheon. Brasseur de Bourbourg, Tylor, Squier, and Schoolcraft agree in considering sun-worship the most radical religious idea of all civilized American religions.[4] Professor Müller considers the sun-god and the supreme Mexican Teotl to be identical.[5] Dr. Brinton, as we shall see when we come to notice the mythology of fire, while not denying the prominence of the sun-cult, would refer that cult to a basal and original fire-worship. Many interpreters of mythology see also the personification of the sun in others of the Mexican gods besides Tonatiuh. More especially does evidence seem to point strongly in this direction in the case of Quetzalcoatl, as will be seen when we come to deal with this god.

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[1] *North Am. Rev.*, vol. ciii., p. 1.

[2] *Alegre, Hist. Comp. de Jesus*, tom. i., p. 279; *Apostólicos Afanes*, p. 68.

[3] *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., pp. 74-5, 200-18; *Explicacion del Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, parte ii., lám. x., in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., p. 139; *Spiegazione delle Tavole del Codice Mexicano (Vaticano)* tav.

The Mexicans were much troubled and distressed by an eclipse of the sun. They thought that he was much disturbed and tossed about by something, and that he was becoming seriously jaundiced. This was the occasion of a general panic, women weeping aloud, and men howling and shouting and striking the hand upon the mouth. There was an immediate search for men with white hair and white faces, and these were sacrificed to the sun, amid the din and tumult of singing and musical instruments. It was thought that should the eclipse become once total, there would be an end of the light, and that in the darkness the demons would come down to the devouring of the people.[6]

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xxv. and xxxiii., in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., pp. 178, 181–2; *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, pp. 80–1; *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., pp. 9, 11, 17, 34–5.

[4] *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. des Nat. Civ.*, tom. iii., p. 301; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Quatre Lettres*, p. 156; *Tylor's Prim. Cult.*, vol. ii., pp. 259, 262–3; *Squier's Serpent Symbol*, pp. 18–20; *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iii., p. 60, vol. iv., p. 639, vol. v., pp. 29–87, vol. vi., pp. 594, 626, 636.

[5] *Müller, Amerikanische Urreligionen*, p. 474.

[6] *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. vii., pp. 244–5. In Campeche, in 1834, M. Waldeck witnessed an eclipse of the moon during which the Yucatecs conducted themselves much as their fathers might have done in their gentile days, howling frightfully and making every effort to part the celestial combatants. The only apparent advance made on the old customs was the firing off of muskets, 'to prove' in the words of the sarcastic artist, 'that the Yucatecs of to-day are not strangers to the progress of civilization.' *Waldeck, Voy. Pitt.*, p. 14.

The Tlascaltecs, regarding the sun and the moon as husband and wife, believed eclipses to be domestic quarrels, whose consequences were likely to be fatal to the world if peace could not be made before things proceeded to an extremity. To sooth the ruffled spirit of the sun when he was eclipsed, a human sacrifice was offered to him of the ruddiest victims that could be found; and when the moon was darkened she was appeased with the blood of those white-complexioned persons commonly known as Albinos.[7]

The idea of averting the evil by noise, in case of an eclipse either of the sun or moon, seems to have been a common one among other American tribes. Alegre ascribes it to the natives of Sonora in general. Ribas tells how the Sinaloas held that the moon in an eclipse was darkened with the dust of battle. Her enemy had come upon her, and a terrible fight, big with consequence to those on earth, went on in heaven. In wild excitement the people beat on the sides of their houses, encouraging the moon and shooting flights of arrows up into the sky to distract her adversary. Much the same as this was also done by certain Californians.[8]

With regard to an eclipse of the moon the Mexicans seem to have had rather special ideas as to its effects upon unborn children. At such times, women who were with child became alarmed lest their infant should be turned into a mouse, and to guard against such an undesirable consummation they held a bit of obsidian, *iztli*, in their mouth, or put a piece of it in their girdle, so that the child should be born perfect and not lipless, or noseless, or wry-mouthed, or squinting, or a monster.[9] These ideas are probably connected with the fact that the Mexicans worshiped the moon under the name of Meztli, as a deity presiding over human generations.

[7] *Camargo, Hist. de Tlaxcallan*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1843, tom. xcvii , p. 193.

[8] *Alegre, Hist. Comp. de Jesus*, tom. ii., p. 218; *Ribas, Hist. de los Triumphos*, p. 202; *Boscana*, in *Robinson's Life in Cal.*, pp. 296–300.

[9] *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. viii., p. 250.

This moon-god is considered by Clavigero to be identical with Joaltecutli, god of night.[10]

It is to the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, however, that we must turn for a truly novel and cyclopean theory of Mexican lunolatry. He sees back to a time when the forefathers of American civilization lived in a certain Crescent Land in the Atlantic; here they practiced Sabaism. Through some tremendous physical catastrophe their country was utterly overwhelmed by the sea; and this inundation is considered by the abbé to be the origin of the deluge-myths of the Central-American nations. A remnant of these Crescent people saved themselves in the seven principal islands of the Lesser Antilles; these are, he explains, the seven mythical caves or grottoes celebrated in so many American legends as the cradle of the nations. The saved remnant of the people wept the loss of their friends and of their old land, making the latter, with its crescent shape, memorable forever by adopting the moon as their god. "It is the moon," writes the great Américaniste, "male and female, Luna and Lunus, personified in the land of the Crescent, engulfed in the abyss, that I believe I see at the commencement of this amalgam of rites and symbols of every kind."[11] I confess inability to follow the path by which the abbé has reached this conclusion; but I have indicated its whereabouts, and future students may be granted a further insight into this new labyrinth and the subtleties of its industrious Dædalus.

The Mexicans had many curious ideas about the stars, some of which have come down to us. They particularly reverenced a certain group of three called *mamalhoaztli*, in, or in the neighborhood of, the sign Taurus of the zodiac. This name was the same as that of the sticks from which fire was procured: a resemblance of some kind being supposed to exist between them and these stars. Connected again with this was the burning by every male Mexican of certain marks upon his wrist, in honor of the same stars; it being believed that the man who died without these marks should, on his arrival in hades, be forced to draw fire from his wrist by boring upon it as on a fire-stick. The planet Venus was worshiped as the first light that appeared in the world, as the god of twilight, and, according to some, as being identical with Quetzalcoatl. This star has been further said to borrow its light from the moon, and to rise by four starts. Its first twinkle was a bad augury, and to be closed out of all doors and windows; on appearing for the third time, it began to give a steady light, and on the fourth it shone forth in all its clearness and brilliancy.

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[10] *Explicacion del Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, part. ii., lam. x., in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., p. 139; *Spiegazione delle Tavole del Codice Mexicano (Vaticano)*, tav. xxvi., in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., p. 179; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. vii., p. 250; *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., pp. 9-17.

[11] *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Quatre Lettres*, pp. 155-6.

Comets were called each *citlalinpopoca*, or the smoking star; their appearance was considered as a public disaster, and as announcing pest, dearth, or the death of some prince. The common people were accustomed to say of one, This is our famine, and they believed it to cast down certain darts, which falling on any animal, bred a maggot that rendered the creature unfit for food. All possible precautions of shelter were of course taken by persons in positions exposed to the influence of these noxious rays. Besides the foregoing, there were many stars or groups of stars whose names were identical with those of certain gods; the following seem to belong to this class: Tonacatlecutli or Citlalalatonalli, the milky way; Yzacatecutli, Tlahvizcalpantecutli, Ceyacatl, Achitumetl, Xacupancalqui, Mixcoatl, Tezcatlipoca, and Contemoctli.[12]

I have already noticed a prevailing tendency to connect the worship of fire and that of the sun. The rites of a perpetual fire are found closely connected with a sun-cult, and, whichever may be the older, it is certain they are rarely found apart. "What," says Tylor, "the sea is to Water-worship, in some measure the Sun is to Fire-worship."[13] Brinton would reverse this and give to fire the predominance: in short, he says, the sun "is always spoken of as a fire;" "and without danger or error we can merge the consideration of its worship almost altogether is this element."[14] This sounds rather extravagant and is hardly needed in any case; for sufficient reason for its deification can always be found in its mysterious nature and awful powers of destruction, as well as in its kind and constantly renewed services, if gratitude have any power in making a god. The mere guarding and holding sacred a particular fire probably originated in the importance of possessing an unfailing source of the element, and in the difficulty of its production if allowed to die out, among men not possessed of the appliances of civilization.

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[12] *Explicacion delle Tavole del Codice Mexicano*, part. i., lam. ii., part. ii., lam. xiv., in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., pp. 132, 140; *Spiegazione delle Tavole del Codice Mexicano (Vaticano)*, tav., xvii., xxxi., *Ib.*, vol. v., pp. 175, 181; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. vii., pp. 250-252; *Camargo, Hist. de Tlaxcallan*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1843, tom. xcviii., p. 193;

When we come to review the gods in general, those connected with fire will be pointed out as they appear; for the present, let it suffice to say that many American peoples had such gods, or had ceremonies suggesting their existence and recognition, or lastly, had legends of the origin or procurement of the fire they daily used on the altar or on the hearth. In the Pueblos of New Mexico, and more especially among the Pecos, sacred perpetual fires were kept up by special command of their traditionary god and ruler Montezuma; but these fires were not regarded as fetiches.[15] The Mexican fire-god was known by the name of Xiuhtecutli, and by other names appertaining to the different aspects in which he was viewed. While preserving his own well-marked identity, he was evidently closely re-

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Mendieta, Hist. Ecles., p. 81. The word *tecutli* is of frequent occurrence as a termination in the names of Mexican gods. It signifies 'lord' and is written with various spellings. I follow that given by Molina's Vocabulary.

[13] *Tylor's Prim. Cult.*, vol. ii., p. 259.

[14] *Brinton's Myths*, p. 143.

[15] *Ward*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1864, p. 193.

lated also to the sun-god. Many and various, even in domestic life, were the ceremonies by which he was recognized; the most important ritual in connection with his service being, perhaps, the lighting of the new fire, with which, as we shall see, the beginning of every Mexican cycle was solemnized.[16]

There are various fables scattered up and down among the various tribes regarding the origin or rather the procuring of fire. We know how the Quichés received it from the stamp of the sandal of Tohil; how, from the home of the cuttle-fish, a deer brought it to the Ahts in a joint of his leg; how from a distant island the great Yehl of the Thlinkeets fetched the brand in his beak that filled the flint and the fire-stick with seeds of eternal fire.

The Cahrocs hold that, when in the beginning the creator Chareya made fire, he gave it into the custody of two old hags, lest the Cahrocs should steal it. The Cahrocs, having exhausted every means to procure the treasure, applied for help to their old friend the Coyote; who, having maturely considered how the theft might best be accomplished, set about the thing in this way: From the land of the Cahrocs to the home of the old women he stationed a great company of animals, at convenient distances; the strongest nearest the den of the old beldames, the weakest farthest removed. Last of all he hid a Cahroc in the neighborhood of the hut, and, having left the man precise directions how to act, he trotted up to the door and asked to be let in out of the cold. Suspecting nothing, the crones gave him admittance; so he lay down in front of the fire, and made himself as comfortable as possible, waiting for the further action of his human accomplice without. In good time, the man made a furious attack on the house and the old furies rushed out at once to drive off the invader. This was the Coyote's opportunity. Instantly he seized a half-burnt brand and fled like a comet down the trail; and the two hags, seeing how they had been outwitted, turned after him in immediate and furious chase. It had gone hard then with the hopes of the Cahrocs, if their four-legged Prometheus had trusted to his single speed; but just as he began to feel the pace tell on him, and just as the wierd women thought they were about to recover the brand, the Cougar relieved him of it. Great was the satisfaction of our wise Coyote, as he sank down, clearing his sooty eyes and throat, and catching his breath, to see the great lithe cat leap away with the torch, and the hags gnash their choppy gums as they rushed by, hard in pursuit, on the dim trail of sparks. The Cougar passed the brand to the Bear, the Bear to his neighbor, and so on to the end. Down the long line of carriers, the panting crones plied their withered old legs in vain; only two mishaps occurring among all the animals that made up the file. The squirrel, last in the train but one, burned his tail so badly that it curled up over his back, and even scorched the skin above his shoulders. Last of all, the poor Frog, who received the brand when it had burned down to a very little piece, hopped along so heavily that his pursuers gained on him, gained fast and surely. In vain he gathered himself for every spring, in vain he stretched at every leap till the jarred muscles cracked again. He was caught. The smoke-dimmed eyes stood out from his head, his little heart thumped like a club against the lean fingers that closed upon his body—yet that wild croak was not the croak of despair. Once more for the hope of the Cahrocs! one more struggle for the Coyote that trusted him in this great thing! and with a gulp the plucky little martyr swallowed the fire, tore himself from the hands that held him, leaped into a river, and diving deep and long, gained his gaol; but gained it a mournful wreck, the handsome tail, which, of all his race, only the tadpole should ever wear again, was utterly gone, left, like that of an O'Shanter's mare, in the witch's grasp; only the ghost of himself was left to spit out on some pieces of wood the precious embers preserved at so great a cost. And it is because the Frog spat out this fire upon these pieces of wood that it can always be extracted again by rubbing them hard together.[17]

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[16] *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. i., p. 16; *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 56–7; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. des Nat. Civ.*, tom. iii., pp. 491–2.

The Navajos have a legend as to the procuring of fire, that has many analogies to the foregoing. They tell how, when they first gained the earth, they were without fire, and how the Coyote, the Bat, and the Squirrel agreed to procure it for them. The object of their desire seems to have been in the possession of the animals in general, in some distant locality. The Coyote, having attached pine splinters to his tail, ran quickly through the fire and fled with his lighted prize. Being keenly pursued, however, by the other animals, he soon tired; upon which the Bat relieved him, and dodging and flitting here and there, carried the splinters still farther. Then the Squirrel came to the assistance of the Bat, and succeeding him in his office, contrived to reach the hearths of the Navajos with the coveted embers.[18]

The natives of Mendocino county, California, believe that lightning is the origin of fire, that a primeval bolt hurled down by the Man Above fell upon certain wood, from which, consequently fire can always be extracted by rubbing two pieces together.[19]

From fire let us turn for a moment to wind, whose phenomena, as might be expected, have not been allowed to pass wholly unnoticed by the mythologies with which we have to deal. When we come to examine ideas connected with death and with the soul of man and its future, we shall find the wind, or the air, often in use as the best name and figure for the expression of primitive conceptions of that mysterious thing, the vital essence or spirit. The wind too is often considered as a god, or at least as the breath of a god, and in many American languages the Great Spirit and the Great Wind are one and the same both in word and signification. The name of the god Hurakan, mentioned in Quiché myths, still signifies the Storm in many a language strange to his worshipers, while in Quiché it may be translated Spirit, or swiftly moving Spirit;[20] and the name of the Mexican god Mixcoatl is said to be to this day the correct Mexican term for the whirlwind.[21]

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[17] *Powers' Pomo*, MS.
[18] *Eaton*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iv., pp. 218-19.
[19] *Powers' Pomo*, MS.

An interesting point here arises with regard to the division of the heavens into four quarters and the naming of these after the names of the wind. Dr. Brinton believes this fact to be at the bottom of the sacredness and often occurrence of the number four in so many early legends, and he connects these four winds and their embodiment in many quaternions of deities, with the sacredness of the cross and its use among widely separated nations, to whom its later Christian signification was utterly unknown.[22]

If we may suppose that the Great Spirit and the wind are often represented under the form of an enormous bird, we must connect with them, as their most inseparable attributes, the thunder and the lightning; the first, as we have so often seen, is the rustling or stridor of the wings of the bird, the second is the flashing of his eyes. The Raven of the Koniagas is not, however, as among most other tribes of the great Northwest, the author of these things; but their principal deity when he is angry sends down two dwarfs, who thunder and lighten according to his command.[23] Of the god Hurakan, whom we have noticed as the etymon of the word hurricane, the Popol Vuh says: "The flash is the first sign of Hurakan; the second is the furrow of the flash; the third is the thunder-bolt that strikes;"[24] and to the Mexican god, Tlaloc, are also attached the same three attributes.[25]

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[20] *Brasseur de Bourbourg, S'il Existe des Sources de l'Hist. Prim. du Mexique*, p. 101.

[21] *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. iii., p. 485; *Brinton's Myths*, p. 51.

[22] *Brinton's Myths*, pp. 66–98.

[23] *Holmberg, Ethn. Skiz.*, p. 141.

[24] *Ximenez, Hist. Ind. Guat.*, p. 6; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Popol Vuh*, p. 9.

[25] *Gama, Dos Piedras*, pt. ii., p. 76.

Turning to water, we find it regarded among many tribes as the first of elemental things. It is from a primeval ocean of water that the earth is generally supposed to come up. Water is obviously a first and chief nourisher of vegetable life, and an indispensable prerequisite of all fertility; from this it is but a short step to saying, that it is the mother of those that live by the earth's fertility. "Your mother, Chalchiuhtlicue, goddess of water," is a phrase constantly found in the midwife's mouth, in her address to the child, in the Mexican washing or baptismal service.[26]

The use of water more or less sanctified or set apart or made worthy the distinction 'holy;' the employment of this in a rite of avowed purification from inherent sin, at the time of giving a name,—baptism, in one word,—runs back to a period far pre-Christian among the Mexican, Maya, and other American nations; as ancient ceremonies to be hereafter described will show. That man sets out in this life-journey of his with a terrible bias toward evil, with a sad and pitiful liability to temptation, is a point upon which all religions are practically unanimous. How else could they exist? Were man born perfect he would remain perfect, otherwise the first element of perfection would be wanting; and perfection admits of no superlative, no greater, no god. Where there is a religion then, there is generally a consciousness of sin voluntary and involuntary. How shall I be cleansed? how shall my child be cleansed from this great wickedness? is the cry of the idolater as well as of the monotheist. Is it strange that the analogy between corporal and spiritual pollution should independently suggest itself to both? Surely not. Wash and be clean, is to all the world a parable needing no interpreter.[27]

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[26] *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. vi., p. 197.

[27] Singularly apt in this connection are the wise words that Carlyle, *Past and Present Chartism*, book i., p. 233, puts into the mouth of his mythical friend Sauerteig,—'Strip thyself, go into the bath, or were it into the limpid pool and running brook, and there wash and be clean; thou wilt step out again a purer and a better man. This consciousness of perfect outer pureness,

The ceremonial use of water followed the Mexican through all his life; though for the present we shall only notice one more custom connected with it, the last of all. When a body was buried, a vase of clean, sweet water was let down into the tomb; bright, clear, life-giving and preserving water,—hope and love, dumb and inarticulate, stretching vague hand toward a resurrection.

The Mexican rain and water god was Tlaloc, sender of thunder and lightning, lord of the earthly paradise, and fertilizer of earth; his wife was the Chalchiuhtlicue, already mentioned.[28] Like Tlaloc was Quiateot, the Nicaraguan rain-god, master of thunderbolts and general director of meteorological phenomena.[29]

The Navajos puffed tobacco smoke straight up toward heaven to bring rain, and those of them that carried a corpse to burial were unclean till washed in water.[30] In a deep and lonely cañon near Fort Defiance there is a spring that this tribe hold sacred, approaching it only with much reverence and the performance of certain mystic ceremonies. They say it was once a boiling spring, and that even yet if approached heedlessly or by a bad Indian, its waters will seethe up and leap forth to overwhelm the intruder.[31]

The Zuñis had also a sacred spring; sacred to the rain-god, who, as we see by implication, is Montezuma the great Pueblo deity himself. No animal might taste of its sacred waters, and it was cleansed annually with vessels also sacred,—most ancient vases that had been transmitted from generation to generation since times to

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that to thy skin there now adheres no foreign speck of imperfection, how it radiates in on thee with cunning symbolic influences, to the very soul!.... It remains a religious duty from oldest time in the East......Even the dull English feel something of this; they have a saying, "cleanliness is near of kin to Godliness."'

[28] *Clavigero*, *Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., pp. 15–16. 'Era conosciuta con altri nomi assai espressive, i quali o significavano i diversi effetti, che cagionano l'acque, o le diverse apparenze, colori, che formano col loro moto. I Tlascallesi la chiamavano Matlalcueje, cioè, vestita di gonna turchina.' See also *Müller*, *Reisen in Mex.*, tom. iii., p. 89.

[29] *Oviedo*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. iv., pp. 46, 55.

[30] *Ten Broeck*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iv., p. 91; *Bristol*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1867, p. 358.

[31] *Backus*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iv., p. 213.

which even tradition went not back. These vessels were kept ranged on the wall of the well. The frog, the rattlesnake, and the tortoise were depicted upon them, and were sacred to the great patron of the place, whose terrible lightning should consume the sacrilegious hand that touched these hallowed relics.[32]

We have seen how the Californian tribes believe themselves descended from the very earth, how the bodiless ancestor of the Tezcucans came up from the soil, how the Guatemaltecs, Papagos, and Pimas were molded from the clay they tread, and how the Navajos came to light from the bowels of a great mountain near the river San Juan. It seems long ago and often to have come into men's mind that the over-arching heaven or something there and the all-producing earth are, as it were, a father and mother to all living creatures. The Comanches call on the earth as their mother, and on the Great Spirit as their father. The Mexicans used to pray: Be pleased, O our Lord, that the nobles who may die in the war be peacefully and pleasingly received by the sun and the earth, who are the father and mother of all.[33] It was probably, again, with some reference to the motherly function of the earth that the same people, when an earthquake came, took their children by the head or hand, and lifted them up saying: The earthquake will make them grow.[34] Sometimes they specified a particular part of the earth as closer to them in this relation than other parts. It is said that on the tenth day of the month Quecholli, the citizens of Mexico and those of Tlatelolco were wont to visit a hill called Cacatepec, for they said it was their mother.[35]

As to the substance, arrangement, and so on of the earth and sky there remain one or two ideas not already given in connection with the general creation. The Tlascaltecs, and perhaps others of the Anáhuac peoples, believed that the earth was flat, and ending with the sea-shore, was borne up by certain divinities, who when fatigued relieved each other, and that as the burden was shifted from shoulder to shoulder earthquakes occurred. The sea and sky were considered as of one material, the sea being more highly condensed; and the rain was thought to fall not from clouds but from the very substance of heaven itself.[36] The Southern Californians believed that when the Creator made the world he fixed it on the back of seven giants, whose movements, as in the preceding myth, caused earthquakes.[37] The sky, according to certain of the Yucatecs, was held up by four brothers called each of them Bacab, in addition to their several names, which seem to have been Kan, Muluc, Ix, and Cauac. These four, God had placed at the four corners of the world when he created it, and they had escaped when all else were destroyed by flood.[38]

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[32] *Whipple*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. iii., p. 39.
[33] *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. vi., p. 43.
[34] *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. v., ap., pp. 21-2.
[35] *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., p. 70.

In the interior of the earth, in volcanoes, subterranean gods were often supposed to reside. The Koniagas, for example, held that the craters of Alaska were inhabited by beings mightier then men, and that these sent forth fire and smoke when they heated their sweat-houses or cooked their food.[39]

The rugged majesty of hills and mountains has not been without its effect on the reverential mind of the American aborigines. Direct worship was unusual, but several incidents must have already informed the reader that a kind of sanctity is often attached to great elevations in nature. A predilection for hills and mounds as landmarks and fanes of tradition, and as places of worship, was as common among the Americans as among the people of the old world. The Choles of the province of Itza had a hill in their country that they regarded as the god of all the mountains, and on which they burned a perpetual fire.[40] The Mexicans, praying for rain, were accustomed to vow that they would make images of the mountains if their petitions were favorably received;[41] and, in other points connected with their religion to show, as has appeared and will appear both with them and with other people, their recognition of a divinity abiding on or hedging about the great peaks. What wonder, indeed, that to the rude and awe-struck mind, the everlasting hills seemed nearer and liker heaven than the common-place level of earth? and that the wild man should kneel or go softly there, as in the peculiar presence of the Great Spirit? This is hardly a new feeling, it seems an instinct and custom as old as religion. Where went Abraham in that awful hour, counted to him for righteousness through all the centuries? Where smoked the thunderings and lightnings that heralded the delivery of the Law, when the son of Amram talked with Jehovah face to face, as a man talketh with his friend? Whence saw a greater than Moses the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them? whence, in the all-nights that came after, did the prayers of the Christ ascend? and where stood he when his raiment became as no fuller on earth could white it, Moses and Elias talking with him, and Peter so sore afraid?

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[36] *Camargo, Hist. de Tlaxcallan*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1834, tom. xcviii., p. 192.

[37] *Reid*, in *Los Angeles Star*.

[38] *Landa, Rel. de las Cosas de Yucatan*, p. 206.

[39] *Holmberg, Ethn. Skiz.*, p. 141.

[40] *Villagutierre, Hist. Conq. de Itza*, pp. 151-2.

Where hills were not found conveniently situated for purposes of worship, they seem to have been counterfeited after man's feeble fashion: from high-place and mound, from pyramid and teocalli, since the morning stars sang together, the smoke of the altar and the censer has not ceased to ascend. But the day begins to broaden out, and the mists of the morning flee away; though the hills be not lowered, God is lifted up. Yet they have their glory and their charm still even to us, and to the savage they often appear as the result of a special and several creation. We remember how the Great Spirit made Mount Shasta as his only worthy abiding-place on earth; and I give here another legend of a much more trivial sort than the first, telling how, not Mount Shasta alone, but all the mountains of California were built and put into position:—[42] At a time when the world was covered with water there existed a Hawk and a Crow and a very small Duck. The latter, after diving to the bottom and bringing up a beakful of mud, died; whereupon the Crow and the Hawk took each a half of the mud that had been brought up, and set to work to make the mountains. Beginning at a place called Teheechaypah Pass, they built northwards, the Hawk working on the eastern range and the Crow on the western. It was a long and weary toil, but in time the work was finished, and as they laid the last peak the workers met at Mount Shasta. Then the Hawk saw that there had been foul play somewhere, for the western range was bigger than his; and he charged the Crow with stealing some of his mud. But the smart bird laughed a hoarse guffaw in the face of his eastern brother, not even taking the trouble to disown the theft, and chuckled hugely over his own success and western enterprise. The honest Hawk was at his wits' end, and he stood thinking with his head on one side for quite a long time; then in an absent kind of way he picked up a leaf of Indian tobacco and began to chew, and wisdom came with chewing. And he strengthened himself mightily, and fixed his claws in the mountains, and turned the whole chain in the water like a great floating wheel, till the range of his rival had changed places with his, and the Sierra Nevada was on the east and the Coast Range on the west, as they remain to this day.

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[41] *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., p. 177.

This legend is not without ingenuity in its way but there is more of human interest in the following pretty story of the Yosemite nations, as to the origin of the names and present appearance of certain peaks and other natural features of their valley:—

A certain Totokónula was once chief of the people here; a mighty hunter and a good husbandman, his tribe never wanted food while he attended to their welfare. But a change came; while out hunting one day, the young man met a spirit-maid, the guardian angel of the valley, the beautiful Tisayac. She was not as the dusky beauties of his tribe, but white and fair, with rolling yellow tresses that fell over her shoulders like sunshine, and blue eyes with a light in them like the sky where the sun goes down. White, cloudlike wings were folded behind her shoulders, and her voice was sweeter than the song of birds; no wonder the strong chief loved her with a mad and instant love. He reached toward her, but the snowy wings lifted her above his sight, and he stood again alone upon the dome, where she had been.

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[42] *Powers' Pomo*, MS. This is a tradition of the Yocuts, a Californian tribe, occupying the Kern and Tulare basins, the middle San Joaquin, and the various streams running into Lake Tulare.

No more Totokónula led in the chase or heeded the crops in the valley; he wandered here and there like a man distraught, ever seeking that wonderful shining vision that had made all else on earth stale and unprofitable in his sight. The land began to languish, missing the industrious directing hand that had tended it so long; the pleasant garden became a wilderness where the drought laid waste, and the wild beast spoiled what was left, and taught his cubs to divide the prey. When the fair spirit returned at last to visit her valley, she wept to see the desolation, and she knelt upon the dome, praying to the Great Spirit for succor. God heard, and stooping from his place, he clove the dome upon which she stood, and the granite was riven beneath her feet, and the melted snows of the Nevada rushed through the gorge, bearing fertility upon their cool bosom. A beautiful lake was formed between the cloven walls of the mountain, and a river issued from it to feed the valley for ever. Then sang the birds as of old, laving their bodies in the water, and the odor of flowers rose like a pleasant incense, and the trees put forth their buds, and the corn shot up to meet the sun and rustled when the breeze crept through the tall stalks.

Tisayac moved away as she had come, and none knew whither she went; but the people called the dome by her name, as it is indeed known to this day. After her departure the chief returned from his weary quest; and as he heard that the winged one had visited the valley, the old madness crept up into his eyes and entered, seven times worse than at the first, into his empty soul; he turned his back on the lodges of his people. His last act was to cut with his hunting-knife the outline of his face upon a lofty rock, so that if he never returned his memorial at least should remain with them forever. He never did return from that hopeless search, but the graven rock was called Totokónula, after his name, and it may be still seen, three thousand feet high, guarding the entrance of the beautiful valley.[43]

Leaving this locality and subject, I may remark that the natives have named the Póhono Fall, in the same valley, after an evil spirit; many persons having been swept over and dashed to pieces there. No native of the vicinity will so much as point at this fall when going through the valley, nor could anything tempt one of them to sleep near it; for the ghosts of the drowned are tossing in its spray, and their wail is heard forever above the hiss of its rushing waters.[44]

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[43] *Hutchings' Cal. Mag.*, vol. iv., pp. 197–9.
[44] *Hutchings' Cal. Mag.*, vol. iv., p. 243.

CHAPTER IV.

ANIMAL MYTHOLOGY.

Rôles Assigned to Animals—Auguries from their Movements—The Ill-omened Owl—Tutelary Animals—Metamorphosed Men—The Ogress-Squirrel of Vancouver Island—Monkeys and Beavers—Fallen Men—The Sacred Animals—Prominence of the Bird—An Emblem of the Wind—The Serpent, an Emblem of the Lightning—Not Specially connected with Evil—The Serpent of the Pueblos—The Water-Snake—Ophiolatry—Prominence of the Dog, or the Coyote—Generally though not always a Benevolent Power—How the Coyote let Salmon up the Klamath—Danse Macabre and Sad Death of the Coyote.

The reader must have already noticed the strange rôles filled by animals in the creeds of the Native Races of the Pacific States. Beasts and birds and fishes fetch and carry, talk and act, in a way that leaves even Æsop's heroes in the shade; while a mysterious and inexplicable influence over human destiny is often accorded to them. It is of course impossible to say precisely how much of all this is metaphorical, and how much is held as soberly and literally true. Probably the proportion varies all the way from one extreme to the other among different nations, and among peoples of different stages of culture in the same nation. They spake only in part, these priests and prophets of barbaric cults, and we can understand only in part; we cannot solve the dark riddle of the past; we can oftenest only repeat it, and even that in a more or less imperfect manner.

The Mexicans had their official augurs and soothsayers, who divined much as did their brethren of classic times. The people also drew omen and presage from many things: from the howling of wild beasts at night; the singing of certain birds; the hooting of the owl; a weasel crossing a traveler's path; a rabbit running into its burrow; from the chance movements of worms, beetles, ants, frogs, and mice; and so on in detail.[1]

The owl seems to have been in many places considered a bird of ill omen. Among all the tribes visited by Mr Lord, from the Fraser River to the Saint Lawrence, this bird was portentously sacred, and was a favorite decoration of the medicine-men. To come on an owl at an unusual time, in daylight for example, and to hear its mystic cry, were things not desirable of any that loved fulness of pleasure and length of days.[2] In California, by the tribes on the Russian River, owls were held to be devils or evil spirits incarnate.[3]

We often find an animal adopted in much the same way as a patron saint was selected by the mediæval knight. The Hyperborean lad, for example, when he reaches manhood, takes some beast or fish or bird to be his patron, and the spirit connected with that animal is supposed to guard him. Unlike most Indians, the Eskimo will have no hesitation in killing an animal of his tutelary species; he is only careful to wear a piece of its skin or bone, which he regards as an amulet, which it were to him a serious misfortune to lose. Prolonged ill luck sometimes leads a man to change his patron beast for another. The spirits connected with the deer, the seal, the salmon, and the beluga are regarded by all with special veneration.[4]

The Mexicans used to allot certain animals to certain parts of the body; perhaps in much the same way as astrologers and alchymists used to connect the stars of heaven with different substances and persons. The following twenty Mexican symbols were supposed to rule over the various members of the human body: The sign of the deer, over the right foot; of the tiger, over the left foot; of the eagle, over the right hand; of the monkey, over the left hand; of death,—represented by a skull,—over the skull; of water, over the hair; of the house, over the brow; of rain, over the eyes; of the dog, over the nose; of the vulture, over the right ear; of the rabbit, over the left ear; of the earthquake, over the tongue; of flint, over the teeth; of air, over the breath; of the rose over the breast; of the cane, over the heart; of wind over the lungs—as appears from the plate in the Codex Vaticanus, the Italian interpreter giving, however, "over the liver;" of the grass, over the intestines; of the lizard, over the loins; and of the serpent over the genitals.[5]

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[1] *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. v., pp. 1-14, ap. pp. 25-6.

[2] *Lord's Naturalist in Vancouver Island*, vol. ii., pp. 32-4.

[3] *Powers' Pomo*, MS.

[4] *Dall's Alaska*, p. 145.

Sometimes the whole life and being of a man was supposed to be bound up in the bundle with that of some animal. Thus, of the Guatemaltecs, old Gage quaintly enough writes: "Many are deluded by the Devil to believe that their life dependeth upon the life of such and such a beast (which they take unto them as their familiar spirit) and think that when that beast dieth they must die; when he is chased their hearts pant; when he is faint they are faint; nay it happeneth that by the devil's delusion they appear in the shape of that beast."[6]

Animals are sometimes only men in disguise; and this is the idea often to be found at the bottom of that sacredness which among particular tribes is ascribed to particular animals.

The Thlinkeet will kill a bear only in case of great necessity, for the bear is supposed to be a man that has taken the shape of an animal. We do not know if they think the same of the albatross, but they certainly will not kill this bird, believing, like mariners ancient and modern, that such a misdeed would be followed by bad weather.[7]

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[5] *Codex Vaticanus (Mex.)*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. ii., plate 75; *Spiegazione delle Tavole del Codice Mexicano (Vaticano)*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., p. 197, tav. lxxv.; *Explanation of the Codex Vaticanus*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vi., pp. 222–3, plate lxxv. It will be seen that I have trusted more to the plate itself than to the Italian explanation. As to Kingsborough's translation of that explanation, it is nothing but a gloss with additions to and omissions from the original.

[6] *Gage's New Survey*, p. 334.

Among the natives seen by Mr Lord on Vancouver Island, ill-luck is supposed to attend the profane killing of the ogress-squirrel, and the conjurers wear its skin as a strong charm among their other trumpery. As tradition tells, there once lived there a monstrous old woman with wolfish teeth, and finger-nails like claws. She ate children, this old hag, wiling them to her with cunning and oily words, and many were the broken hearts and empty cradles that she left. One poor Rachel, weeping for her child and not to be comforted because it was not, cries aloud: Oh, Great Spirit, Great Medicine, save my son, in any way, in any form! And the great, good Father, looking down upon the red mother pities her; lo, the child's soft brown skin turns to fur, and there slides from the ogress's grip no child, but the happiest, liveliest, merriest little squirrel of all the west—but bearing, as its descendants still bear, those four dark lines along the back that show where the cruel claws plowed into it escaping.[8]

Where monkeys are found, the idea seems often to have occurred to men, to account for the resemblance of the monkey to the man by making of the first a fallen or changed form of the latter. We have already seen how the third Quiché destruction of the human race terminated thus; and how the hurricane-ended Sun of the Air in Mexican mythology, also left men in the apish state. The intelligence of beavers may have been the means of winning them a similar distinction. The Flathead says these animals are a fallen race of Indians, condemned for their wickedness to this form, but who will yet, in the fulness of time, be restored to their humanity.[9]

As we shall see more particularly, when we come to deal with the question of the future life, it was a common idea that the soul of the dead took an animal shape, sometimes inhabiting another world, sometimes this. The Thlinkeets, for example, believed that their shamáns used to have interviews with certain spirits of the dead that appeared to them in two forms, some as land animals, some as marine.[10]

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[7] *Holmberg, Ethn. Skiz.*, p. 30.
[8] *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 52–4.
[9] *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 253.

The Californians round San Diego will not eat the flesh of large game, believing such animals are inhabited by the souls of generations of people that have died ages ago; 'eater of venison!' is a term of reproach among them.[11]

The Pimos and Maricopas had, if Bartlett's account be correct, some curious and unusual ideas regarding their future state; saying that the several parts of the body should be changed into separate animals; the head would perhaps take the form of an owl, the feet become wolves, and so on.[12] The Moquis supposed that at death they should be severally changed into animals —bears, deer, and such beasts; which indeed, as we have already seen, they believed to have been their original form.[13]

Different reasons are given by different tribes for holding certain animals sacred; some of these we have already had occasion to notice. Somewhat different from most, however, is that given by the Northern-Indian branch of the Tinneh, for not eating the flesh of foxes, wolves, ravens, and so on. This tribe are accustomed to abandon the bodies of their dead wherever they happen to fall, leaving them to the maws of kites or of any other animals of prey in the neighborhood; therefore nothing but the extremest necessity can force any member of the nation to make use of such animals as food.[14]

Certain natives of Guatemala in the province of Acalán, called by Villagutierre Mazotecas, kept deer in so tame a state that they were easily killed by the least active soldiers. These deer were held as sacred by the inhabitants; for tradition told them that their greatest god had visited them in this figure.[15] The Apaches greatly respect the bear, neither killing him nor tasting his flesh. They think that there are spirits of divine origin within or connected with the eagle, the owl, and all birds perfectly white. Swine, they hold to be wholly unclean.[16] Some animals are sacred to particular gods: with the Zuñis, the frog, the turtle, and the rattlesnake were either considered as specially under the protection of Montezuma, —here considered as the god of rain,—or they were themselves the lesser divinities of water.[17]

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[10] *Dall's Alaska*, pp. 422–3.
[11] *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 215.
[12] *Bartlett's Pers. Nar.*, vol. ii., p. 222.
[13] *Ten Broeck*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iv., p. 86.
[14] *Hearne's Journey*, p. 341.

It is sometimes necessary to guard against being misled by names. Thus the natives of Nicaragua had gods whose name was that of a rabbit or a deer; yet these animals were not considered as gods. The identity of name went only to say that such and such were the gods to be invoked in hunting such and such animals.[18]

The reader must have already noticed how important is the part assigned to birds in our mythology, especially in creation-myths. A great bird is the agent of the chief deity, perhaps the chief deity himself. The sweep of his wings is thunder; the lightnings are the glances of his eyes.[19] Chipewyans, Thlinkeets, Atnas, Koltschanes, Kenai, and other nations give this being great prominence in their legends.

Brinton believes this bird to be the emblem of the wind, to be "a relic of the cosmogonal myth which explained the origin of the world from the action of the winds, under the image of the bird, on the primeval ocean;"[20] and his view is probably correct in many cases.

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[15] *Villagutierre, Hist. Conq. Itza*, p. 43.

[16] *Charlton*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 209.

[17] *Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner's Rept.*, pp. 39–40, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. iii.

[18] *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, tom. iv., pp. 54–5.

[19] Swinburne, *Anactoria*, has found an allied idea worthy of his sublime verse:—

'Cast forth of heaven, with feet of awful gold,
And plumeless wings that make the bright air blind,
Lightning, with thunder for a hound behind,
Hunting through fields unfurrowed and unsown—'

The savage is ever ready to be smitten by natural powers. Ignorant and agape with wonder, is it unnatural that he should regard, with a superstitious awe and respect, the higher and more peculiar animal gifts, relating them to like physical powers, and managing to mix and confuse the whole by a strange synthesis of philosophy? Birds flew, the winds flew; the birds were of the kith of the winds, and the winds were of the kin of the gods who are over all. Poor, weary, painted man, who could only toil dustily along, footsore and perhaps heartsore, with strange longings that venison and bear-meat could not satisfy,—was it very wonderful if the throbbing music and upward flight of the clear-throated and swift-winged were to him very mysterious and sacred things? "All living beings," say the north-eastern Eskimos, "have the faculty of soul, but especially the bird." From the flight and song of birds, the Mexican divined and shadowed forth the unborn shapes of the to-come. He died too, if he died in an odor of warlike sanctity, in the strong faith that his soul should ultimately take the form of a bird and twitter through the ages in the purple shadows of the trees of paradise.[21]

The Kailtas on the south fork of the Trinity in California, though they do not turn the soul into a bird, do say that as it leaves the body a little bird carries it up to the spirit-land.[22]

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[20] *Brinton's Myths*, p. 205. The Norse belief is akin to this:—

'The giant Hrsuelgur,
At the end of heaven,
Sits in an eagle's form;
'Tis said that from his wings
The cold winds sweep
Over all the nations.'

Vafthrudvers maal; Grenville Pigott's translation, in *Scandinavian Mythology*, p. 27.

Scott, *Pirate*, chap. v., in the 'Song of the Tempest,' which he translates from Norna's mouth, shows that the same idea is still found in the Shetland Islands:—

Stern eagle of the far north-west,
Thou that bearest in thy grasp the thunderbolt,
Thou whose rushing pinions stir ocean to madness,... .
Cease thou the waving of thy pinions,
Let the ocean repose in her dark strength;
Cease thou the flashing of thine eyes,
Let the thunderbolt sleep in the armory of Odin.'

[21] *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. iii., p. 265; *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 5.

The Spaniards of Vizcaino's expedition, in 1602, found the Californians of Santa Catalina Island venerating two great black crows, which, according to Señor Galan, were probably a species of bird known in Mexico as *rey de los zopilotes*, or king of turkey-buzzards; he adding that these birds are still the objects of respect and devotion among most Californian tribes.[23]

As another symbol, sign, or type of the supernatural, the serpent would naturally suggest itself at an early date to man. Its stealthy, subtle, sinuous motion, the glittering fascination of its eyes, the silent deathly thrust of its channeled fangs,—what marvel if the foolishest of men, like the wisest of kings, should say "I know it not; it is a thing too wonderful for me?" It seems to be immortal: every spring-time it cast off and crept from its former skin, a crawling unburnt phœnix, a new animal.

Schwartz, of Berlin, affirms, from deep research in Greek and German mythology, that the paramount germinal idea in this wide-spread serpent-emblem is the lightning, and Dr. Brinton develops the same opinion at some length.[24]

Tlaloc, the Aztec rain-god, held in his hand a serpent-shaped piece of gold, representing most probably the lightning. Hurakan, of the Quiché legends, is otherwise the Strong Serpent, he who hurls below, referring in all likelihood to storm powers as thunderer.[25] This view being accepted, the lightning-serpent is the type of fruitfulness; the thunder storm being inseparably joined with the thick, fertilizing summer showers.[26] Born, too, in the middle heaven, of a cloud mother and of an Ixion upon whom science cannot yet place her finger, amid moaning breeze and threatening tempest, the lightning is surely also akin to the wind and to the bird that is their symbol. The amalgamation of these powers in one deity seems to be what is indicated by such names as Quetzalcoatl, Gucumatz, Cukulcan, all titles of the God of the Air in different American languages, and all signifying 'Bird-Serpent.'

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[22] *Powers' Pomo*, MS.

[23] *Torquemada*, *Monarq. Ind.*, tom. i., p. 713: 'The entire tribes of the Californian Indiania [sic] appear to have had a great devotion and veneration for the Condor or Yellow-headed Vulture.' *Taylor*, in *Cal. Farmer*, May 25th, 1860. 'Cathartes Californianus, the largest rapacious bird of North Americe.' *Baird's Birds of N. Am.*, p. 5. 'This bird is an object of great veneration or worship among the Indian tribes of every portion of the state.' *Reid*, in *Los Angeles Star*.

[24] *Brinton's Myths*, p. 112.

[25] *Torquemada*, *Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 46–71; *Clavigero*, *Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., pp. 14–15; *Gama*, *Dos Piedras*, pt. ii., pp. 76–7.

In a tablet on the wall of a room at Palenque is a cross surmounted by a bird, and supported by what appears to be the head of a serpent: "The cross," says Brinton, "is the symbol of the four winds; the bird and serpent, the rebus of the air god, their ruler."

It does not appear that savages attach any special significance of evil to the snake, though the prepossessions of early writers almost invariably blind them on this point.[27] This rule is not without its exceptions however; the Apaches hold that every rattlesnake contains the soul of a bad man or is an emissary of the Evil Spirit.[28] The Piutes of Nevada have a demon-deity in the form of a serpent still supposed to exist in the waters of Pyramid Lake. The wind when it sweeps down among the nine islands of the lake drives the waters into the most fantastic swirls and eddies, even when the general surface of the lake is tolerably placid. This, say the Piutes, is the devil-snake causing the deep to boil like a pot; this is the old serpent seeking whom he may devour; and no native in possession of his five sober wits will be found steering toward those troubled waters at such a time.[29]

In the Pueblo cities, among the Pecos especially, there existed in early times an immense serpent, supposed to be sacred, and which, according to some accounts, was fed with the flesh of his devotees. Gregg heard an "honest ranchero" relate how, one snowy morning, he had come upon this terrible reptile's trail, "large as that of a dragging ox;" the ranchero did not, pursue the investigation farther, not obtruding his science, such as it was, upon his religion. This serpent was supposed to be specially connected with Montezuma, and with rain phenomena: it is often called "the great water-snake." It was described to Whipple "as being as large round as a man's body; and of exceeding great length, slowly gliding upon the water, with long wavy folds" like the Nahant sea-serpent,—to Möllhausen, as being a great rattlesnake, possessor of power over seas, lakes, rivers and rain; as thick as many men put together, and much longer than all the snakes in the world; moving in great curves and destroying wicked men. The Pueblo Indians prayed to it for rain and revered its mysterious powers.[30]

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[26] *Müller*, *Amerikanische Urreligionen*, p. 500.
[27] *Tylor's Prim. Cult.*, vol. ii., p. 217.
[28] *Charlton*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 209.
[29] *Virginia City Chronicle*, in *S. F. Daily Evg Post*, of Aug. 12th, 1872.

A people, called by Castañeda Tahus, apparently of Sinaloa in the neighborhood of Culiacan, regarded certain large serpents with sentiments of great veneration if not of worship.[31] These reptiles seem also to have been regarded with considerable reverence in Yucatan. In 1517, Bernal Diaz noticed many figures of serpents in a temple he saw at Campeche. Juan de Grijalva, also, found at the same time many such figures at Champoton, among other idols of clay and wood.[32]

We have already spoken of the Mexican Tlaloc and of the frequent appearance of the serpent in his worship; it does not appear, however, notwithstanding Mr Squier's assertion to the contrary, that that the serpent was actually worshiped either in Yucatan or Mexico. Bernal Diaz, indeed, says positively in one passage, speaking of a town called Tenayuca, that "they worshiped here, in their chief temple, three serpents;" but the stout soldier was not one to make fine distinctions between gods and their attributes or symbols; nor, even with the best intentions, was he or any other of the conquistadores in a position to do justice to the faith of 'gentiles.'[33]

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[30] *Gregg's Com. Prairies*, vol. i., pp. 271–2; *Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner's Rept.*, pp. 38–9, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. iii.; *Möllhausen, Tagebuch*, p. 170; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. i., pp. 164–5. Certain later travelers deny all the foregoing as 'fiction and fable;' meaning, probably, that they saw nothing of it, or that it does not exist at present. *Wand*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1864, p. 193; *Meline's Two Thousand Miles*, p. 256.

[31] *Castañeda, Voy. de Cibola*, in *Ternaux-Compans, Voyages*, serie i., tom. ix., p. 150.

[32] *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Conq.*, fol. 3, 8.

We shall hereafter find the serpent closely connected with Quetzalcoatl in many of his manifestations, as well as with others of the Mexican gods.

From the serpent let us turn to the dog, with his relations the wolf and coyote, an animal holding a respectable place in American mythology. We have seen how many tribes derive, figuratively or literally, their origin from him, and how often he becomes legendarily important as the hero of some adventure or the agent of some deity. He is generally brought before us in a rather benevolent aspect, though an exception occurs to this in the case of the Chinooks at the mouth of the Columbia. With these the coyote figures as the chosen medium for the action of the Evil Spirit toward any given malevolent end,—as the form taken by the Evil One to counteract some beneficence of the Good Spirit toward the poor Indian whom he loves.[34]

Very different from this is the character of that Coyote of the Cahrocs whose good deeds we have so often had occasion to set forth. One feat of his yet remains to be told,—how he stocked the river with salmon. Chareya, the creator, had made salmon, but he had put them in the big-water, and made a great fish-dam at the mouth of the Klamath, so that they could not go up; and this dam was closed with something of the nature of a white man's key, which key was given in charge to two old hags, not wholly unfamiliar to us, to keep and watch over it night and day, so that no Cahroc should get near it. Now fish being wanting to the Cahrocs, they were sorely pushed by hunger, and the voice of women and little children was heard imploring food. The Coyote determined to help them; he swore by the stool of Chareya that before another moon their lodges should drip with salmon, and the very dogs be satisfied withal. So he traveled down the Klamath many days' journey till he came to the mouth of the river and saw the big-water and heard the thunder of its waves. Up he went to the hut of the old women, rapped, and asked hospitality for the night; and he was so polite and debonair that the crones could find no excuse for refusing him. He entered the place and threw himself down by the fire, warming himself while they prepared salmon for supper, which they ate without offering him a bite. All night long he lay by the fire pretending to sleep, but thinking over his plans and waiting for the event that should put him in possession of the mighty key that he saw hanging so high above his reach. In the morning one of the hags took down the key and started off toward the dam to get some fish for breakfast. Like a flash the Coyote leaped at her, hurling himself between her feet; heels over head she pitched, and the key flew far from her hands. Before she well knew what had hurt her the Coyote stood at the dam with the key in his teeth, wrenching at the fastenings. They gave way; and with a great roar the green water raced through, all ashine with salmon, utterly destroying and breaking down the dam, so that ever after fish found free way up the Klamath.

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[33] *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Conq.*, fol. 136; *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 105.
[34] *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii , p. 218.

The end of the poor Coyote was rather sad, considering his kindness of heart and the many services he had rendered the Cahrocs. Like too many great personages, he grew proud and puffed up with the adulation of flatterers and sycophants,—proud of his courage and cunning, and of the success that had crowned his great enterprises for the good of mankind,—proud that he had twice deceived and outwitted the guardian hags to whom Chareya had entrusted the fire and the salmon,—so proud that he determined to have a dance through heaven itself, having chosen as his partner a certain star that used to pass quite close by a mountain where he spent a good deal of his time. So he called out to the star to take him by the paw and they would go round the world together for a night; but the star only laughed, and winked in an excessively provoking way from time to time. The Coyote persisted angrily in his demand, and barked and barked at the star all round heaven, till the twinkling thing grew tired of his noise and told him to be quiet and he should be taken next night. Next night the star came quite up close to the cliff where the Coyote stood, who leaping was able to catch on. Away they danced together through the blue heavens. Fine sport it was for a while; but oh, it grew bitter cold up there for a Coyote of the earth, and it was an awful sight to look down to where the broad Klamath lay like a slack bowstring and the Cahroc villages like arrow-heads. Woe for the Coyote! his numb paws have slipped their hold on his bright companion; dark is the partner that leads the dance now, and the name of him is Death. Ten long snows the Coyote is in falling, and when he strikes the earth he is "smashed as flat as a willow-mat".—Coyotes must not dance with stars.[35]

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[35] *Power's Pomo*, MS.; Boscana. in *Robinson's Life in Cal.*, pp. 259–262, describes certain other Californians as worshiping for their chief god something in the form of a stuffed coyote.

CHAPTER V.

GODS, SUPERNATURAL BEINGS, AND WORSHIP.

Eskimo Witchcraft — The Tinneh and the Koniagas—Kugans of the Aleuts—The Thlinkeets, the Haidahs, and the Nootkas—Paradise Lost of the Okanagans—The Salish, the Clallams, the Chinooks, the Cayuses, the Walla Wallas, and the Nez Percés—Shoshone Ghouls—Northern California—The Sun at Monterey—Ouiot and Chinigchinich — Antagonistic Gods of Lower California — Comanches, Apaches, and Navajos—Montezuma of the Pueblos—Moquis and Mojaves—Primeval Race of Northern California.

We now come to the broadest, whether or not it be the most important, branch of our subject, namely, the gods and spirits that men worship or know of. Commencing at the extreme north, we shall follow them through the various nations of our territory toward the south. Very wild and conflicting is the general mass of evidence bearing on a belief in supernatural existences. Not only from the nature of the subject is it allied to questions and matters the most abstruse and transcendental,—in the expression of which the exactest dialectic terminology must often be at fault; much more the rude and stammering speech of savages—but it is also apt to call up prejudices of the most warping and contradictory kind in the minds of those through whose relation it must pass to us. However hopeless the task, I will strive to hold an equal beam of historical truth, and putting away speculations of either extreme, try to give the naked expression of the belief of the peoples we deal with,—

however stupid, however absurd,—and not what they ought to believe, or may be supposed to believe, according to the ingenious speculations of different theorists.

The Eskimos do not appear to recognize any supreme deity, but only an indefinite number of supernatural beings varying in name, power, and character—the evil seeming to predominate. They carry on the person a small ivory image rudely carved to represent some animal, as a kind of talisman; these are thought to further success in hunting, fishing and other pursuits, but can hardly be looked upon with any great reverence, as they are generally to be bought of their owners for a reasonable price. All supernatural business is transacted through the medium of shamáns;—functionaries answering to the medicine-men of eastern Indian tribes;—of these there are both male and female, each practising on or for the benefit of his or her own respective sex. The rites of their black art differ somewhat, according to Dall, from those of their Tinneh neighbors, and very much from those of the Tschuktschi and other Siberian tribes; and their whole religion may be summed up as a vague fear finding its expression in witchcraft.[1]

The Tinneh, that great people stretching north of the fifty-fifth parallel nearly to the Arctic Ocean and to the Pacific, do not seem in any of their various tribes to have a single expressed idea with regard to a supreme power. The Loucheux branch recognize a certain personage, resident in the moon, whom they supplicate for success in starting on a hunting expedition. This being once lived among them as a poor ragged boy that an old woman had found and was bringing up; and who made himself ridiculous to his fellows by making a pair of very large snow-shoes; for the people could not see what a starveling like him should want with shoes of such unusual size. Times of great scarcity troubled the hunters, and they would often have fared badly had they not invariably on such occasions come across a new broad trail that led to a head or two of freshly killed game. They were glad enough to get the game and without scruples as to its appropriation; still they felt curious as to whence it came and how. Suspicion at last pointing to the boy and his great shoes, as being in some way implicated in the affair, he was watched. It soon became evident that he was indeed the benefactor of the Loucheux, and the secret hunter whose quarry had so often replenished their empty pots; yet the people were far from being adequately grateful, and continued to treat him with little kindness or respect. On one occasion they refused him a certain piece of fat—him who had so often saved their lives by his timely bounty! That night the lad disappeared, leaving only his clothes behind, hanging on a tree. He returned to them in a month, however, appearing as a man and dressed as a man. He told them that he had taken up his home in the moon; that he would always look down with a kindly eye to their success in hunting; but he added, that as a punishment for their shameless greed and ingratitude in refusing him the piece of fat, all animals should be lean the long winter through, and fat only in summer; as has since been the case.

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[1] *Armstrong's Nar.*, pp. 102, 193; *Richardson's Pol. Reg.*, pp. 319–20, 325; *Richardson's Jour.*, vol. i., pp. 358, 385; *Dall's Alaska*, pp. 144–5.

According to Hearne, the Tinneh believe in a kind of spirits, or fairies, called *nantena*, which people the earth, the sea, and the air, and are instrumental for both good and evil. Some of them believe in a good spirit called Tihugun, 'my old friend,' supposed to reside in the sun and in the moon; they have also a bad spirit, Chutsain, apparently only a personification of death, and for this reason called bad.

They have no regular order of shamáns; any one when the spirit moves him may take upon himself their duties and pretensions, though some by happy chances, or peculiar cunning, are much more highly esteemed in this regard than others, and are supported by voluntary contributions. The conjurer often shuts himself in his tent and abstains from food for days till his earthly grossness thins away, and the spirits and things unseen are constrained to appear at his behest. The younger Tinneh care for none of these things; the strong limb and the keen eye, holding their own well in the jostle of life, mock at the terrors of the invisible; but as the pulses dwindle with disease or age, and the knees strike together in the shadow of impending death, the shamán is hired to expel the evil things of which the patient is possessed. Among the Tacullies, a confession is often resorted to at this stage, on the truth and accuracy of which depend the chances of a recovery. As Harmon says, "the crimes which they most frequently confess discover something of their moral character and therefore deserve to be mentioned;" but in truth I cannot mention them; both with women and with men a filthiness and bestiality worse than the sins of Sodom and Gomorrah defy the stomach of description. The same thing is true of the tedious and disgusting rites performed by the Tinneh shamáns over the sick and at various other emergencies. They blow on the invalid, leap about him or upon him, shriek, sing, groan, gesticulate, and foam at the mouth, with other details of hocus-pocus varying indefinitely with tribe and locality. The existence of a soul is for the most part denied, and the spirits with whom dealings are had are not spirits that were ever in or of men; neither are they regarded by men with any sentiment of love or kindly respect; fear and self-interest are the bonds—where any bonds exist—that link the Tinneh with powers supernal or infernal.[2]

The Koniagas have the usual legion of spirits haunting water, earth, and air, whose wrath is only to be appeased by offerings to the shamáns; and sometimes, though very rarely, by human sacrifices of slaves. They have also a chief deity or spirit, called Shljam Schoá, and a power for evil called Eyak.[3]

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[2] *Hardisty*, in *Smithsonian Rept.*, 1866, pp. 318–19; *Jarvis' Religion, Ind. N. Am.*, p. 91; *Kennicott*, in *Whymper's Alaska*, p. 345; *Mackenzie's Voy.*, p. cxxviii.; *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 178; *Ross*, in *Smithsonian Rept.*, 1866, pp. 306–7; *Franklin's Nar.*, vol. i., pp. 246–7; *Harmon's Jour.*, p. 300; *Hooper's Tuski*, p. 317; *Richardson's Jour.*, vol. i., pp. 385–6; *Dall's Alaska*, pp. 88–90; *Whymper's Alaska*, pp. 231–2.

[3] *Holmberg, Ethn. Skiz.*, pp. 140–1; *Sauer, Billings' Ex.*, p. 174.

Of the Aleuts, it is said that their rites showed a much higher religious development than was to be found among any of their neighbors; the labors of the Russian priests have, however, been successful enough among them to obliterate all remembrance of aught but the outlines of their ancient cult. They recognize a creator-god, but without worshiping him; he had made the world, but he did not guide it; men had nothing to do any longer with him, but only with the lesser *kugans*, or spirits, to whom the direction and care of earthly affairs have been committed. The stars and the sun and the moon were worshiped, or the spirits of them among others, and avenged themselves on those that adored them not. The offended sun smote the eyes of a scoffer with blindness, the moon stoned him to death, and the stars constrained him to count their number—hopeless task that always left the victim a staring maniac. The shamáns do not seem to have enjoyed that distinction among the Aleuts that their monopoly of mediation between man and the invisible world gave them among other nations. They were generally very poor, living in want and dying in misery; they had no part nor lot in the joys or sorrows of social life; never at feast, at wedding, or at a funeral was their face seen. They lived and wandered men forbid, driven to and fro by phantoms that were their masters and not their slaves. The Aleuts had no permanent idols, nor any worshiping-places built with hands; near every village was some sanctified high place or rock, sacred as a Sinai against the foot of woman or youth, and whoever profaned it became immediately mad or sick to death. Only the men and the old men visited the place leaving there their offerings of skins or feathers with unknown mysterious ceremonies.

The use of amulets was universal; and more than shield or spear to the warrior going to battle was a belt of sea-weed woven in magic knots. What a philosopher's stone was to a Roger Bacon or a Paracelsus, was the *tkhimkee*, a marvelous pebble thrown up at rare intervals by the sea, to the Aleutian hunter. No beast could resist its attraction; he that carried it had no need to chase his prey, he had only to wait and strike as the animal walked up to its death. Another potent charm was grease taken from a dead man's body; the spear-head touched with this was sure to reach a mortal spot in the whale at which it was hurled.

There are dim Aleutian traditions of certain religious night dances held in the month of December. Wooden idols, or figures of some kind, were made for the occasion and carried from island to island with many esoteric ceremonies. Then was to be seen a marvelous sight. The men and women were put far apart; in the middle of each party a wooden figure was set up; certain great wooden masks or blinders were put on each person, so contrived that the wearer could see nothing outside a little circle round his feet. Then every one stripped, and there upon the snow, under the moonlight, in the bitter Arctic night, danced naked before the image,—say rather before the god, for as they danced a kugan descended and entered into the wooden figure. Woe to him or to her whose drift-wood mask fell, or was lifted, in the whirl of that awful dance; the stare of the Gorgon was not more fatal than a glance of the demon that possessed the idol; and for any one to look on one of the opposite sex, however it came about, he might be even counted as one dead. When the dance was over, the idols and the masks were broken and cast away. It may be added that such masks as this were needed, even by prophets in their interviews with the great spirits that know all mortal consequences; and that when a man died such a mask was put over his eyes—O naked and shivering soul, face to face with the darkest kugan of all we will shelter thee what we can.[4]

The Thlinkeets are said not to believe in any supreme being. They have that Yehl, the Raven, and that Khanukh, the Wolf, whom we are already to some extent acquainted with; but neither the exact rank and character of these in the supernatural world, nor even their comparative rank, can be established above contradiction. Thus Yehl is said to be the creator of all beings and things, yet we have not forgotten how Khanukh wrung from the unwilling lips of him the confession: Thou art older that I. It is again said of Yehl that his power is unlimited; but alas, we have seen him helpless in the magic darkness raised by Khanukh, and howling as a frightened child might do in a gloomy corridor. The nature of Yehl is kind and he loves men, while the reverse is generally considered true of Khanukh; but Yehl, too, when his anger is stirred up sends sickness and evil fortune. Yehl existed before his birth upon earth; he cannot die nor even become older. Where the sources of the Nass are, whence the east-wind comes, is Nass-shakieyehl, the home of Yehl; the east-wind brings news of him. By an unknown mother a son was born to him, who loves mankind even more than his father, and provides their food in due season. To conclude the matter, Yehl is, if not the central figure, at least the most prominent in the Thlinkeet pantheon, and the alpha and the omega of Thlinkeet philosophy and theology is summed up in their favorite aphorism: As Yehl acted and lived, so also will we live and do. After Yehl and Khanukh, the Thlinkeets believe in the brother and sister, Chethl and Ahgishanakhou, the Thunder or Thunder-bird, and the Under-ground Woman. Chethl is a kind of great northern rukh that snatches up and swallows a whale without difficulty, while his wings and eyes produce thunder and lightning as already described; his sister Ahgishanakhou sits alone below and guards the Irminsul that supports the world of the North-west.[5]

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[4] *D'Orbigny, Voy.*, pp. 579-80; *Coxe's, Russ. Dis.*, p. 217; *Dall's Alaska*, pp. 335, 389; See *Bancroft's Nat. Races*, vol. i., p. 93.

The Thlinkeets have no idols, unless the little images sometimes carried by the magicians for charming with may be called by that name; they have no worship nor priests, unless their sorcerers and the rites of them may be entitled to these appellations. These sorcerers or shamáns seem to be much respected; their words and actions are generally believed and acquiesced in by all; though the death of a patient or victim, or supposed victim, is sometimes avenged upon them by the relatives of the deceased. Shamánism is mostly hereditary; as a natural course of things the long array of apparatus, masks, dresses, and so on, is inherited by the son or grandson of the deceased conjurer. The young man must, however, prove himself worthy of his position before it becomes assured to him, by calling up and communicating with spirits. The future shamán retires into a lonely forest or up some mountain, where he lives retired, feeding only on the roots of the *panax-horridum*, and waiting for the spirits to come to him, which they are generally supposed to do in from two to four weeks. If all go well the meeting takes place, and the chief of the spirits sends to the neophyte a river-otter, in the tongue of which animal is supposed to be hid the whole power and secret of shamánism. The man meets the beast face to face, and four times, each time in a different fashion, he pronounces the syllable 'Oh!.' Upon this the other falls instantly, reaching out at the same time its tongue, which the man cuts off and preserves; hiding it away in a close place, for if any one not initiated should look on this talisman the sight would drive him mad. The otter is skinned by the new shamán and the skin kept for a sign of his profession, while the flesh is buried; it was unlawful to kill a river-otter save on such occasions as have been described. If, however, the spirits will not visit the would-be shamán, nor give him any opportunity to get the otter-tongue as described above, the neophyte visits the tomb of a dead shamán and keeps an awful vigil over night, holding in his living mouth a finger of the dead man or one of his teeth; this constrains the spirits very powerfully to send the necessary otter.

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[5] In Holmberg's account of these Thlinkeet supernatural powers, nothing is said of the sun or moon as indicating the possession of life by them or of any qualities not material. But Dunn, *The Oregon Territory*, p. 284, and Dixon, *Voyage Round the World*, pp. 189-90, describe at least some tribe or tribes of the Thlinkeets and many tribes of the Haidahs, that consider the sun to be a great spirit moving over the earth once every day, animating and keeping alive all creatures, and, apparently, as being the origin of all; the moon is a subordinate and night watcher.

When all these things have been done the shamán returns to his family emaciated and worn out, and his new powers are immediately put to the test. His reputation depends on the number of spirits at his command. The spirits are called *yek*, and to every conjurer a certain number of them are attached as familiars, while there are others on whom he may call in an emergency; indeed every man of whatever rank or profession is attended by a familiar spirit or demon, who only abandons his charge when the man becomes exceedingly bad. The world of spirits in general is divided into three classes: *keeyek*, *túkeeyek*, and *tékeeyek*. The first-class, 'the Upper Ones,' dwell in the north and seem to be connected with the northern lights; they are the spirits of the brave fallen in battle. The other two classes are the spirits of those that died a natural death, and their dwelling is called *takankóu*. The takeeyek, 'land-spirits,' appear to the shamáns in the form of land animals. With regard to the tekeeyek, 'sea-spirits' which appear in the form of marine animals, there is some dispute among the Thlinkeets as to whether these spirits were ever the spirits of men like those of the other two classes, or whether they were merely the souls of sea animals.

The supreme feat of a conjurer's power is to throw one of his liege spirits into the body of one who refuses to believe in his power; upon which the possessed is taken with swooning and fits. The hair of a shamán is never cut. As among the Aleuts, a wooden mask is necessary to his safe intercourse with any spirit; separate masks are worn for interviews with separate spirits. When a shamán sickens, his relatives fast for his recovery; when he dies, his body is not burned like that of other men, but put in a box which is set up on a high frame. The first night following his death his body is left in that corner of his hut in which he died. On the second night it is carried to another corner, and so on for four nights till it has occupied successively all the corners of the yourt, all the occupants of which are supposed to fast during this time. On the fifth day the body is tied down on a board, and two bones that the dead man had often used in his rites when alive are stuck, the one in his hair and the other in the bridge of his nose. The head is then covered with a willow basket, and the body taken to its place of sepulture, which is always near the sea-shore; no Thlinkeet ever passes the spot without dropping a little tobacco into the water to conciliate the manes of the mighty dead.[6]

The Haidahs believe the great solar spirit to be the creator and supreme ruler; they do not however confuse him with the material sun, who is a shining man walking round the fixed earth and wearing a "radiated" crown. Sometimes the moon is also connected in a confused indefinite way with the great spirit. There is an evil spirit who, according to Dunn, is provided with hoofs and horns, though nothing is said as to the fashion of them, whether orthodox or not. The Haidahs, at least those seen by Mr Poole on Queen Charlotte Island, have no worship, nor did they look upon themselves as in any way responsible to any deity for their actions. As with their northern neighbors, a belief in goblins, spectres, and sorcery seems to be the sum of their religion.

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[6] *Holmberg, Ethn. Skiz.*, pp. 52-73; *Dall's Alaska*, pp. 421-3; *Kotzebue's New Voyage*, vol. ii., p. 58; *Dunn's Oregon*, p. 250; *Bendel's Alex. Arch.*, pp. 31-3. This last traveler gives us a variation of the history of Yehl and Khanukh, which is best presented in his own words:—'The Klinkits do not believe in one Supreme Being, but in a host of good and evil spirits, above whom are towering two lofty beings of godlike magnitude, who are the principal objects of Indian reverence. These are Yethl and Kanugh—two brothers; the former the benefactor and well-wisher of mankind, but of a very whimsical and unreliable nature; the latter the stern God of War, terrible in his wrath, but a true patron of every fearless brave. It is he who sends epidemics, bloodshed and war to those who have displeased him, while it seems to be the principal function of Yethl to cross the sinister purposes of his dark-minded brother. Yethl and Kanugh lived formerly on earth, and were born of a woman of a supernatural race now passed away, about the origin and nature of which many conflicting legends are told, hard to comprehend. When Yethl walked on earth and was quite young he acquired great skill in the use of the bow and arrow. He used to kill large birds, assume their shape and fly about. His favorite bird was the raven; hence its name, "Yethl," which signifies "raven" in the Klinkit language. He had also the fogs and clouds at his command, and he would often draw them around him to escape his enemies. His brother's name, Kanugh, signifies "wolf," consequently "raven" and "wolf" are the names of the two gods of the Klinkits, who are supposed to be the founders of the Indian race.'

With some at least of the Haidahs there was in existence a rite of this sorcery attended by circumstances of more than ordinary barbarity and ferocity. When the salmon season is over and the provisions of winter have been stored away, feasting and conjuring begin. The chief—who seems to be the principal sorcerer, and indeed to possess little authority save from his connection with the preter-human powers—goes off to the loneliest and wildest retreat he knows of or can discover in the mountains or forest, and half starves himself there for some weeks till he is worked up to a frenzy of religious insanity and the *nawloks*—fearful beings of some kind not human—consent to communicate with him by voices or otherwise. During all this observance, the chief is called *taamish*, and woe to the unlucky Haidah who happens by chance so much as to look on him during its continuance; even if the taamish do not instantly slay the intruder, his neighbors are certain to do so when the thing comes to their knowledge, and if the victim attempt to conceal the affair, or do not himself confess it, the most cruel tortures are added to his fate. At last the inspired demoniac returns to his village, naked save a bear-skin or a ragged blanket, with a chaplet on his head and a red band of alder-bark about his neck. He springs on the first person he meets, bites out and swallows one or more mouthfuls of the man's living flesh wherever he can fix his teeth, then rushes to another and another, repeating his revolting meal till he falls into a torpor from his sudden and half-masticated surfeit of flesh. For some days after this he lies in a kind of coma, "like an over-gorged beast of prey," as Dunn says; the same observer adding that his breath during that time is "like an exhalation from a grave." The victims of this ferocity dare not resist the bite of the taamish; on the contrary, they are sometimes willing to offer themselves to the ordeal, and are always proud of its scars.[7]

The Nootkas acknowledge the existence of a great personage called Quahootze, whose habitation is apparently in the sky, but of whose nature little is known. When a storm begins to rage dangerously the Nootkas climb to the top of their houses and looking upwards to this great god, they beat drums and chant and call upon his name, imploring him to still the tempest. They fast, as something agreeable to the same deity, before setting out on the hunt, and, if their success warrant it, hold a feast in his honor after their return. This festival is held usually in December, and it was formerly the custom to finish it with a human sacrifice, an atrocity now happily fallen into disuse; a boy, with knives stuck through the superficial flesh of his arms, legs, and sides, being exhibited as a substitute for the ancient victim.

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[7] *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 253-9; *Scouler*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc. Jour.*, vol. xi., p. 223; *Bancroft's Nat. Races*, vol. i., pp. 170-71.

Matlose is a famous hob-goblin of the Nootkas; he is a very Caliban of spirits; his head is like the head of something that might have been a man but is not; his uncouth bulk is horrid with black bristles; his monstrous teeth and nails are like the fangs and claws of a bear. Whoever hears his terrible voice falls like one smitten, and his curved claws rend a prey into morsels with a single stroke.

The Nootkas, like so many American peoples, have a tradition of a supernatural teacher and benefactor, an old man that came to them up the Sound long ago. His canoe was copper, and the paddles of it copper; every thing he had on him or about him was of the same metal. He landed and instructed the men of that day in many things; telling them that he came from the sky, that their country should be eventually destroyed, that they should all die, but after death rise and live with him above. Then all the people rose up angry, and took his canoe from him, and slew him; a crime from which their descendants have derived much benefit, for copper and the use of it have remained with them ever since. Huge images, carved in wood, still stand in their houses intended to represent the form and hold in remembrance the visit of this old man,—by which visit is not improbably intended to be signified an avatar or incarnation of that chief deity, or great spirit, worshiped by many Californian tribes as 'the Old Man above.'

The Ahts regard the moon and the sun as their highest deities, the moon being the husband and the sun the wife. To the moon chiefly, as the more powerful deity, they pray for what they require; and to both moon and sun, as to all good deities, their prayers are addressed directly and without the intervention of the sorcerers. Quawteaht—which seems to be a local Aht modification of Quahootze—who made most things that are in the world, was the first to teach the people to worship these luminaries who, over all and seeing all, are more powerful than himself, though more distant and less active. There is also that Tootooch, thunder-bird, of which so much has been already said.

The Nootkas, in general, believe in the existence of numberless spirits of various kinds, and in the efficacy of sorcery. As in neighboring nations, the shamán gains or renews his inspiration by fasting and solitary meditation in some retired place, re-appearing at the end of his vigil half-starved and half-insane, but filled with the black virtue of his art. He does not generally collect a meal of living human flesh like the taamish of the preceding family, but he is satisfied with what his teeth can tear from the corpses in the burial-places. Old women are admitted to a share in the powers of sorcery and prophecy and the interpretation of omens and dreams; the latter a most important function, as few days and nights pass over a Nootka house that do not give occasion by some vision or occurrence for the office of the sibyl or the augur.[8]

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[8] *Jewitt's Nar.*, p. 83; *Scouler*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc. Jour.*, vol. xi., pp. 223-4; *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. i., p. 345; *Sutil y Mexicana, Viage*, p. 136; *Meares' Voy.*, p. 270; *Hutchings' Cal. Mag.*, vol. v., pp. 222-4; *Macfie's Vanc. Isl.*, pp. 433-441, 455; *Barret-Lennard's Trav.*, pp. 51-3; *Sproat's Scenes*, pp. 40, 156-8, 167-75, 205-11; *Cook's Voy. to Pac.*, vol. ii., p. 317. As illustrating strongly the Nootka ideas with regard to the sanctity of the moon and sun, as well as the connection of the sun with the fire, it may be well to call attention to the two following customs:—'El Tays [chief] no puede hacer uso de sus mugeres sin ver enteramente iluminado el disco de la luna.' *Sutil y Mexicana, Viage*, p. 145. 'Girls at puberty ..are kept particularly from the sun or fire.' *Bancroft's Nat. Races*, vol. i., p. 197. In this connection it may be men-

The Okanagans believe in a good spirit or master of life, called Elemehumkillanwaist or Skyappe; and in a bad spirit Kishtsamah or Chacha; both moving constantly through the air, so that nothing can be done without their knowledge. The Okanagans have no worship public or private, but before engaging in anything of importance they offer up a short prayer to the good spirit for assistance; again on state occasions, a pipe is passed round and each one smokes three whiffs toward the rising sun, the same toward the setting, and the same respectively toward the heaven above and the earth beneath. Then they have their great mythic ruler and heroine, Scomalt, whose story is intimately connected with a kind of Okanagan fall or paradise lost. Long ago, so long ago that the sun was quite young and very small and no bigger than a star, there was an island far out at sea called Samahtumiwhoolah, or the White Man's Island. It was inhabited by a white race of gigantic stature, and governed by a tall fair woman called Scomalt; and she was a great and strong 'medicine,' this Scomalt. At last the peace of the island was destroyed by war, and the noise of battle was heard, the white men fighting the one with the other; and Scomalt was exceedingly wroth. She rose up and said: lo, now I will drive these wicked far from me; my soul shall be no longer vexed concerning them, neither shall they trouble the faithful of my people with their strivings any more. And she drove the rebellious together to the uttermost end of the island, and broke off the piece of land on which they were huddled, and pushed it out to sea to

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tioned that Mr Lord, *Naturalist*, vol. ii., p. 257, saw among the Nootkas while at Fort Rupert, a very peculiar Indian "medicine," a solid piece of native copper, hammered flat, oval it would appear from the description, and painted with curious devices, eyes of all sizes being especially conspicuous. The Hudson-Bay traders call it an "Indian copper," and said it was only exhibited on extraordinary occasions, and that its value to the tribe was estimated at fifteen slaves or two hundred blankets. This "medicine" was preserved in an elaborately ornamented wooden case, and belonging to the tribe, not to the chief, was guarded by the medicine-men. Similar sheets of copper are described by Schoolcraft as in use among certain of the Vesperic aborigines: May they all be intended for symbols of the sun, such as that reverenced by the Peruvians?

drift whither it would. This floating island was tossed to and fro many days and buffeted of the winds exceedingly, so that all the people thereon died save one man and one woman, who, seeing their island was ready to sink, made themselves a canoe and gat them away toward the west. After paddling day and night for many suns, they came to certain islands, whence steering through them, they came at last to where the mainland was, being the territory that the Okanagans now inhabit; it was, however, much smaller in those days, having grown much since. This man and woman were so sorely weather-beaten when they landed that they found their original whiteness quite gone, and a dusky reddish color in its place. All the people of the continent are descended from this pair, and the dingy skin of their storm-tossed ancestors has become a characteristic of the race. And even, as in time past the wrath of the fair Scomalt loosed the island of their ancestors from its mainland, and sent it adrift with its burden of sinful men, so in a time to come, the deep lakes, that like some Hannibal's vinegar soften the rocks of the foundations of the world, and the rivers that run for ever and gnaw them away, shall set the earth afloat again; then shall the end of the world be, the awful *itsowleigh.*[9]

The Salish tribes believe the sun to be the chief deity, and certain ceremonies, described by Mr Lord as having taken place on the death of a chief, seem to indicate that fire is in some way connected with the great light.[10] The chief is ex officio a kind of priest, presiding for the most part at the various observances by which the deity of the sun is recognized. There is the usual belief in sorcery and second sight, and individuals succeed, by force of special gifts for fasting and lonely meditation, in having themselves accounted conjurers,—an honor of dubious profit, as medicine-men are constantly liable to be shot by an enraged relative of any one whose death they may be supposed to have brought about.

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[9] *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 287-9.

[10] 'The bravest woman of the tribe, one used to carrying ammunition to the warrior when engaged in fight, bared her breast to the person who for courage and conduct was deemed fit successor to the departed. From the breast he cut a small portion, which he threw into the fire. She then cut a small piece from the shoulder of the warrior, which was also thrown into the fire. A piece of bitter root, with a piece of meat, were next thrown into the fire, all these being intended as offerings to the Sun, the deity of the Flatheads.' *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 237-8. For references to the remaining matter of the paragraph see *Id.*, vol. ii., pp. 237-43, 260.

The Clallams, a coast tribe on the mainland opposite the south end of Vancouver Island, have a principal good deity called by various names, and an evil spirit called Skoocoom; to these some add a certain Teyutlma, 'the genius of good fortune.' The medicine-men of the tribe are supposed to have much influence both for good and evil with these spirits and with all the demon race, or *sehuiáb* as the latter are sometimes called. In this tribe the various conjurers are united by the bonds of a secret society, the initiation into which is attended by a good deal of ceremony and expense. Three days and three nights must the novice of the order fast alone in a mysterious lodge prepared for him, round which during all that time the brethren already initiated sing and dance. This period elapsed, during which it would seem that the old nature has been killed out of him, he is taken up like one dead and soused into the nearest cold water, where he is washed till he revives; which thing they call "washing the dead." When his senses are sufficiently gathered to him, he is set on his feet; upon which he runs off into the forest, whence he soon reappears a perfect medicine-man, rattle in hand and decked out with the various trappings of his profession. He then parts all his worldly gear among his friends, himself henceforth to be supported only by the fees of his new calling.[11]

Ikánam, the creator of the universe, is a powerful deity among the Chinooks, who have a mountain named after him from a belief that he there turned himself into stone. After him, or before him as many say, comes Italapas, the Coyote, who created men after an imperfect fashion,[12] taught them how to make nets and catch salmon, how to make a fire, and how to cook; for this the first fruits of the fishing season are always sacred to him, and his figure is to be found carved on the head of almost every Chinook canoe on the Columbia. They have a fire-spirit, an evil spirit, and a body of familiar spirits, *tamanowas*. Each person has his special spirit, selected by him at an early age, sometimes by fasting and other mortification of the flesh, sometimes by the adoption of the first object the child or young man sees, or thinks he sees, on visiting the woods. These spirits have a great effect on the imagination of the Chinooks, and their supposed directions are followed under pain of mysterious and awful punishments; people converse—"particularly when in the water"—with them, apparently talking to themselves in low monotonous tones. Some say that when a man dies his tamanowa passes to his son; but the whole matter is darkened with much mystery and secrecy; the name of one's familiar spirit or guardian never being mentioned even to the nearest friend. A similar custom forbids the mention of a dead man's name, at least till many years have elapsed after the bereavement.

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[11] *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 218–9; *Gibb's Clallam and Lummi Vocab.*, p. 15.
[12] This vol., pp. 95–6.

The Chinook medicine-men are possessed of the usual powers of converse and mediation with the spirits good and evil; there are two classes of them, employed in all cases of sickness,—the *etaminuas*, or priests, who intercede for the soul of the patient, and, if necessary, for its safe passage to the land of spirits,—and the *keelalles*, or doctors, sometimes women, whose duty it is to administer medical as well as spiritual aid.[13]

With the Cayuses and the Walla-Wallas any one may become a medicine-man; among the Nez Percés the office belongs to an hereditary order. Women are sometimes trained to the profession, but they are not believed to hold such extreme powers as the males, nor are they murdered on the supposed exercise of some fatal influence. For, as with the Chinooks[14] so here, the reputation of sorcerer is at once the most terrible to others and the most dangerous to one's self that one can have. His is a power of life, and death; his evil eye can wither and freeze a hated life if not as swiftly at least as surely as the stare of the Medusa; he is mortal, however,—he can slay your friend or yourself, and death is bitter, but then how sweet an anodyne is revenge! There is no strong magic can avail when the heart's blood trickles down the avenger's shaft, no cunning enchantment that can keep the life in when his tomahawk crumbles the skull like a potsherd,—and so it comes about that the conjurers walk everywhere with their life in their hand, and are constrained to be very wary in their exercise of their nefarious powers.[15]

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[13] *Wilkes' Nar.* in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. v., pp. 124–5; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 317; *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 125–6; *Franchère's Nar.*, p. 258; *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 354; *Ross' Adven.*, p. 96; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 139, 246, 254; *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 248; *Gibbs' Chinook Vocab.*, pp. 11, 13; *Gibbs', Clallam and Lummi Vocab.*, pp. 15, 29; *Irving's Astoria*, pp. 339–40; *Tylor's Prim. Cult.*, vol. ii., p. 253.

The Shoshone legends people, certain parts of the mountains of Montana with little imps or demons called *ninumbees*, who are about two feet long, perfectly naked, and provided each with a tail. These limbs of the evil one are accustomed to eat up any unguarded infant they may find, leaving in its stead one of their own baneful race. When the mother comes to suckle what she supposes to be her child, the fiendish changeling seizes her breast and begins to devour it; then, although her screams and the alarm thereby given soon force the malicious imp to make his escape, there is no hope further; she dies within the twenty-four hours, and if not well watched in the meantime, the little demon will even return and make an end of her by finishing his interrupted meal. There is another variety of these hobgoblins call *pahonahs*, 'water-infants,' who devour women and children as do their brother-fiends of the mountain, and complete the ring of ghoulish terror that closes round the Shoshone child and mother.[16]

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[14] *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 254: 'The chiefs say, that they and their sons are too great to die of themselves, and although they may be sick, and decline, and die, as others do, yet some person, or some evil spirit instigated by some one, is the invisible cause of their death; and therefore when a chief, or chief's son dies, the supposed author of the deed must be killed.'

[15] *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 652.

[16] *Stuart's Montana*, pp. 64-6.

The Californian tribes, taken as a whole, are pretty uniform in the main features of their theogonic beliefs. They seem, without exception, to have had a hazy conception of a lofty, almost supreme being; for the most part referred to as a Great Man, the Old Man Above, the One Above; attributing to him, however, as is usual in such cases, nothing but the vaguest and most negative functions and qualities. The real, practical power that most interested them, who had most to do with them and they with him, was a demon, or body of demons, of a tolerably pronounced character. In the face of divers assertions to the effect that no such thing as a devil proper has ever been found in savage mythology, we would draw attention to the following extract from the *Pomo* manuscript of Mr Powers—a gentleman who, both by his study and by personal investigation, has made himself one of the best qualified authorities on the belief of the native Californian, and whose dealings have been for the most part with tribes that have never had any friendly intercourse with white men:—"Of course the thin and meagre imagination of the American savages was not equal to the creation of Milton's magnificent imperial Satan, or of Goethe's Mephistopheles, with his subtle intellect, his vast powers, his malignant mirth; but in so far as the Indian fiends or devils have the ability, they are wholly as wicked as these. They are totally bad, they have no good thing in them, they think only evil; but they are weak and undignified and absurd; they are as much beneath Satan as the 'Big Indians' who invent them are inferior in imagination to John Milton."[17]

A definite location is generally assigned to the evil one as his favorite residence or resort; thus the Californians in the county of Siskiyou, give over Devil's Castle, its mount and lake, to the malignant spirits, and avoid the vicinity of these places with all possible care.

The medicine-man of these people is a personage of some importance, dressing in the most costly furs; he is a non-combatant, not coming on the field till after the fight; among other duties, it is absolutely necessary for him to visit any camp from which the tribe has been driven by the enemy, there to chant the death-song and appease the angry spirit that wrought this judgment of defeat, for only after this has been done is it thought safe to light again the lodge-fires on the old hearths. Once lit these lodge-fires are never allowed to go out during times of peace; it would be a bad omen, and omens are everything with these men, and deducible from all things. The power of prophecy is thoroughly believed in, and is credited not only to special seers, but also to distinguished warriors going into battle; in the latter case, as far at least as their own several fate is concerned; this, according to Mr Miller, they often predict with startling accuracy.[18]

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[17] *Power's Pomo*, MS.

There is a strange sacredness mixed up with the sweat-house and its use, among the Çahrocs, the Eurocs, and many other tribes. The men of every village spend the winter and rainy season in its warm shelter; but squaws are forbidden to enter, under penalty of death, except when they are initiated into the ranks of the 'medicines.' So consistent are the Indians in this matter, that women are not allowed even to gather the wood that is to be burned in the sacred fire of a sweat-house; all is done by men, and that only with certain precautions and ceremonies. The sacred fire is lit every year in September by a 'medicine' who has gone out into the forest and fasted and meditated for ten days; and, till a certain time has elapsed, no secular eye must behold so much as the smoke of it under awful penalties. The flame once burning is never suffered to go out till the spring begins to render further heat unnecessary and inconvenient.

On one only occasion is the ban lifted from the head of women; when a female is being admitted to the medicine ranks, she is made to dance in the sweat-house till she falls exhausted. It does not appear, however, that even by becoming a medicine can she hope to see twice the interior of this lodge.

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[18] *Joaquin Miller's Life amongst the Modocs*, pp. 21, 116, 259–60, 360.

The admission of a man to the medicine is a much severer affair. He must retire to the forest for ten days, eating no meat the while, and only enough acorn-porridge to keep the life in him; the ten days past, he returns to the sweat-house and leaps up and down till he falls, just as the woman did.

The doctors or sorcerers are of two kinds, 'root doctors' and 'barking doctors.' To the barking doctor falls the diagnosis of a case of sickness. He, or she, squats down opposite the patient, and barks at him after the manner of an enraged cur, for hours together. If it be a poisoning case, or a case of malady inflicted by some conjurer, the barking doctor then goes on to suck the evil thing out through the skin or administer emetics, as may be deemed desirable. If the case, however, be one of less serious proportions, the 'barker,' after having made his diagnosis, retires, and the root-doctor comes in, who, with his herbs and simples and a few minor incantations, proceeds to cure the ailment. If a patient die, then the medicine is forced to return his fee; and if he refuse to attend on anyone and the person die, then he is forced to pay to the relatives a sum equal to that which was tendered to him as a fee in the beginning of the affair; thus like all professions, that of a medicine has its draw-backs as well as advantages.

Several Northern Californian tribes have secret societies which meet in a lodge set apart, or in a sweat-house, and engage in mummeries of various kinds, all to frighten their women. The men pretend to converse with the devil, and make their meeting-place shake and ring again with yells and whoops. In some instances, one of their number, disguised as the master fiend himself, issues from the haunted lodge, and rushes like a madman through the village, doing his best to frighten contumacious women and children out of their senses. This, it would seem, has been going on from time immemorial and the poor women are still gulled by it, and even frightened into more or less prolonged fits of wifely propriety and less easy virtue.

The coast tribes of Del Norte County, California, live in constant terror of a malignant spirit that takes the form of certain animals, the form of a bat, of a hawk, of a tarantula, and so on,—but especially delights in and affects that of a screech-owl. The belief of the Russian-River tribes and others is practically identical with this. The Cahrocs have, as we already know, some conception of a great deity, called Chareya, the Old Man Above; he is wont to appear upon earth at times to some of the most favored sorcerers; he is described as wearing a close tunic, with a medicine-bag, and as having long white hair that falls venerably about his shoulders. Practically, however, the Cahrocs, like the majority of Californian tribes, venerate chiefly the coyote. Great dread is also had of certain forest-demons of nocturnal habits; these, say the Eurocs, take the form of bears and shoot arrows at benighted wayfarers.[19]

Between the foregoing outlines of Californian belief and those connected with the remaining tribes, passing south, we can detect no salient difference till we reach the Olchones, a coast tribe between San Francisco and Monterey; the sun here begins to be connected, or identified by name, with that great spirit, or rather, that Big Man, who made the earth and who rules in the sky.[20] So we find it again both around Monterey and around San Luis Obispo; the first fruits of the earth were offered in these neighborhoods to the great light, and his rising was greeted with cries of joy.[21]

Father Gerónimo Boscana[22] gives us the following relation of the faith and worship of the Acagchemem nations, in the valley and neighborhood of San Juan Capistrano, California. Part of it would fall naturally into that part of this work alloted to origin; but the whole is so intimately mixed with so much concerning the life, deeds, and worship of various supernatural personages that it has seemed better to fit its present position than any other. Of the first part of the tradition there are two versions—if indeed they be versions of the same tradition. We give first that version held by the *serranos*, or highlanders, of the interior country, three or four leagues inland from the said San Juan Capistrano:—

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[19] *Powers' Pomo*, MS.

[20] *Beechey's Voy.*, vol. ii., p. 78.

[21] *Fages*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, vol. ci., pp. 316, 335.

[22] Father Boscana, one of the earliest missionaries to Upper California, left behind him the short manuscript history from which the tradition following in the text has been taken,—through the medium of a now rare translation by Mr Robinson. Filled with the prejudices of its age and of the profession of its author, it is yet marvelously truthlike; though a painstaking care has evidently been used with regard to its most apparently insignificant details, there are none of those too visible wrenchings after consistency, and fillings up of lacunae which so surely betray the hand of the sophisticater in so many monkish manuscripts on like and kindred subjects. There are found on the other hand frank confessions of ignorance on doubtful points, and many naïve and puzzled comments on the whole. It is apparently the

Before the material world at all existed there lived two beings, brother and sister, of a nature that can not be explained; the brother living above, and his name meaning the Heavens, the sister living below and her name signifying Earth. From the union of these two, there sprang a numerous offspring. Earth and sand were the first fruits of this marriage; then were born rocks and stones; then trees both great and small; then grass and herbs; then animals; lastly was born a great personage called Ouiot, who was a "grand captain." By some unknown mother many children of a medicine race were born to this Ouiot. All these things happened in the north; and afterward when men were created they were created in the north; but as the people multiplied they moved toward the south, the earth growing larger also and extending itself in the same direction.

In process of time, Ouiot becoming old, his children plotted to kill him, alleging that the infirmities of

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longest and the most valuable notice in existence on the religion of a nation of the native Californians, as existing at the time of the Spanish conquest, and more worthy of confidence than the general run of such documents of any date whatever. The father procured his information as follows. He says: 'God assigned to me three aged Indians, the youngest of whom was over seventy years of age. They knew all the secrets, for two of them were *capitanes*, and the other a *pul*, who were well instructed in the mysteries. By gifts, endearments, and kindness, I elicited from them their secrets, with their explanations; and by witnessing the ceremonies which they performed, I learned by degrees, their mysteries. Thus, by devoting a portion of the nights to profound meditation, and comparing their actions with their disclosures, I was enabled after a long time, to acquire a knowledge of their religion.' *Boscana*, in *Robinson's Life in Cal.*, p. 236.

age made him unfit any longer to govern them or attend to their welfare. So they put a strong poison in his drink, and when he drank of it a sore sickness came upon him; he rose up and left his home in the mountains and went down to what is now the sea-shore, though at that time there was no sea there. His mother, whose name is the Earth, mixed him an antidote in a large shell, and set the potion out in the sun to brew; but the fragrance of it attracted the attention of the Coyote, who came and overset the shell. So Ouiot sickened to death, and though he told his children that he would shortly return and be with them again, he has never been seen since. All the people made a great pile of wood and burnt his body there, and just as the ceremony began the Coyote leaped upon the body, saying that he would burn with it; but he only tore a piece of flesh from the stomach and ate it and escaped. After that the title of the Coyote was changed from Eyacque, which means Sub-captain, to Eno, that is to say, Thief and Cannibal.

When now the funeral rites were over, a general council was held and arrangements made for collecting animal and vegetable food; for up to this time the children and descendants of Ouiot had nothing to eat but a kind of white clay. And while they consulted together, behold a marvelous thing appeared before them, and they spoke to it saying: Art thou our captain, Ouiot. But the spectre said: Nay, for I am greater than Ouiot; my habitation is above, and my name is Chinigchinich. Then he spoke further, having been told for what they were come together: I create all things, and I go now to make man, another people like unto you; as for you I give you power, each after his kind, to produce all good and pleasant things. One of you shall bring rain, and another dew, and another make the acorn grow, and others other seeds, and yet others shall cause all kinds of game to abound in the land; and your children shall have this power for ever, and they shall be sorcerers to the men I go to create, and shall receive gifts of them, that the game fail not and the harvests be sure. Then Chinigchinich made man; out of the clay of the lake he formed him, male and female; and the present Californians are the descendants of the one or more pairs there and thus created.

So ends the known tradition of the mountaineers; we must now go back and take up the story anew at its beginning, as told by the *playanos*, or people of the valley of San Juan Capistrano. These say that an invisible all-powerful being, called Nocuma, made the world and all that it contains of things that grow and move. He made it round like a ball and held it in his hands, where it rolled about a good deal at first, till he steadied it by sticking a heavy black rock called *tosaut* into it, as a kind of ballast. The sea was at this time only a little stream running round the world, and so crowded with fish that their twinkling fins had no longer room to move; so great was the press that some of the more foolish fry were for effecting a landing and founding a colony, upon the dry land, and it was only with the utmost difficulty that they were persuaded by their elders, that the killing air and baneful sun and the want of feet must infallibly prove the destruction before many days of all who took part in such a desperate enterprise. The proper plan was evidently to improve and enlarge their present home; and to this end, principally by the aid of one very large fish, they broke the great rock tosaut in two, finding a bladder in the centre filled with a very bitter substance. The taste of it pleased the fish, so they emptied it into the water, and instantly the water became salt and swelled up and overflowed a great part of the old earth, and made itself the new boundaries that remain to this day.

Then Nocuma created a man, shaping him out of the soil of the earth, calling him Ejoni. A woman also the great god made, presumably of the same material as the man, calling her Aé. Many children were born to this first pair, and their descendants multiplied over the land. The name of one of these last was Sirout, that is to say, Handful of Tobacco, and the name of his wife was Ycaiut, which means Above; and to Sirout and Ycaiut was born a son, while they lived in a place north-east about eight leagues from San Juan Capistrano. The name of this son was Ouiot, that is to say Dominator; he grew a fierce and redoutable warrior; haughty, ambitious, tyrannous, he extended his lordship on every side, ruling everywhere as with a rod of iron; and the people conspired against him. It was determined that he should die by poison; a piece of the rock tosaut was ground up in so deadly a way that its mere external application was sufficient to cause death. Ouiot, notwithstanding that he held himself constantly on the alert, having been warned of his danger by a small burrowing animal called the *cucumel*, was unable to avoid his fate; a few grains of the cankerous mixture were dropped upon his breast while he slept, and the strong mineral ate its way to the very springs of his life. All the wise men of the land were called to his assistance; but there was nothing for him save to die. His body was burned on a great pile with songs of joy and dances, and the nation rejoiced.

While the people were gathered to this end, it was thought advisable to consult on the feasibility of procuring seed and flesh to eat instead of the clay which had up to this time been the sole food of the human family. And while they yet talked together, there appeared to them, coming they knew not whence, one called Attajen, "which name implies man, or rational being." And Attajen, understanding their desires, chose out certain of the elders among them, and to these gave he power; one that he might cause rain to fall, to another that he might cause game to abound, and so with the rest, to each his power and gift, and to the successors of each for ever. These were the first medicine-men.

Many years having elapsed since the death of Ouiot, there appeared in the same place one called Ouiamot, reputed son of Tacu and Auzar—people unknown, but natives, it is thought by Boscana, of "some distant land." This Ouiamot is better known by his great name Chinigchinich, which means Almighty. He first manifested his powers to the people on a day when they had met in congregation for some purpose or other; he appeared dancing before them crowned with a kind of high crown made of tall feathers stuck into a circlet of some kind, girt with a kind of petticoat of feathers, and having his flesh painted black and red. Thus decorated he was called the *tobet*. Having danced some time, Chinigchinich called out the medicine-men, or *puplems* as they were called, among whom it would appear the chiefs are always numbered, and confirmed their power; telling them that he had come from the stars to instruct them in dancing and all other things, and commanding that in all their necessities they should array themselves in the tobet, and so dance as he had danced, supplicating him by his great name, that thus they might receive of their petitions. He taught them how to worship him, how to build *vanquechs*, or places of worship, and how to direct their conduct in various affairs of life. Then he prepared to die, and the people asked him if they should bury him; but he warned them against attempting such a thing: If ye buried me, he said, ye would tread upon my grave, and for that my hand would be heavy upon you; look to it, and to all your ways, for lo, I go up where the high stars are, where mine eyes shall see all the ways of men; and whosoever will not keep my commandments nor observe the things I have taught, behold disease shall plague all his body, and no food shall come near his lips, the bear shall rend his flesh, and the crooked tooth of the serpent shall sting him.

The vanquech, or place of worship, seems to have been an unroofed inclosure of stakes, within which, on a hurdle, was placed the image of the god Chinigchinich. This image was the skin of a coyote or that of a mountain-cat stuffed with the feathers of certain birds, and with various other things, so that it looked like a live animal; a bow and some arrows were attached to it on the outside, and other arrows were thrust down its throat so that the feathers of them appeared at the mouth as out of a quiver. The whole place of the inclosure was sacred, and not to be approached without reverence; it does not seem that sacrifices formed any part of the worship there offered, but only prayer, and sometimes a kind of pantomine connected with the undertaking desired to be furthered—thus, desiring success in hunting one mimicked the actions of the chase, leaping and twanging one's bow. Each vanquech was a city of refuge, with rights of sanctuary exceeding any ever granted in Jewish or Christian countries. Not only was every criminal safe there whatever his crime, but the crime was as it were blotted out from that moment, and the offender was at liberty to leave the sanctuary and walk about as before; it was not lawful even to mention his crime; all that the avenger could do was to point at him and deride him, saying: Lo, a coward, who has been forced to flee to Chinigchinich! This flight was rendered so much a meaner thing in that it only turned the punishment from the head of him that fled upon that of some of his relatives; life went for life, eye for eye, and tooth for tooth, even to the third and fourth generation, for justice' sake.

Besides Chinigchinich they worshiped, or at any rate feared, a god called Touch; who inhabited the mountains and the bowels of the earth, appearing, however, from time to time in the form of various animals of a terrifying kind. Every child at the age of six or seven received, sent to him from this god, some animal as a protector. To find out what this animal or spirit in the shape of animal was, narcotic drinks were swallowed, or the subject fasted and watched in the vanquech for a given time, generally three days. He whose rank entitled him to wait for his guardian apparition in the sacred inclosure, was set there by the side of the god's image, and on the ground before him was sketched by one of the wise men an uncouth figure of some animal. The child was then left to complete his vigil, being warned at the same time to endure its hardships with patience, in that any attempt to infringe upon its rules, by eating or drinking or otherwise, would be reported to the god by the sprawling figure the enchanter had drawn in the clay, and that in such a case the punishment of Chinigchinich would be terrible. After all this was over, a scar was made on the child's right arm, and sometimes on the thick part of the leg also, by covering the part, "according to the figure required," with a peculiar herb dried and powdered, and setting fire to it. This was a brand or seal required by Chinigchinich, and was besides supposed to strengthen the nerves and give "a better pulse for the management of the bow." [23]

The Acagchemems, like many other Californian tribes,[24] regard the great buzzard with sentiments of veneration, while they seem to have had connected with it several rites and ideas peculiar to themselves. They called this bird the *panes*, and once every year they had a festival of the same name, in which the principal ceremony was the killing of a buzzard without losing a drop of its blood. It was next skinned, all possible care being taken to preserve the feathers entire, as these were used in making the feathered petticoat and diadem, already described as part of the tobet. Last of all the body was buried within the sacred inclosure amid great apparent grief from the old women, they mourning as over the loss of relative or friend. Tradition explained this: the panes had indeed been once a woman, whom, wandering in the mountain ways, the great god Chinigchinich had come suddenly upon and changed into a bird. How this was connected with the killing of her anew every year by the people, and with certain extraordinary ideas held relative to that killing is, however, by no means clear; for it was believed that as often as the bird was killed it was made alive again, and more, and faith to move mountains—that the birds killed in one same yearly feast in many separate villages were one and the same bird. How these things were or why, none knew, it was enough that they were a commandment and ordinance of Chinigchinich, whose ways were not as the ways of men.[25]

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[23] See p. 113, of this volume, for a custom among the Mexicans not without analogies to this.

[24] See p. 134, of this volume.

The Pericues of Lower California were divided into two sects, worshiping two hostile divinities who made a war of extermination upon each other. The tradition explains that there was a great lord in heaven, called Niparaya, who made earth and sea, and was almighty and invisible. His wife was Anayicoyondi, a goddess who, though possessing no body, bore him in a divinely mysterious manner three children; one of whom, Quaayayp, was a real man and born on earth, on the Acaragui mountains. Very powerful this young god was, and a long time he lived with the ancestors of the Pericues, whom it is almost to be inferred that he created; at any rate we are told that he was able to make men, drawing them up out of the earth. The men at last killed this their great hero and teacher, and put a crown of thorns upon his head.[26] Somewhere or other he remains lying dead to this day, and he remains constantly beautiful, neither does his body know corruption. Blood drips constantly from his wounds, and he can speak no more, being dead; yet there is an owl that speaks to him. And besides the before-spoken-of god Niparaya in heaven, there was another and hostile god called Wac or Tuparan. According to the Niparaya sect, this Wac had made war on their favorite god, and been by him defeated and cast forth of heaven into a cave under the earth, of which cave the whales of the sea were the guardians. With a perverse, though not unnatural, obstinacy the sect that held Wac or Tuparan to be their great god persisted in holding ideas peculiar to themselves with regard to the truth of the foregoing story; and their account of the great war in heaven and its results differed from the other, as differ the creeds of heterodox and orthodox everywhere; they ascribe, for example, part of the creation to other gods besides

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[25] *Boscana*, in *Robinson's Life in Cal.*, pp. 242–301.

[26] The Christian leaven, whose workings are evident through this narrative, ferments here too violently to need pointing out.

Niparaya.[27] The Cochimis and remaining natives of the Californian peninsula seem to have held in the main much the same ideas with regard to the gods and powers above them as the Pericues held, and the sorcerers of all had the common blowings, leapings, fastings, and other mummeries that make these professors of the sinister art so much alike everywhere in our territory.[28]

The natives of Nevada have ideas respecting a great kind Spirit of some kind, as well as a myth concerning an evil one; but they have no special class set apart as medicine-men.[29] The Utah belief seems to be as nearly as possible identical with that of Nevada.[30]

The Comanches acknowledge more or less vaguely a Supreme Spirit, but seem to use the Sun and the Earth as mediators with and, in some sort, as embodiments of him. They have a recognized body of sorcerers called *puyacantes*, and various religious ceremonies and chants; for the most part of a simple kind, and directed to the Sun as the great source of life, and to the Earth as the producer and receptacle of all that sustains life. According to the Abbé Domenech, every Comanche wears a little figure of the sun, attached to his neck, or has a picture of it painted on his shield; from the ears of each hang also two crescents, which may possibly represent the moon.[31]

The Apaches recognize a supreme power in heaven under the name Yaxtaxitaxitanne, the creator and master of all things; but they render him no open service nor worship. To any taciturn cunning man they are accustomed to credit intercourse with a preternatural power of some kind, and to look to him as a sort of oracle in various emergencies. This is, in fact, their medicine-man, and in cases of illness he pretends to perform cures by the aid of herbs and ceremonies of various kinds.[32]

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[27] See pp. 83–4, this volume.

[28] *Venegas, Noticias de la Cal.*, tom. i., pp. 102–124; *Clavigero, Storia della Cal.*, tom. i., pp. 135–141; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, tom. i., p. 314.

[29] *Virginia City Chronicle*, quoted in *S. F. Daily Ev'g Post*, of Oct. 12th, 1872; *Browne's Lower Cal.*, p. 188.

[30] *De Smet's Letters*, p. 41.

[31] *Parker*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 684; *Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner's Rept.*, pp. 35–6, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. iii.; *Barreiro, Ojeada sobre N. Mex.*, ap. p. 8; *Filley's Life and Adven.*, p. 82; *Marcy's Army Life*, pp. 58, 64; *Domenech, Jour. d'un Miss.*, pp. 13, 131, 469.

The Navajos, having the usual class of sorcerers, call their good deity Whaillahay, and their evil one Chinday; the principal use of their good god seems to be to protect them from their evil one. In smoking they sometimes puff their tobacco-smoke toward heaven with great formality; this is said to bring rain; to the same end certain long round stones, thought to be cast down by the clouds in a thunderstorm, are used with various ceremonies.

The sun, moon, and stars are thought to be powers connected with rain and fine weather; while the god Montezuma of their Pueblo neighbors is unknown among them.[33]

All the Pueblo cities, though speaking different languages hold substantialy the same faith. They seem to assent to the statement of the existence of a great and good spirit whose name is too sacred to be mentioned; but most say that Montezuma is his equal; and some, again, that the Sun is the same as or equal to Montezuma. There are, besides, the lesser divinities of water,—Montezuma being considered in one aspect as the great rain-god, and as such often mentioned as being aided by or being in connection with a serpent. Over and above all these, the existence of a general class or body of evil spirits is taken for granted.

Many places in New Mexico claim to be the birthplace of the great leader, teacher, and god Montezuma. At any rate he is traditionally supposed to have appeared among the Pueblos before they had arrived at or built their present towns. Some traditions would make him either the ancestor or the creator of the same people; but the most regard him as a kind of semi or wholly divine priest, prophet, leader, and legislator. Under restrictions pointed out in a former note,[34] we may fairly regard him as at once the Melchizedek, the Moses, and the Messiah of these Pueblo desert wanderers from an Egypt that history is ignorant of, and whose name even tradition whispers not. He taught his people to build cities with tall houses, to construct estufas, or semi-sacred sweat-houses, and to kindle and guard the sacred fire.

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[32] *Barreiro, Ojeada sobre N. Mex.*, ap. pp. 2-3; *Henry*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 212.

[33] *Crofutt's Western World*, Aug. 1872, p. 27; *Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner's Rept.*, p. 42, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. iii.; *Ten Broeck*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iv., p. 91; *Bristol*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, *Special Com.*, 1867, p. 358; *Brinton's Myths*, p. 158; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 402.

At Acoma, it is said by some, was established the first Pueblo, and thence the people marched southward, forming others. Acoma was one, and Pecos another. At this last, Montezuma planted a tree upside down, and said that, on his leaving them, a strange nation should oppress them for many years, years also in which there should be no rain, but that they were to persist in watching the sacred fire until the tree fell, when he would return, with a white race which should destroy their enemies; and then rain should fall again and the earth be fertile. It is said that this tree fell from its abnormal position, as the American army entered Santa Fé.

The watching of the fire, kept up in subterranean estufas, under a covering of ashes generally, and in the basin of a small altar, was no light task. The warriors took the post by turns, some said, for two successive days and nights, sans food, sans drink, sans sleep, sans everything. Others affirm that this watching was kept up till exhaustion and even death relieved the guard—the last not to be wondered at, seeing the insufferable closeness of the place and the accumulation of carbonic acid. The remains of the dead were, it was sometimes supposed, carried off by a monstrous serpent. This holy fire was believed to be the palladium of the city, and the watchers by it could well dream of that day, when, coming with the sun, Montezuma should descend by the column of smoke whose roots they fed, and should fill the shabby little estufa with a glory like that in a wilderness tabernacle they knew not of, where a more awful pillar of smoke shadowed the mystic cherubim. Hope dies hard, and the dim memories of a great past never quite fade away from among any people. No true-born British bard ever doubted of Arthur's return from his kingly rest in Avalon, nor that the flash of Excalibar should be one day again as the lightning of death in the eyes of the hated Saxon. The herders on the shore of Lucerne know that were Switzerland in peril, the Tell would spring from his sleep as at the crack of doom. "When Germany is at her lowest then is her greatness nearest" say the weird old ballads of that land; for then shall the Great Kaiser rise from the vault in the Kyffhäuser,—Barbarossa shall rise, though his beard be grown through the long stone table. Neither is the Frank without his savior: Sing, O troubadours, sing and strike the chords proudly! Who shall prevail while Charlemagne but sleeps in the shadow of the Untersberg?—And so our Pueblo sentinel climbing the housetop at Pecos, looking ever eastward from Santo Domingo on the Rio Grande; he too waits for the beautiful feet upon the mountains and the plumes of him—

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[34] See pp. 77–8, note 36, this volume.

Who dwelt up in the yellow sun,
And sorrowing for man's despair,
Slid by his trailing yellow hair
To earth, to rule with love and bring
The blessedness of peace.[35]

The Pueblo chiefs seem to be at the same time priests; they perform the various simple rites by which the power of the sun and of Montezuma is recognized as well as the power—according to some accounts—of "the Great Snake, to whom by order of Montezuma they are to look for life;" they also officiate in certain ceremonies with which they pray for rain. There are painted representations of the Great Snake, together with that of a misshapen red-haired man declared to stand for Montezuma. Of this last there was also in 1845, in the pueblo of

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[35] *Joaquin Miller's Californian.*

Laguna, a rude effigy or idol, intended, apparently, to represent only the head of the deity; it was made of tanned skin in the form of a brimless hat or cylinder open at the bottom. Half-way round, it was painted red; the other half was green. The green side was rudely marked to suggest a face: two triangles were cut for eyes; there was no nose; a circular leather patch served for a mouth, and two other patches in an appropriate situation suggested ears. Crowning the head was a small tuft of leather, said to be supplemented by feathers on festal occasions. A sorry image one would say, yet one looked upon by its exhibitors with apparently the greatest veneration; they kneeling in a most devoted manner, going through a form of prayer, and sprinkling it with a white powder. One of the worshipers said it was God and the brother of God; and the people bring it out in dry seasons, and, with dancing and other rites, invoke it for rain.

Christianity has now effaced the memory of most of the rites of the Pueblo religion, but Dr Ten Broeck noticed that many of the worshipers at the Christian church in Laguna carried little baskets in their hands containing images of domestic animals, or of beasts of the chase, molded in mud or dough; it being the custom, as it had been there from time immemorial, for those that had been successful in the chase, or in accumulating cattle, to bring such simulachres of their prosperity before the altar of God,—probably, a modification produced by the poverty of the people of a rite as old as the altar of Abel, to wit, the offering of the firstlings and firstfruits to that Deity whose blessing had given the increase.

It has been affirmed, without much foundation or probability of truth, that the Pueblos worshiped fire and water.[36]

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[36] *Gregg's Com. Prairies*, vol. i., pp. 271–3; *Davis' El Gringo*, pp. 142, 396; *Simpson's Overland Journ.*, pp. 21–3; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. i., pp. 164–5, 418, vol. ii., pp. 62–3, 401; *Möllhausen*, *Tagebuch*, pp. 170, 219, 284; *Meline's Two Thousand Miles on Horseback*, pp. 202, 226; *Ruxton's Adven. in Mex.*, p. 193; *Ten Broeck*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iv., p. 73; *Ward*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1864, pp. 192-3; *Emory's Reconnoissance*, p. 30; *Tylor's Prim. Cult.*, vol. ii., p. 384; *Brinton's Myths*, p. 190; *Coronado*, in *Hakluyt's Voy.*, vol. iii., p.

The Moquis know nothing of Montezuma; they believe in a Great Father, living where the sun rises, and in a great Mother, whose home is where the sun goes down. This Father is the father of evil, war, pestilence, and famine; but from the mother are all their joy, peace, plenty, and health.[37]

The Mojaves tell of a certain Matevil, creator of heaven and earth, who was wont in time past to remain among them in a certain grand *casa*. This habitation was, however, by some untoward event broken down; the nations were destroyed; and Matevil departed eastward. Whence, in the latter days, he will again return to consolidate, prosper, and live with his people forever. This Matevil, or Mathowelia, has a son called Mastamho, who made the water and planted trees. There is also an Evil Spirit Newathie.[38]

From a letter just received from Judge Roseborough, I am enabled to close this chapter with some new and valuable facts regarding the religious ideas of certain tribes—not accurately specified—of the north-west portion of Upper California. The learned judge has given unusual attention to the subject of which he writes, and his opportunities for procuring information must have been frequent during ten years of travel and residence in the districts of the northern counties of California:—

Among the tribes in the neighborhood of Trinity river is found a legend relating to a certain Wappeckquemow, who was a giant, and apparently the father and leader of

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379. Fremont gives an account of the birth of Montezuma: His mother was, it is said, a woman of exquisite beauty, admired and sought after by all men, they making her presents of corn and skins and all that they had; but the fastidious beauty would accept nothing of them but their gifts. In process of time a season of drought brought on a famine and much distress; then it was that the rich lady showed her charity to be as great in one direction as it had been wanting in another. She opened her granaries and the gifts of the lovers she had not loved went to releave the hungry she pitied. At last with rain, fertility returned to the earth; and on the chaste Artemis of the Pueblos its touch fell too. She bore a son to the thick summer shower and that son was Montezuma.

[37] *Ten Broeck*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iv., pp. 85–6.

[38] *Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner's Rept.*, pp. 42–3, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. iii.; *Dodt*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1870, p. 129.

a pre-human race like himself. He was expelled from the country that he inhabited—near the mouth of the Klamath—for disobeying or offending some great god, and a curse was pronounced against him, so that not even his descendants should ever return to that land. On the expulsion of these Anakim, the ancestors of the people to whom this legend belongs came down from the north-west, a direction of migration, according to Judge Roseborough, uniformly adhered to in the legends of all the tribes of north-west California. These new settlers, however, like their predecessors of the giant race, quarreled with the great god and were abandoned by him to their own devices, being given over into the hands of certain evil powers or devils. Of these the first is Omahá, who, possessing the shape of a grizzly bear, is invisible and goes about everywhere bringing sickness and misfortune on mankind. Next there is Makalay, a fiend with a horn like a unicorn; he is swift as the wind and moves by great leaps like a kangaroo. The sight of him is usually death to mortals. There is, thirdly, a dreadful being called Kalicknateck, who seems a faithful reproduction of the great thunder-bird of the north: thus Kalicknateck "is a huge bird that sits on the mountain-peak, and broods in silence over his thoughts until hungry; when he will sweep down over the ocean, snatch up a large whale, and carry it to his mountain-throne, for a single meal."

Besides the before-mentioned powers of evil, these Trinity people have legends connected with other personages of the same nature, among whom are Wanuswegock, Surgelp, Napousney, and Nequiteh.

When white miners first came to work on the Trinity River, their advent caused, as may be imagined, much unsatisfactory speculation among the aborigines; some saying one thing of the whites and some another. At last an old seer of the Hoopah Valley settled the question by declaring that the new-comers were descendants of that banished Wappeckquemow, from whose heads the already-mentioned curse, forbidding their return, had been by some means lifted.

The coast people in northern California have a story about a mysterious people called Hohgates, to whom is ascribed an immense bed of mussel-shells and bones of animals still existing on the table-land of Point St George, near Crescent City. These Hohgates, seven in number, are said to have come to the place in a boat, to have built themselves "houses above-ground, after the style of white men" —all this about the time that the first natives came down the coast from the north. These Hohgates, living at the point mentioned, killed many elk on land, and many seals and sea-lions in fishing excursions from their boats; using for the latter purpose a kind of harpoon made of a knife attached to a stick, and the whole fastened to the boat with a long line. They also sailed frequently to certain rocks, and loaded their little vessels with mussels. By all this they secured plenty of food, and the refuse of it, the bones and shells and so on, rapidly accumulated into the great *kjökken mödding* still to be seen. One day, however, all the Hohgates being out at sea in their boat, they struck a huge sea-lion with their rude harpoon, and, unable or unwilling to cut or throw off their line, were dragged with fearful speed toward a great whirlpool, called Chareckquin, that lay far toward the north-west. It is the place where souls go, where in darkness and cold the spirits shiver for ever; living men suffer even from its winds,—from the north-west wind, the bleak and bitter Charreck-rawek. And just as the boat reached the edge of this fearful place, behold, a marvelous thing: the rope broke and the sea-monster was swept down alone into the whirl of wind and water, while the Hohgates were caught up into the air; swinging round and round, their boat floated steadily up into the vast of heaven. Nevermore on earth were the Hohgates seen; but there are seven stars in heaven that all men know of, and these stars are the seven Hohgates that once lived where the great shell-bed near Crescent City now is.

CHAPTER VI.

GODS, SUPERNATURAL BEINGS, AND WORSHIP.

GODS AND RELIGIOUS RITES OF CHIHUAHUA, SONORA, DURANGO, AND SINALOA—THE MEXICAN RELIGION, RECEIVED WITH DIFFERENT DEGREES OF CREDULITY BY DIFFERENT CLASSES OF THE PEOPLE—OPINIONS OF DIFFERENT WRITERS AS TO ITS NATURE—MONOTHEISM OF NEZAHUALCOYOTL—PRESENT CONDITION OF THE STUDY OF MEXICAN MYTHOLOGY—TEZCATLIPOCA — PRAYERS TO HIM IN TIME OF PESTILENCE, OF WAR, FOR THOSE IN AUTHORITY—PRAYER USED BY AN ABSOLVING PRIEST—GENUINENESS OF THE FOREGOING PRAYERS—CHARACTER AND WORKS OF SAHAGUN.

From the Pueblo cities let us now pass down into Mexico, glancing first at the northern and north-western neighbors of this great people that ruled on the plateau of Anáhuac. The Chihuahuans worshiped a great god called by them the 'captain of heaven' and recognized a lesser divinity as abiding in and inspiring their priests and medicine-men. They rendered homage to the sun; and when any comet or other phenomenon appeared in the heavens they offered sacrifice thereto; their sacrifice being much after the Mexican fashion; fruits, herbs, and such things as they had, together with blood drawn from their bodies by the pricks of a thorn.[1]

In Sonora,—the great central heart of Mexico making its beatings more and more clearly felt as we approach it nearer,—the vague feelings of awe and reverence with which the savage regards the unseen, unknown, and unknowable powers, begin at last to somewhat lose their vagueness and to crystallize into the recognition of a power to be represented and symbolized by a god made with hands. The offerings thereto begin also, more and more, to lose their primitive simple shape, and the blood, without which is no remission of sins, stains the rude altar that a more Arcadian race had only heaped with flowers and fruit. The natives of Sonora bring, says Las Casas, "many deer, wolves, hares, and birds before a large idol, with music of many flutes and other instruments of theirs; then cutting open the animals through the middle, they take out their hearts and hang them round the neck of the image, wetting it with the flowing blood. It is certain that the only offering made in all this province of Sonora was the hearts of brutes."[2] All this they did more especially in two great festivals they had, the one at seed-time, the other at harvest; and we have reason to rejoice that the thing was no worse, reason to be glad that the hearts of brave men and fair women, and soft children not knowing their right hand from their left, were not called for, as in the land of the eagle and cactus banner, to feed that devil's Minotaur, superstition.

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[1] *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin,* tom. iii., p. 22; *Doc. Hist. Mex.,* serie iv., tom. iii., p. 86.

The people of Durango called the principal power in which they believed Meyuncame, that is to say, Maker of All Things; they had another god, Cachiripa, whose name is all we know of him. They had besides innumerable private idols, penates of all possible and impossible figures; some being stone, shaped by nature only. In one village they worshiped a great flint knife that their flint implements of every kind might be good and sure. They had gods of storm and gods of sunshine, gods of good and gods of evil, gods of everything in heaven above or in the earth beneath or in the waters under the earth. Their idols received bloody sacrifices, not always of beasts; a bowl containing beans and the cooked human flesh of an enemy was offered to them for success in war.[3]

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[2] *Las Casas, Hist. Apologètica*, MS., tom. iii., cap. 168; *Smith's Relation of Cabeza de Vaca*, p. 177.

[3] *Ribas, Hist. de los Triumphos*, pp. 473-5; *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, serie iv., tom. iii., p. 48.

Much of the preceding paragraph belongs also to Sinaloa or cannot be exactly located more in the one province than in the other. The Sinaloas are said to have venerated above all the other gods one called Cocohuame, which is, being interpreted, Death. They worshiped also a certain Ouraba,[4] which is Valor, offering him bows, arrows, and all kinds of instruments of war. To Sehuatoba, that is to say Pleasure, they sacrificed feathers, raiment, beads of glass, and women's ornaments. Bamusehua was the god of water. In some parts, it is said, there was recognized a divine element in common herbs and birds. One deity—or devil, as Ribas calls him with the exquisite courtesy that distinguishes the theosophic historian—was the especial patron of a class of wizards closely resembling the shamáns and medicine-men of the north. No one seemed to know exactly the powers of this deity, but everyone admitted their extent by recognizing with a respectful awe their effects; effects brought about through the agency of the wizards, by the use of bags, rattles, magic stones, blowings, suckings, and all that routine of sorcery with which we are already familiar. This deity was called Grandfather or Ancestor.[5]

One Sinaloa nation, the Tahus, in the neighborhood of Culiacan, reared great serpents for which they had a good deal of veneration. They propitiated their gods with offerings of precious stones and rich stuffs, but they did not sacrifice men. With an altogether characteristic insinuation, the Abbé Domenech says, that though highly immoral in the main, they so highly respected women who devoted themselves to a life of celibacy, that they held great festivals in their honor — leaving the reader to suppose that the Tahus had a class of female religious who devoted themselves to a life of chastity and were respected for that reason; the truth is found to be, on referring to the author Castañeda—from whom apparently the abbé has taken this half truth and whole falsehood—that these estimable celibate women were the public prostitutes of the nation.[6]

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[4] Apparently the same as that Vairubi spoken of on p. 83 of this volume.

[5] *Ribas*, *Hist. de los Triumphos*, pp. 16, 18, 40. 'A uno de sus dioses llamaban Ouraba, que quiere decir fortaleza. Era como Marte, dios de la guerra. Ofrecíanle arcos, flechas y todo género de armas para el feliz éxito de sus batallas. A otro llamaban Sehuatoba, que quiere decir, deleite, á quien ofrecian plumas, mantas, cuentecillas de vidrio y adornos mugeriles. Al dios de las aguas llamaban Bamusehua. El mas venerado de todos era Cocohuame, que significa muerte.' *Alegre*, *Hist. Comp. de Jesus*, tom. ii., p. 45. 'They worship for their gods such things as they haue in their houses, as namely, hearbes, and birdes, and sing songs vnto them in their language. *Coronado*, in *Hakluyt's Voy.*, vol. iii., p. 363.

The Mexican religion, as transmitted to us, is a confused and clashing chaos of fragments. If ever the great nation of Anáhuac had its Hesiod or its Homer, no ray of his light has reached the stumbling feet of research in that direction; no echo of his harmony has been ever heard by any ear less dull than that of a Zumárraga. It is given to few men to rise above their age, and it is folly to expect grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles; yet it is hard to suppress wholly some feelings of regret, in poring upon those ponderous tomes of sixteenth and seventeenth century history that touch upon Mexican religion; one pities far less the inevitable superstition and childish ignorance of the barbarian than the senility of his Christian historian and critic—there was some element of hope and evidence of attainment in what the half-civilized barbarian knew; but from what heights of Athenian, Roman, and Alexandrian philosophy and eloquence, had civilization fallen into the dull and arrogant nescience of the chronicles of the clergy of Spain.

We have already noticed[7] the existence of at least two schools of religious philosophy in Mexico, two average levels of thought, the one that of the vulgar and credulous, the other that of the more enlightened and reflective. It has resulted from this that different writers differ somewhat in their opinions with regard to the precise nature and essence of that religion, some saying one thing and some another. I cannot show this more shortly and—what is much more important in a subject like this—more exactly, than by quoting a number of these opinions:

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[6] 'Ils célébraient de grandes fêtes en l'honneur des femmes qui voulaient vivre dans le célibat. Les caciques d'un canton se réunissaient et dansaient tous nus, l'un après l'autre, avec la femme qui avait pris cette détermination. Quand la danse était terminée, ils la conduisaient dans une petite maison qu'on avait décorée à cet effet, et ils jouissaient de sa personne, les caciques d'abord et ensuite tous ceux qui le voulaient. A dater de ce moment, elles ne pouvaient rien refuser à quiconque leur offrait le prix fixé pour cela. Elles n'étaient jamais dispensées de cette obligation, même quand plus tard elles se mariaient.' *Castañeda*, in *Ternaux-Compans*, *Voy.*, serie i., tom. ix., pp. 150-1. 'Although these men were very immoral, yet such was their respect for all women who led a life of celibacy, that they celebrated grand festivals in their honour.' And there he makes an end. *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. i., p. 170.

[7] This volume, pp. 55-6.

"Turning from the simple faiths of savage tribes of America, to the complex religion of the half-civilized Mexican nation, we find what we might naturally expect, a cumbrous polytheism complicated by mixture of several national pantheons, and beside and beyond this, certain appearances of a doctrine of divine supremacy. But these doctrines seem to have been spoken of more definitely than the evidence warrants. A remarkable native development of Mexican theism must be admitted, in so far as we may receive the native historian Ixtlilxochitl's account of the worship paid by Nezahualcoyotl, the poet-king of Tezcuco, to the invisible supreme Tloque-Nahuaque, he who has all in him, the cause of causes, in whose star-roofed pyramid stood an idol, and who there received no bloody sacrifice, but only flowers and incense. Yet it would have been more satisfactory, were the stories told by this Aztec panegyrist of his royal ancestors confirmed by other records. Traces of divine supremacy in Mexican religion are especially associated with Tezcatlipoca, 'Shining Mirror,' a deity who seems in his original nature the Sun-god, and thence by expansion to have become the soul of the world, creator of heaven and earth, lord of all things, Supreme Deity. Such conceptions may, in more or less measure, have arisen in native thought, but it should be pointed out that the remarkable Aztec religious formulas collected by Sahagun, in which the deity Tezcatlipoca is so prominent a figure, show traces of Christian admixture in their material, as well as of Christian influence in their style. In distinct and absolute personality, the divine Sun in

Aztec theology was Tonatiuh[8] whose huge pyramid-mound stands on the plain of Teotihuacan, a witness of his worship for future ages. Beyond this the religion of Mexico, in its complex system, or congeries of great gods, such as results from the mixture and alliance of the deities of several nations, shows the solar element rooted deeply and widely in other personages of its divine mythology, and attributes especially to the sun the title of Teotl, God."[9]

"It is remarkable," says Professor J. G. Müller, "that the well-instructed Acosta should have known nothing about the adoration of a highest invisible God, under the name of Teotl. And yet this adoration has been reported in the most certain manner by others, and made evident from more exact statements regarding the nature of this deity. He has been surnamed Ipalnemoan, that is, He through whom we live, and Tloquenahuaque, that is, He who is all things through himself. He has been looked upon as the originator and essence of all things, and as especially throned in the high cloud-surrounded mountains. Rightly does Wuttke contend against any conception of this deity as a monotheistic one, the polytheism of the people being considered—for polytheism and monotheism will not be yoked together; even if a logical concordance were found, the inner spirits of the principles of the two would still be opposed to each other. Another argument stands also clearly out, in the total absence of any prayers, offerings, feasts, or temples to or in the honor of this god. From this it is evident that Teotl was not a god of the common people. Yet this, on the other hand, cannot justify us,—the so-frequently-occurring statements of well-informed authorities being taken into account,—in denying in toto all traces of a pantheistic monotheism, as this latter may easily spring up among cultivated polytheists as a logical result and outcome of their natural religion. Nezahualcoyotl, the enlightened king of Tezcuco, adored as the cause of causes, a god without an image. The chief of the Totonac aborigines of Cempoallan had, if we may credit the speech put in his mouth by Las Casas and Herrera, an idea of a highest god and creator. This abstract idea has also here, as in other parts of America, intertwined itself with the conception of a sun-god. Hence the Mexicans named the sun-god pre-eminently Teotl; and that enlightened king of Tezcuco, who built a temple of nine stories—symbolizing the nine heavens—in honor of the stars, called the sun-god his father."[10]

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[8] I would call attention to the fact that Alvarado, the ruddy handsome Spanish captain, was called Tonatiuh by the Mexicans, just as Barnabas was called Jupiter, and Paul, Mercurius, by the people of Lystra—going to show how unfetish and anthropomorphic were the ideas connected with the sun-god by the Mexicans.

[9] *Tylor's Prim. Cult.*, vol. ii., p. 311.

"To the most ancient gods," says Klemm, "belonged the divinities of nature, as well as a highest being called Teotl, God. He was perfect, independent, and invisible, and consequently not represented by any image. His qualities were represented by expressions like these: He through whom we live, He who is all in himself. This god coincides very nearly with the Master of Life of the North Americans. In opposition to him is the evil spirit, the enemy of mankind, who often appears to and terrifies them. He is called Tlacatecololotl, that is to say, Rational Owl, and may possibly, like the Lame-foot of the Peruvians, be a survival from the times when the old hunter-nations inhabited the forests and mountains. Next to Teotl was Tezcatlipoca, that is to say, Shining Mirror; he was the god of providence, the soul of the world, and the creator of heaven and earth. Teotl was not represented by any image, and was probably not worshiped with offerings nor in any special temples; Tezcatlipoca was, however, so represented, and that as a youth, because time could have no power over his beauty and his splendor. He rewarded the righteous, and punished the ungodly with sickness and misfortune. He created the world, and mankind, and the sun, and the water, and he was himself in a certain degree the overseer thereof."[11]

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[10] *Müller*, *Amerikanische Urreligionen*, pp. 473–4. The so-often discussed resemblance in form and signification between the two Mexican words *teotl* and *calli* (see *Molina*, *Vocabulario*) and the two Greek words *theos* and *kalia*, is completely enough noticed by Müller. 'Die Mexikanischen Völker haben einen Appellativnamen für Gott, Teotl, welcher, da die Buchstaben tl blosse aztekische Endung sind, merkwürdiger Weise mit dem Indogermanischen theos, Deus, Deva, Dew, zusammenstimmt. Dieses Wort wird zur Bildung mancher Götternamen oder Kultusgegenstände gebraucht. Hieher gehören die Götternamen Teotlacozanqui, Teocipactli, Teotetl, Teoyamiqui, Tlozolteotl. Der Tempel heisst Teocalli (vgl. Kalia, Hütte, Kalias Capelle) oder wörtlich Haus Gottes—das göttliche Buch, Teoamoxtli, Priester Teopuixqui, oder auch Teoteuktli, eine Prozession Teonenemi, Göttermarsch. Dazu kommen noch manche Namen von Städten, die als Kultussitze ausgezeichnet waren, wie das uns schon früher bekannt gewordene Teotihuacan. Im Plural wurden die Götter Teules genannt und eben so, wie uns Bernal Diaz so oft erzählt, die Gefährten des Cortes welche das gemeine Volk als Götter bezeichnen wollte.' *Id.*, p. 472.

The Abbé Brasseur believes in the knowledge by the Mexicans and certain neighboring or related nations, of a Supreme God; but he thinks also that the names of great priests and legislators have often been used for or confounded with the one Name above every name. He says: "In the traditions that have reached us the name of the legislator is often confused with that of the divinity; and behind the symbolic veil that covers primitive history, he who civilized and brought to light in the Americans a new life, is designedly identified with the Father of the universal creation. The writers who treat of the history of the ancient American nations avow that, at the time of the landing of the Spaniards on the soil of the western continent, there was not one that did not recognize the existence of a supreme deity and arbiter of the universe. In that confusion of religious ideas, which is the inevitable result of ignorance and superstition, the notion of a unique immaterial being, of an invisible power, had survived the shipwreck of pure primitive creeds. Under the name Tloque-Nahuaque, the Mexicans adored Him who is the first cause of all things, who preserves and sustains all by his providence; calling him again, for the same reason, Ipalnemoaloni, He in whom and by whom we are and live. This god was the same as that Kunab-Ku, the Alone Holy, who was adored in Yucatan; the same again as that Hurakan, the Voice that Cries, the Heart of Heaven, found with the Guatemalan nations of Central America; and the same lastly as that Teotl, God, whom we find named in the Tzendal and Mexican books. This "God of all purity," as he was styled in a Mexican prayer, was, however, too elevated for the thoughts of the vulgar. His existence was recognized, and sages invoked him; but he had neither temples nor altars,—perhaps because no one knew how he should be represented,—and it was only in the last times of the Aztec monarchy that Nezahualcoyotl, king of Tezcuco, dedicated to him a teocalli of nine terraces, without statues, under the title of the unknown god."[12]

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[11] *Klemm, Cultur-Geschichte*, tom. v., pp. 114-5.

Mr Gallatin says of the Mexicans: "Their mythology, as far as we know it, presents a great number of unconnected gods, without apparent system or unity of design. It exhibits no evidence of metaphysical research or imaginative powers. Viewed only as a development of the intellectual faculties of man, it is, in every respect, vastly inferior to the religious systems of Egypt, India, Greece, or Scandinavia. If imported, it must have been from some barbarous country, and brought directly from such country to Mexico, since no traces of a similar worship are found in the more northern parts of America."[13]

"The Aztecs," writes Prescott, "recognized the existence of a Supreme Creator and Lord of the Universe. But the idea of unity—of a being, with whom volition is action, who has no need of inferior ministers to execute his purposes—was too simple, or too vast, for their understandings; and they sought relief as usual, in a plurality of deities, who presided over the elements, the changes of the seasons, and the various occupations of man. Of these, there were thirteen principal deities, and more than two hundred inferior; to each of whom some special day, or appropriate festival, was consecrated."[14]

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[12] *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. des Nat. Civ.*, tom. i., pp. 45-6.
[13] *Gallatin*, in *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Transact.*, vol. i., p. 352.
[14] *Prescott's Conq. of Mex.*, vol. i., p. 57.

According to Mr Squier: "The original deities of the Mexican pantheon are few in number. Thus when the Mexicans engaged in a war, in defense of the liberty or sovereignty of their country, they invoked the War God, under his aspect and name Huitzlipochtli. When suddenly attacked by enemies, they called upon the same god, under his aspect and name of Paynalton, which implied God of Emergencies, etc. In fact, as already elsewhere observed, all the divinities of the Mexican, as of every other mythology, resolve themselves into the primeval God and Goddess."[15]

"The population of Central America," says the Vicomte de Bussierre, "although they had preserved the vague notion of a superior eternal God and creator, known by the name Teotl, had an Olympus as numerous as that of the Greeks and the Romans. It would appear,—the most ancient, though, unfortunately, also the most obscure legends being followed,—that during the civilized period which preceded the successive invasions of the barbarous hordes of the north, the inhabitants of Anáhuac joined to the idea of a supreme being the worship of the sun and the moon, offering them flowers, fruits, and the first fruits of their fields. The most ancient monuments of the country, such as the pyramids of Teotihuacan, were incontestably consecrated to these luminaries. Let us now trace some of the most striking features of these people. Among the number of their gods, is found one represented under the figure of a man eternally young, and considered as the symbol of the supreme and mysterious God. Two other gods there were, watching over mortals from the height of a celestial city, and charged with the accomplishment of their prayers. Air, earth, fire, and water had their particular divinities. The woman of the serpent, the prolific woman, she who never gave birth but to twins, was adored as the mother of the human race. The sun and the moon had their altars. Various divinities presided over the phenomena of nature, over the day, the night, the mist, the thunder, the harvest, the mountains, and so on. Souls, the place of the dead, warriors, hunters, merchants, fishing, love, drunkenness, medicine, flowers, and many other things had their special gods. A multitude of heroes and of illustrious kings, whose apotheosis had been decreed, took their place in this vast pantheon, where were besides seated two hundred and sixty divinities of inferior rank, to each of whom nevertheless one of the days of the year was consecrated. Lastly, every city, every family, every individual, had its or his celestial protector, to whom worship was rendered. The number of the temples corresponded to that of the gods; these temples were found everywhere, in the cities, in the fields, in the woods, along the roads, and all of them had priests charged with their service. This complicated mythology was common to all the nations of Anáhuac, even to those that the empire had been unable to subjugate and with which it was at war; but each country had its favorite god, such god being to it, what Huitzilopochtli, the god of war, was to the Aztecs."[16]

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[15] *Squier's Serpent Symbol*, p. 47.

The Mexican religion, as summed up by Mr Brantz Mayer,[17] "was a compound of spiritualism and gross idolatry; for the Aztecs believed in a Supreme Deity, whom they called Teotl, God; or Ipalnemoani, He by whom we live; or Tloque Nahuaque, He who has all in himself; while their evil spirit bore the name of Tlaleatcololotl, the Rational Owl. These spiritual beings are surrounded by a number of lesser divinities, who were probably the ministerial agents of Teotl. These were Huitzilopotchtli, the god of war, and Teoyaomiqui, his spouse, whose duty it was to conduct the souls of warriors who perished in defense of their homes and and religion to the 'house of the sun,' the Aztec heaven. Huitzilopotchtli, or Mextli, the god of war, was the special protector of the Aztecs; and devoted as they were to war, this deity was always invoked before battle, and recompensed after it by the offering of numerous captives taken in conflict."

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[16] *Bussierre, L'Empire Mexicain*, pp. 131-3.

[17] *Brantz Mayer*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. vi., p. 585; see also, *Brantz Mayer's Mexico as it was*, p. 110.

"The religion of the Mexicans," writes Señor Carbajal Espinosa,[18] plagiarizing as literally as possible from Clavigero, "was a tissue of errors and of cruel and superstitious rites. Similar infirmities of the human mind are inseparable from a religious system originating in caprice and fear, as we see even in the most cultured nations of antiquity. If the religion of the Mexicans be compared with that of the Greeks and Romans, it will be found that the latter is the more superstitious and ridiculous and the former the more barbarous and sanguinary. These celebrated nations of ancient Europe multiplied excessively their gods because of the mean idea that they had of their power; restricting their rule within narrow limits, attributing to them the most atrocious crimes, and solemnizing their worship with such execrable impurities as were so justly condemned by the fathers of Christianity. The gods of the Mexicans were less imperfect, and their worship although superstitious contained nothing repugnant to decency. They had some idea, although imperfect, of a Supreme Being, absolute, independent, believing that they owed him tribute, adoration, and fear. They had no figure whereby to represent him, believing him to be invisible, neither did they give him any other name, save the generic one, God, which is in the Mexican tongue teotl, resembling even more in sense than in pronunciation the theos of the Greeks; they used, however, epithets, in the highest degree expressive, to signify the grandeur and the power which they believed him endowed with, calling him Ipalnemoani, that is to say, He by whom we live, and Tloque-Nahuaque, which means, He that is all things in himself. But the knowledge and the worship of this Supreme Essence were obscured by the multitude of gods invented by superstition. The people believed furthermore in an evil spirit, inimical to mankind, calling him Tlacatecololotl, or Rational Owl, and saying that oftentimes he revealed himself to men, to hurt or to terrify them."

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[18] *Carbajal Espinosa, Hist. de Mexico*, tom. i., pp. 468-9; *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., pp. 3-4.

"The Mexicans and the Tezcucans," following Señor Pimentel, "recognized the existence of a Supreme Being, of a First Cause, and gave him that generic title Teotl, God, the analogy of which with the Theos of the Greeks, has been already noted by various authors. The idea of God is one of those that appear radical to our very existence. . . . With the Mexicans and Tezcucans this idea was darkened by the adoration of a thousand gods, invoked in all emergencies; of these gods there were thirteen principal, the most notable being the god of providence, that of war, and that of the wind and waters. The god of providence had his seat in the sky, and had in his care all human affairs. The god of the waters was considered as the fertilizer of earth, and his dwelling was in the highest of the mountains where he arranged the clouds. The god of war was the principal protector of the Mexicans, their guide in their wanderings from the mysterious country of Aztlan, the god to whose favor they owed those great victories that elevated them from the lowly estate of lake-fishermen up to the lordship of Anáhuac. The god of the wind had an aspect more benign. . . . The Mexicans also worshiped the sun and the moon, and even, it would appear, certain animals considered as sacred. There figured also in the Aztec mythology an evil genius called the Owl-man,[19] since in some manner the good and the bad, mixed up here on earth, have to be explained. So the Persians had their Oromasdes and Arimanes, the first the genius of good, and the second of evil, and so, later, Manicheism presents us with analogous explanations."[20]

Solis, writing of Mexico and the Mexicans says: "There was hardly a street without its tutelary god; neither was there any calamity of nature without its altar, to which they had recourse for remedy. They imagined and made their gods out of their own fear; not understanding that they lessened the power of some by what they attributed to others.... But for all so many as were their gods, and so complete as was the blindness of their idolatry, they were not without the knowledge of a Superior Deity, to whom they attributed the creation of the heavens and the earth. This original of things was, among the Mexicans, a god without name; they had no word in their language with which to express him, only they gave it to be understood that they knew him, pointing reverently towards heaven, and giving to him after their fashion the attribute of ineffable, with that sort of religious uncertainty with which the Athenians venerated the Unknown God."[21]

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[19] *Hombre Buho.*

[20] *Pimentel, Mem. sobre la Raza Indígena,* pp. 11-13.

The interpreter of the Codex Telleriano-Remensis calls the Supreme God of the Mexicans by the name Tonacateotle.[22] The interpreter says: "God, Lord, Creator, Governor of all, Tloque, Nauaq, Tlalticpaque, Teotlalale-Matlava-Tepeva,—all these epithets they bestowed on their god Tonacateotle, who, they said, was the god that created the world; and him alone they painted with a crown as lord of all. They never offered sacrifices to this god for they said he cared not for such things. All the others to whom they sacrificed were men once on a time, or demons."[23]

We have already seen from Herrera that "the Mexicans confessed to a Supreme God, Lord, and maker of all things, and the said God was the principal that they venerated, looking towards heaven, and calling him

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[21] *Solis, Hist. de la Conq. de Mex.*, tom. i., pp. 398–9, 431.

[22] Gallatin, in *Amer. Ethnol. Soc., Transact*, vol. i., p. 350, identifies this god with Tezcatlipoca of whom he writes in the following terms: 'Tezcatlipoca. A true invisible god, dwells in heaven, earth, and hell; alone attends to the government of the world, gives and takes away wealth and prosperity. Called also *Titlacoa* (whence his star *Titlacahuan*). Under the name of *Necocyaotl*, the author of wars and discords. According to Boturini, he is the god of providence. He seems to be the only equivalent for the *Tonacatlecotlle* of the interpreters of the Codices.'

[23] *Explic. del Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., p. 135. I take this opportunity of cautioning the reader against Kingsborough's translation of the above codex, as well as against his translation of the *Spiegazione delle Tavole del Codice Mexicano:* every error that could vitiate a translation seems to have crept into these two.

Creator of heaven and earth."[24] In contra-distinction to this it may be well to consider the following extract from the same author: "Such was the blindness of the Mexicans, even to the natural light, that they did not think like men of good judgment that all created things were the work and effect of some immense and infinite cause, the which only the First Cause and true God is. ....And in Mexico alone (according to the common opinion) they had and adored two thousand gods, of whom the principal were Vizilipuztli and Tezcatlipucatl, who as supreme were set up in the height of the great temple, over two altars....Tezcatlipucatl was the god of providence, and Vizilipuztli the god of war."[25]

Speaking of Mexican temples[26] and gods, Oviedo says: "But Montezuma had the chief [temple], together with three other prayer-houses, in which he sacrificed in honor of four gods, or idols, that he had; of these they had one for god of war, as the Gentiles had Mars; to another they gave honor and sacrifice as god of the waters, even as the ancients gave to Neptune; another they adored for god of the wind, as the lost heathen adored Æolus; and another still they revered as their sovereign god, and this was the sun....They had further other gods; making one of them god of the maize-fields, attributing to him the power of guarding and multiplying the same, as the fable-writing poets and ancients of antiquity did to Ceres. They had gods for everything, giving attributes to each according to their surmises, investing them with that godhead which they had not, and with which it was not right to invest any save only the true God."[27]

Speaking in general terms of probably a large part of

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[24] See this vol. p. 57, note 13. On pages 55 and 56, and in the note pertaining thereto, will also be found many references bearing on the matter under present discussion.

[25] *Herrera*, *Hist. Gen.*, dec. ii., lib. vii., cap. xviii., p. 253.

[26] *Qües*, Oviedo calls them, (spelled *cues* by most writers) the following explanation being given in glossary of *Voces Americanas Empleadas por Oviedo*, appended to the fourth volume of the *Hist. Gen.*: 'Qü: templo, casa de oracion. Esta voz era muy general en casi toda América, y muy principalmente en las comarcas de Yucatan y Mechuacan.'

[27] *Oviedo*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. iii., p. 503.

New Spain, Torquemada, says: "These idolaters did not deny that they had a god called Ypalnemoaloni, that is to say, Lord by whom we live, and his nature is that his existence is in himself[28]: the which is most proper to God, who is in his essence life. But that in which these people erred was in distributing this divinity and attributing it to many gods; yet, in reality, and verily, they recognized a Supreme God, to whom all the others were inferior. But for the greatness of their sins, they lacked faith and ran into this error like the other nations that have done so."

Acosta, as has been already noticed by Professor J. G. Müller, either never heard of or disbelieved in the existence of the name Teotl and of the ideas connected therewith by so many historians.[29] The said Acosta says: "If wee shall seeke into the Indian tongue for a word to answer to this name of God, as in Latin, Deus; in Greeke, Theos; in Hebrew, El; in Arabike, Alla; but wee shall not finde any in the Cuscan or Mexicaine tongues. So as such as preach, or write to the Indians, vse our Spanish name Dios, fitting it to the accent or pronounciation of the Indian tongues, the which differ much, whereby appeares the small knowledge they had of God, seeing they cannot so much as name him, if it be not by our very name: yet in trueth they had some little knowledge....The Mexicaines almost in the same manner [as the Peruvians] after the supreame God, worshiped the Sunne: And therefore they called Hernando Cortez, Sonne of the Sunne, for his care and courage to compasse the earth. But they made their greatest adoration to an Idol called Vitzilipuztli, the which in all this region they called the most puissant and Lord of all things: for this cause the Mexicaines built him a Temple, the greatest, the fairest, the highest, and the most sumptuous of all others.... But heere the Mexicaines Idolatrie hath bin more pernicious and hurtfull than that of the Inguas, as wee shall see plainer heereafter, for that the greatest part of their adoration and idolatrie, was imployed to Idols, and not to naturall things, although they did attribute naturall effects to these Idolls, as raine, multiplication of cattell, warre, and generation, even as the Greekes and Latins have forged Idolls of Phœbus, Mercurie, Jupiter, Minerva, and of Mars. To conclude, who so shall neerely looke into it, shall finde this manner which the Divell hath vsed to deceive the Indians, to be the same wherewith hee hath deceived the Greekes and Romans, and other ancient Gentiles, giving them to vnderstand that these notable creatures, the Sunne, Moone, Starres, and Elements, had power and authoritie to doe good or harme to men."[30]

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[28] 'Ypalnemoaloni, que quiere decir, Señor por quien se vive, y ai sèr en èl de Naturaleça.' *Torquemada*, *Monarq. Ind.*, tom. iii., p. 30.

[29] See this vol. p. 183.—Not, be it remarked that Acosta denies the knowledge by the Mexicans of a Supreme God; he only derives the existence of any name by which the said deity was generally known. This is clear from the following extract from the *Hist. Nat. Ind.*, p. 333: 'First, although the darkenesse of infidelitie holdeth these nations in blindenesse, yet in many thinges the light of truth and reason works somewhat in them. And they commonly acknowledge a supreame Lorde and Author of all things, which they of Peru called Viracocha....Him they did worship, as the chiefest of all, whom they did honor in beholding the heaven. The like wee see amongest them of Mexico."

Mendieta says: "It is to be noted for a general rule that, though these people, in all the continent of these Indias, from the farthest parts of New Spain to the parts of Florida, and farther still to the kingdoms of Peru, had, as has been said, an infinity of idols that they reverenced as gods, nevertheless, above all, they still held the sun as chiefest and most powerful. And they dedicated to the sun the greatest, richest, and most sumptuous of their temples. This should be the power the Mexicans called Ipalnemohuani, that is to say, 'by whom all live,' and Moyucuyatzin ayac oquiyocux ayac oquipic, that is to say, 'he that no one created or formed, but who, on the contrary, made all things by his own power and will.'.... So many are the fictions and fables that the Indians invented about their gods, and so differently are these related in the different towns, that neither can they agree among themselves in recounting them, nor shall there be found any one who shall understand them. In the principal provinces of this New Spain, they had,—after the sun, which was the common god of them all,—each province, its particular and principal god, to which god above all others they offered their sacrifices; as the Mexicans to Uzilopuchtli—a name that the Spaniards not being able to pronounce called Ocholobos, 'eight wolves', or Uchilobos; as the Tezucans to Tezcatlipuca; as the Tlaxcalans to Camaxtli, and and as the Cholulans to Quetzalcoatl; doubtless all these were famous men that performed some notable feats, or invented some new thing, to the honor and benefit of the state; or perhaps again these gave the people laws and a rule of life, or taught them trades, or to offer up sacrifices, or some other thing that appeared good and worthy to be rewarded with grateful acknowledgements.....The demon, the old enemy, did not content himself with the service that these people did him in the adoration of almost every visible creature, in making idols of them, both carven and painted, but he also kept them blinded with a thousand fashions of witchcrafts, parodies of sacraments, and superstitions."[31]

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[30] *Acosta, Hist. Nat. Ind.*, pp. 334, 337-8.

"It is well to remark," writes Camargo, "that although the Indians had a divinity for each thing, they were aware of the existence of a Supreme God that they named Tloque-Nahuaque, or He who contains all, regarding the same as superior to all the other gods." This Tlascaltec author has also preserved us a native prayer couched in the following terms: "O, all-powerful gods, that inhabit the heavens, even as far as the ninth, where abides your master and ours, the great Tloque-Nahuaque (this name means, He that accompanies the other gods[32]),—you that have all power over men forsake us not in danger. We invoke you, as well also as the sun Nauholin, and the moon, spouse of that brilliant luminary, the stars of heaven also, and the wind of the night and of the day."[33]

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[31] *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, pp. 88, 91, 107.

[32] The interpretation of the title Tloque Nahuaque is not only irreconcilable with another given by the same author a few lines above in our text, but it is also at utter variance with those of all other authors with which I am acquainted. It may not be amiss here to turn to the best authority accessible in matters of Mexican idiom: Molina, *Vocabulario*, describes the title to mean, 'He upon whom depends the existence of all things, preserving and sustaining them,'—a word used also to mean God, or Lord. '*Tloque nauaque*, cabe quien esta el ser de todas las cosas, conseruandolas y sustentandolas: y dizese de nro señor dios.'

According to the somewhat vague and incomplete account of Fray Toribio de Benavente, or Motolinia,—the latter his adopted name and that by which he is best known,—another of the original and early authorities in matter concerning the gentile Mexicans: "Tezcatlipoca was the god or demon that they held for greatest and to whom most dignity was attributed... They had idols of stone, and of wood, and of baked clay; they also made them of dough and of seeds kneaded into the dough... Some of them were shaped like men,... some were like women;... some were like wild beasts, as lions, tigers, dogs, deer, and such other animals as frequented the mountains and plains;... some like snakes of many fashions, large and coiling... Of the owl and other night-birds, and of others as the kite, and of every large bird, or beautiful, or fierce, or preciously feathered,—they had an idol. But the principal of all was the sun. Likewise had they idols of the moon and stars, and of the great fishes, and of the water-lizards, and of toads and frogs, and of other fishes; and these they said were the gods of the fishes...They had for gods fire, water, and earth; and of all these they had painted figures... Of many other things they had figures and idols, carved or painted, even of butterflies, fleas, and locusts."[34]

Nezahualcoyotl, king of Tezcuco, was he who—according to the no doubt somewhat partial account of his descendant Ixtlilxochitl—pushed the farthest into overt speech and act his contempt of the vulgar idolatry and his recognition of a high, holy, and to a great extent unknowable supreme power. This thoughtful monarch "found for false all the gods adored by the people of this land, saying that they were statues and demons hostile to the human race; for he was very learned in moral things, and he went to and fro more than any other, seeking if haply he might find light to affirm the true God and creator of all things, as has been seen in the discourse of his history, and as bear witness the songs that he composed on this theme. He said that there was only One, that this One was the maker of heaven and earth, that he sustained all he had made and created, and that he was where was no second, above the nine heavens; that no eye had ever seen this One, in a human shape nor in any shape whatever; that the souls of the virtuous went to him after death, while the souls of the bad went to another place, some most infamous spot of earth, filled with horrible hardships and sufferings. Never—though there were many gods representing many idols—did the king neglect an opportunity of saying when divinity was discussed, 'yntloque in nauhaque y palne moalani,' which sentence sums up his convictions as above expressed. Nevertheless he recognized the sun as his father and the earth as his mother."[35]

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[33] *Camargo, Hist. de Tlax.*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1843, tom. xcviii., p. 191, tom. xcix., p. 168.

[34] *Motolinia, Hist. Indios*, in *Icazbalceta, Col.*, tom. i., pp.4, 33-24.

Now it is in the face of much that has been said denying or doubting Ixtlilxochitl's account of the creed of Nezahualcoyotl that I have selected the passage above translated, from among other passages touching the same subject in the *Historia Chichimeca* and in the *Relaciones*. I have selected it not because it is the most clearly worded, or the most eloquent, or the most complete; but solely on account of the sentence with which it concludes: Nezahualcoyotl "recognized the sun as his father and the earth as his mother." These few words occurring at the end of a eulogy of the great Tezcucan by a confessed admirer, these few words that have passed unnoticed amid the din and hubbub raised over the lofty creed to which they form the last article, these few words so insignificant apparently and yet so significant in their connection,—should go far to prove the faithfulness of of Ixtlilxochitl's record, and the greater or less completeness of his portrait of his great ancestor. Were Ixtlilxochitl dishonest, would he ever have allowed such a pagan chord as this to come jangling into the otherwise perfect music of his description of a perfect sage and Christian, who believed in a God alone and all-sufficient, who believed in a creator of all things without any help at all, much less the help of his dead material creatures the sun and the earth? Let us admit the honesty of Ixtlilxochitl, and admit with him a knowledge of that Unknown God, whom, as did the Athenians, Nezahualcoyotl ignorantly worshiped; but let us not be blinded by a glitter of words—which we may be sure lose nothing in the repetition—as to the significance of that 'ignorantly;' let us never lose sight across the shadow of that obscure Athenian altar to the Unknown God, of the mighty columns of the Acropolis and the crest of the Athena Promachos. Nezahualcoyotl seems a fair type of a thoughtful, somewhat sceptical Mexican of that better-instructed class which is ever and everywhere the horror of hypocrites and fanatics, of that class never without its witnesses in all countries and at all times, of that class two steps above the ignorant laity, and one step above the learned priesthood, yet far still from that simple and perfect truth which shall one day be patent enough to all.

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[35] *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chichimeca*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. ix., p. 261. 'Tuvo por falsos á todos los dioses que adoraban los de esta tierra, diciendo que eran estatuas ó demonios enemigos del género humano; por que fue muy sabio en las cosas morales, y el que mas vaciló buscando de donde tomar lumbre para certificarse del verdadero Dios y criador de todas las cosas, como se ha visto en el discurso de su historia, y dan testimonio sus cantos que compuso en razon de esto como es el decir que habia uno solo, y que este era el hacedor del cielo y de la tierra, y sustentaba todo lo hecho y criado por él, y que estaba donde no tenia segundo, sobre los nueve cielos, que él alcanzaba, que jamas se habia visto en forma humana, ni otra figura, que con él iban á parar las almas de los virtuosos despues de muertos, y que las de los malos iban á otro lugar, que era el mas ínfimo de la tierra, de trabajos y penas horribles. Nunca jamas (aunque habia muchos ídolos que representaban muchos dioses) cuando se ofrecia tratar de deidad, ni en general ni en particular, sino que decia 'yntloque in nauhaque y palne moalani, que significa lo que està atras declarado Solo decia que reconocia al sol por padre; y á la tierra por madre.' See also the *Relaciones* of the same author, in the same volume, p. 454.

Turning from the discussion of a point so obscure and intangible as the monotheism of Nezahualcoyotl and the school of which he was the type, let us review the very palpable and indubitable polytheism of the Mexicans.

It seems radically to differ little from other polytheisms better known, such as those of Greece, Rome, and Scandinavia; it seems to have been a jumble of personified powers, causes, and qualities, developed in the ordinary way from the mythical corruption of that florid hyperbolical style of speech natural to all peoples in days before the exact definition of words was either possible or necessary; just such a jumble as the Aryan polytheisms were in the days of the Euhemerists, and for too long after unfortunately; such a jumble as Aryan mythology was till the brothers Grimm led the van of the ripest talent and scholarship of the nineteenth century into the paths of 'word-shunting,' which led again into god or hero shunting, if the term may be invented. Unfortunately the philologic and mythologic material for such an exhaustive synthesis of the origin and relations of the American creeds as Mr Cox, for example, has given to the world on the Aryan legends, in his *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, is yet far from complete; which fact indeed makes the raison d'être of works like the present. There is nothing for me at present but to gather, sift, and arrange, with such sifting and arrangement as may be possible, all accessible materials relating to the subject in hand; that done let more skilled workmen find and give them their place in the wall of science. For they have a place there, whether or no it be found to-day or to-morrow; a breach is there that shall be empty until they fit and fill it.

Tezcatlipoca seems to have been considered on the whole, and the patron-gods of different cities aside, as the most important of the Mexican gods. We have seen him identified in several of the preceding quotations with a supreme invisible god, and I now proceed, illustrating this phase of his character to translate as closely as possible the various prayers given by Sahagun as addressed to this great deity under his various names, Titlacoan, Yautl, Telpuchtli, Tlamatzincatl, Moiocoiatzin, Iaotzin, Necociautl, Necaoalpilli, and others:—

O, thou almighty God, that givest life to men, and art called Titlacaoan, grant me in thy mercy everything needful to eat and to drink, and to enjoy of thy soft and delicate things; for in grievous toil and straitness I live in the world. Have mercy on me, so poor I am and naked, I that labor in thy service, and for thy service sweep, and clean, and put light in this poor house, where I await thine orders; otherwise let me die soon and end this toilful and miserable life, so that my body may find rest and a breathing-time.

In illness the people prayed to this deity as follows: O God, whose name is Titlacaoan, be merciful and send away this sickness which is killing me, and I will reform my life. Let me be once healed of this infirmity and I swear to serve thee and to earn the right to live; should I by hard toil gain something, I will not eat it nor employ it in anything save only to thine honor; I will give a feast and a banquet of dancing in this poor house.

But the sick man that could not recover, and that felt it so, used to grow desperate and blaspheme saying: O Titlacaoan, since thou mockest me, why dost thou not kill me?[36]

Then following is a prayer to Tezcatlipoca, used by the priest in time of pestilence: O mighty Lord, under whose wing we find defense and shelter, thou art invisible and impalpable even as night and the air. How can I that am so mean and worthless dare to appear before thy majesty? Stuttering and with rude lips I speak; ungainly is the manner of my speech as one leaping among furrows, as one advancing unevenly; for all this I fear to raise thine anger, and to provoke instead of appeasing thee; nevertheless thou wilt do unto me as may please thee. O Lord, that hast held it good to forsake us in these days, according to the counsel thou hast as well in heaven as in hades,—alas for us, in that thine anger and indignation has descended in these days upon us; alas, in that the many and grievous afflictions of thy wrath have overgone and swallowed us up, coming down even as stones, spears, and arrows upon the wretches that inhabit the earth,—this is the sore pestilence with which we are afflicted and almost destroyed. Alas, O valiant and all-powerful Lord, the common people are almost made an end of and destroyed; a great destruction and ruin the pestilence already makes in this nation; and, what is most pitiful of all, the little children that are innocent and understand nothing, only to play with pebbles and to heap up little mounds of earth, they too die, broken and dashed to pieces as against stones and a wall—a thing very pitiful and grievous to be seen, for there remain of them not even those in the cradles, nor those that could not walk nor speak. Ah, Lord, how all things become confounded; of young and old and of men and women there remains neither branch nor root; thy nation and thy people and thy wealth are leveled down and destroyed. O our Lord, protector of all, most valiant and most kind, what is this? Thine anger and thine indignation, does it glory or delight in hurling the stone and arrow and spear? The fire of the pestilence, made exceeding hot, is upon thy nation, as a fire in a hut, burning and smoking, leaving nothing upright or sound. The grinders of thy teeth are employed, and thy bitter whips upon the miserable of thy people, who have become lean and of little substance, even as a hollow green cane. Yea, what doest thou now, O Lord, most strong, compassionate, invisible, and impalpable, whose will all things obey, upon whose disposal depends the rule of the world, to whom all is subject,—what in thy divine breast hast thou decreed? Peradventure hast thou altogether forsaken thy nation and thy people? Hast thou verily determined that it utterly perish, and that there be no more memory of it in the world, that the peopled place become a wooded hill and a wilderness of stones? Peradventure wilt thou permit that the temples, and the places of prayer, and the altars, built for thy service, be razed and destroyed and no memory of them be left? Is it indeed possible that thy wrath and punishment, and vexed indignation are altogether implacable and will go on to the end to our destruction? Is it already fixed in thy divine counsel that there is to be no mercy nor pity for us, until the arrows of thy fury are spent to our utter perdition and destruction? Is it possible that this lash and chastisement is not given for our correction and amendment, but only for our total destruction and obliteration; that the sun shall nevermore shine upon us, but that we must remain in perpetual darkness and silence; that nevermore thou wilt look upon us with eyes of mercy, neither little nor much? Wilt thou after this fashion destroy the wretched sick that cannot find rest nor turn from side to side, whose mouth and teeth are filled with earth and scurf? It is a sore thing to tell how we are all in darkness, having none understanding nor sense to watch for or aid one another. We are all as drunken and without understanding, without hope of any aid; already the little children perish of hunger, for there is none to give them food, nor drink, nor consolation, nor caress,—none to give the breast to them that suck; for their fathers and and mothers have died and left them orphans, suffering for the sins of their fathers. O our Lord, all-powerful, full of mercy, our refuge, though indeed thine anger and indignation, thine arrows and stones, have sorely hurt this poor people, let it be as a father or a mother that rebukes children, pulling their ears, pinching their arms, whipping them with nettles, pouring chill water upon them; all being done that they may amend their puerility and childishness. Thy chastisement and indignation have lorded and prevailed over these thy servants, over this poor people, even as rain falling upon the trees and the green canes, being touched of the wind, drops also upon those that are below. O most compassionate Lord, thou knowest that the common folk are as children, that being whipped they cry and sob and repent of what they have done. Peradventure, already these poor people by reason of thy chastisement weep, sigh, blame, and murmur against themselves; in thy presence they blame and bear witness against their bad beeds and punish themselves therefor. Our Lord most compassionate, pitiful, noble, and precious, let a time be given the people to repent; let the past chastisement suffice, let it end here, to begin again if the reform endure not. Pardon and overlook the sins of the people; cause thine anger and thy resentment to cease; repress it again within thy breast that it destroy no farther; let it rest there; let it cease, for of a surety none can avoid death nor escape to any place. We owe tribute to death; and all that live in the world are the vassals thereof; this tribute shall every man pay with his life. None shall avoid from following death, for it is thy messenger what hour soever it may be sent, hungering and thirsting always to devour all that are in the world and so powerful that none shall escape: then indeed shall every man be punished according to his deeds. O most pitiful Lord, at least take pity and have mercy upon the children that are in the cradles, upon those that cannot walk. Have mercy also, O Lord, upon the poor and very miserable, who have nothing to eat, nor to cover themselves withal, nor a place to sleep, who do not know what thing a happy day is, whose days pass altogether in pain, affliction, and sadness. Than this, were it not better, O Lord, if thou should forget to have mercy upon the soldiers and upon the men of war, whom thou wilt have need of sometime; behold it is better to die in war and go to serve food and drink in the house of the sun, than to die in this pestilence and descend to hades. O most strong Lord, protector of all, lord of the earth, governor of the world, and universal master, let the sport and satisfaction thou hast already taken in this past punishment suffice; make an end of this smoke and fog of thy resentment; quench also the burning and destroying fire of thine anger: let serenity come and clearness; let the small birds of thy people begin to sing and to approach the sun; give them quiet weather so that they may cause their voices to reach thy highness and thou mayest know them. O our Lord, most strong, most compassionate, and most noble, this little have I said before thee, and I have nothing more to say, only to prostrate and throw myself at thy feet, seeking pardon for the faults of this my prayer; certainly I would not remain in thy displeasure, and I have no other thing to say.

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[36] *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. iii., pp. 241-2.

The following is a prayer to the same deity, under his names Tezcatlipuca and Yoalliehecatl, for succor against poverty: O our Lord, protector most strong and compassionate, invisible, and impalpable, thou art the giver of life; lord of all, and lord of battles, I present myself here before thee to say some few words concerning the need of the poor people, the people of none estate nor intelligence. When they lie down at night they have nothing, nor when they rise up in the morning; the darkness and the light pass alike in great poverty. Know, O Lord, that thy subjects and servants, suffer a sore poverty that cannot be told of more than that it is a sore poverty and desolateness. The men have no garments nor the women to cover themselves with, but only certain rags rent in every part that allow the air and the cold to pass everywhere. With great toil and weariness they scrape together enough for each day, going by mountain and wilderness seeking their food; so faint and enfeebled are they that their bowels cleave to the ribs, and all their body reëchoes with hollowness; and they walk as people affrighted, the face and the body in likeness of death. If they be merchants, they now sell only cakes of salt and broken pepper; the people that have something despise their wares, so that they go out to sell from door to door and from house to house; and when they sell nothing they sit down sadly by some fence, or wall, or in some corner, licking their lips and gnawing the nails of their hands for the hunger that is in them; they look on the one side and on the other at the mouths of those that pass by, hoping peradventure that one may speak some word to them. O compassionate God, the bed on which they lie down is not a thing to rest upon, but to endure torment in; they draw a rag over them at night and so sleep; there they throw down their bodies and the bodies of children that thou hast given them. For the misery they grow up in, for the filth[37] of their food, for the lack of covering, their faces are yellow and all their bodies of the color of earth. They tremble with cold, and for leanness they stagger in walking. They go weeping, and sighing, and full of sadness, and all misfortunes are joined to them; though they stay by a fire they find little heat. O our Lord, most clement, invisible, and impalpable, I supplicate thee to see good to have pity upon them as they move in thy presence wailing and clamoring and seeking mercy with anguish of heart. O our Lord, in whose power it is to give all content, consolation, sweetness, softness, prosperity and riches, for thou alone art lord of all good, —have mercy upon them for they are thy servants. I supplicate thee, O Lord, that thou prove them a little with tenderness, indulgence, sweetness, and softness, which indeed they sorely lack and require. I supplicate thee that thou will lift up their heads with thy favor and aid, that thou will see good that they enjoy some days of prosperity and tranquillity, so they may sleep and know repose, having prosperous and peaceable days of life. Should they still refuse to serve thee, thou afterwards canst take away what thou hast given; they having enjoyed it but a few days, as those that enjoy a fragrant and beautiful flower and find it wither presently. Should this nation, for whom I pray and entreat thee to do them good, not understand what thou hast given, thou canst take away the good and pour out cursing; so that all evil may come upon them, and they become poor, in need, maimed, lame, blind, and deaf: then indeed they shall waken and know the good that they had and have not, and they shall call upon thee and lean towards thee; but thou wilt not listen, for in the day of abundance they would not understand thy goodness towards them. In conclusion, I supplicate thee, O most kind and benificent Lord, that thou will see good to give this people to taste of the goods and riches that thou art wont to give, and that proceed from thee, things sweet and soft and bringing content and joy, although it be but for a little while, and as a dream that passes. For it is certain that for a long time the people go sadly before thee, weeping and thoughtful, because of the anguish, hardship, and anxiety that fill their bodies and hearts, taking away all ease and rest. Verily, it is not doubtful that to this poor nation, needy and shelterless, happens all I have said. If thou answerest my petition it will be only of thy liberality and magnificence, for no one is worthy to receive thy bounty for any merit of his, but only through thy grace. Search below the dung-hills and in the mountains for thy servants, friends, and acquaintance, and raise them to riches and dignities. O our Lord, most clement, let thy will be done as it is ordained in thy heart, and we shall have nothing to say. I, a rude man and common, would not by importunity and prolixity disgust and annoy thee, detailing my sickness, destruction, and punishment. Whom do I speak to? Where am I? Lo I speak with thee, O King; well do I know that I stand in an eminent place, and that I talk with one of great majesty, before whose presence flows a river through a chasm, a gulf sheer down of awful depth; this also is a slippery place, whence many precipitate themselves, for there shall not be found one without error before thy majesty. I myself, a man of little understanding and lacking speech, dare to address my words to thee; I put myself in peril of falling into the gorge and cavern of this river. I, Lord, have come to take with my hands blindness to mine eyes, rottenness and shrivelling to my members, poverty and affliction to my body; for my meanness and rudeness this it is that I merit to receive. Live and rule for ever in all quietness and tranquillity, O thou that art our lord, our shelter, our protector, most compassionate, most pitiful, invisible, impalpable.

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[37] Por la freza de la comida: *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. vi., p. 39.

This following is a petition in time of war to the same principal god, under his name of Tezcatlipoca Yautlnecociautlmonenequi, praying favor against the enemy: O our Lord, most compassionate, protector, defender, invisible, impalpable, by whose will and wisdom we are directed and governed, beneath whose rule we live, — O, Lord of battles, it is a thing very certain and settled that war begins to be arranged and prepared for. The god of the earth opens his mouth, thirsty to drink the blood of them that shall die in this strife. It seems that they wish to be merry, the sun and the god of the earth called Tlaltecutli; they wish to give to eat and drink to the gods of heaven and hades, making them a banquet with the blood and flesh of the men that have to die in this war. Already do they look, the gods of heaven and hades, to see who they are that have to conquer, and who to be conquered; who they are that have to slay, and who to be slain; whose blood it is that has to be drunken, and whose flesh it is that has to be eaten;—which things the noble fathers and mothers whose sons have to die, are ignorant of. Even so are ignorant all their kith and kin, and the nurses that gave them suck,—ignorant also are the fathers that toiled for them, seeking things needful for their food and drink and raiment until they reached the age they now have. Certainly they could not foretell how those sons should end whom they reared so anxiously, or that they should be one day left captives or dead upon the field. See good, O our Lord, that the nobles who die in the shock of war be peacefully and agreeably received, and with bowels of love, by the sun and the earth that are father and mother of all. For verily thou dost not deceive thyself in what thou doest,[38] to wit, in wishing them to die in war; for certainly for this didst thou send them into the world, so that with their flesh and their blood they might be for meat and drink to the sun and the earth. Be not wroth, O Lord, anew against those of the profession of war, for in the same place where they will die have died many generous[39] and noble lords and captains, and valiant men. The nobility and generosity of the nobles and the greatheartedness of the warriors is made apparent, and thou makest manifest, O Lord, how estimable and precious is each one, so that as such he may be held and honored, even as a stone of price or a rich feather. O Lord, most clement, lord of battles, emperor of all, whose name is Tezcatlipoca, invisible and impalpable, we supplicate thee that he or they that thou wilt permit to die in this war may be received into the house of the sun in heaven, with love and honor, and may be placed and lodged between the brave and famous warriors already dead in war, to wit, the lords Quitzicquaquatzin, Maceuhcatzin, Tlacahuepantzin, Ixtlilcuechavac, Ihuitltemuc, Chavacuetzin, and all the other valiant and renowned men that died in former times,—who are rejoicing with and praising our lord the sun, who are glad and eternally rich through him, and shall be for ever; they go about sucking the sweetness of all flowers delectable and pleasant to the taste. This is a great dignity for the stout and valiant ones that died in war; for this they are drunken with delight, keeping no account of night, nor day, nor years, nor times; their joy and their wealth is without end; the nectarous flowers they sip never fade, and for the desire thereof men of high descent strengthen themselves to die. In conclusion, I entreat thee, O Lord, that art our lord most clement, our emperor most invincible, to see good that those that die in this war be received with bowels of pity and love by our father the sun, and our mother the earth; for thou only livest and rulest and art our most compassionate lord. Nor do I supplicate alone for the illustrious and noble, but also for the other soldiers, who are troubled and tormented in heart, who clamor, calling upon thee, holding their lives as nothing, and who fling themselves without fear upon the enemy, seeking death. Grant them at least some small part of their desire, some rest and repose in this life; or if here, in this world, they are not destined to prosperity, appoint them for servants and officers of the sun, to give food and drink to those in hades and to those in heaven. As for those whose charge it is to rule the state and to be tlacateccatl or tlacochcalatl,[40] make them to be fathers and mothers to the men of war that wander by field and mountain, by height and ravine,—in their hand is the sentence of death for enemies and criminals, as also the distribution of dignities, the offices and the arms of war, the badges, the granting privileges to those that wear visors and tassels[41] on the head, and ear-rings, pendants, and bracelets, and have yellow skins tied to their ankles,—with them is the privilege of appointing the fashion of the raiment that every one shall wear. It is to these also to give permission to certain to use and wear precious stones, as chalchivetes, turquoises, and rich feathers in the dances, and to wear necklaces and jewels of gold: all of which things are delicate and precious gifts proceeding from thy riches, and which thou givest to those that perform feats and valiant deeds in war. I entreat thee also, O Lord, to make grace of thy largess to the common soldiers, give them some shelter and good lodging in this world, make them stout and brave, and take away all cowardice from their heart, so that not only shall they meet death with cheerfulness, but even desire it as a sweet thing, as flowers and dainty food, nor dread at all the hoots and shouts of their enemies: this do to them as to thy friend. Forasmuch as thou art lord of battles, on whose will depends the victory, aiding whom thou wilt, needing not that any counsel thee,—I entreat thee, O Lord, to make mad and drunken our enemies so that without hurt to us they may cast themselves into our hands, into the hands of our men of war enduring so much hardship and poverty. O our Lord, since thou art God, all-powerful, all-knowing, disposer of all things, able to make this land rich, prosperous, praised, honored, famed in the art and feats of war, able to make the warriors now in the field to live and be prosperous, if, in the days at hand, thou see good that they die in war, let it be to go to the house of the sun, among all the heroes that are there and that died upon the battle-field.

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[38] 'Porque á la verdad no os engañais con lo que haceis:' see *Sahagun*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., p. 356, as the substitution of 'engañeis' for 'engañais' destroys the sense of the passage in Bustamante's ed. of the same, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. vi., p. 43.

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[39] By an error and a solecism of Bustamente's ed. the words 'gentes rojos' are substituted for the adjective 'generosos:' see, as in the preceding note, *Sahagun*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., p. 357, and *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. vi., p. 43.

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[40] 'Es decir Comandantes ó Capitanes generales de ejército:' *Bustamente*, in *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. vi., p. 44.

[41] 'Borlas,' see *Sahagun*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., p. 358, given 'bollas' in Bustamante's *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. vi., p. 45.

The following prayer is one addressed to the principal deity, under his name Tezcatlipoca Teiocoiani Tehimatini, asking favor for a newly elected ruler: To-day, a fortunate day, the sun has risen upon us, warming us, so that in it a precious stone may be wrought, and a handsome sapphire. To us has appeared a new light, has arrived a new brightness, to us has been given a glittering axe to rule and govern our nation,—has been given a man to take upon his shoulders the affairs and troubles of the state. He is to be the image and substitute of the lords and governors that have already passed away from this life, who for some days labored, bearing the burden of thy people, possessing thy throne and seat, which is the principal dignity[42] of this thy nation, province, and kingdom; having and holding the same in thy name and person some few days. These have now departed from this life, put off their shoulders the great load and burden that so few are able to suffer. Now, O Lord, we marvel that thou hast indeed set thine eyes on this man, rude and of little knowledge, to make him for some days, for some little time, the governor of this state, nation, province, and kingdom. O our Lord, most clement, art thou peradventure in want of persons and friends?—nay verily, thou that hast thereof more than can be counted! Is it, peradventure, by error, or that thou dost not know him; or is it that thou hast taken him for the nonce, while thou seekest among many for another and a better than he, unwise, indiscrete, unprofitable, a superfluous man in the world. Finally, we give thanks to thy majesty for the favor thou hast done us. What thy designs therein are thou alone knowest; perhaps beforehand this office has been provided for: thy will be done as it is determined in thy heart; let this man serve for some days and times. It may be that he will fill this office defectively, giving unrest and fear to his subjects, doing things without counsel or consideration, deeming himself worthy of the dignity he has, thinking that he will remain in it for a long time, making a sad dream of it, making the occupation and dignity thou hast given him an occasion of pride and presumption, making little of everybody and going about with pomp and pageantry. Within a few days, thou wilt know the event of all, for all men are thy spectacle and theatre, at which thou laughest and makest thyself merry. Perhaps this ruler will lose his office through his childishness, or it will happen through his carelessness and laziness; for verily nothing is hidden from thee, thy sight makes way through stone and wood, and thine hearing. Or perhaps his arrogance, and the secret boasting of his thoughts will destroy him. Then thou wilt throw him among the filth and upon the dung-hills, and his reward will be blindness, and shrivellings, and extreme poverty till the hour of his death, when thou wilt put him under thy feet. Since this poor man is put in this risk and peril, we supplicate thee, who art our Lord, our invisible and impalpable protector, under whose will and pleasure we are, who alone disposes of and provides for all,—we supplicate thee that thou see good to deal mercifully with him; inasmuch as he is needy, thy subject and servant, and blind; deign to provide him with thy light, that he may know what he has to think, what he has to do, and the road he has to follow, so as to commit no error in his office, contrary to thy disposition and will. Thou knowest what is to happen to him in this office both by day and night; we know, O our Lord, most clement, that our ways and deeds are not so much in our hands as in the hands of our ruler. If this ruler after an evil and perverse fashion, in the place to which thou hast elevated him, and in the seat in which thou hast put him,—which is thine,—where he manages the affairs of the people, as one that washes filthy things with clean and clear water, (yea in the same seat holds a similar cleansing office the ancient god, who is father and mother to thyself, and is god of fire, who stands in the midst of flowers, in the midst of the place bounded by four walls, who is covered with shining feathers that are as wings),—if this ruler-elect of ours do evil with which to provoke thine ire and indignation, and to awaken thy chastisement against himself, it will not be of his own will or seeking, but by thy permission or by some impulse from without; for which I entreat thee to see good to open his eyes to give him light; open also his ears and guide him, not so much for his own sake as for that of those whom he has to rule over and carry on his shoulders.[43] I supplicate thee, that now, from the beginning, thou inspire him with what he is to conceive in his heart, and the road he is to follow, inasmuch as thou hast made of him a seat on which to seat thyself, and also as it were a flute that, being played upon, may signify thy will. Make him, O Lord, a faithful image of thyself, and permit not that in thy throne and hall he make himself proud and haughty; but rather see good, O Lord, that quietly and prudently he rule and govern those in his charge who are common people: do not permit him to insult and oppress his subjects, nor to give over without reason any of them to destruction. Neither permit, O Lord, that he spot and defile thy throne and hall with any injustice or oppression, for in so doing he will stain also thine honor and fame. Already, O Lord, has this poor man accepted and received the honor and lordship that thou hast given him; already he possesses the glory and riches thereof; already thou hast adorned his hands, feet, head, ears, and lips, with visor, ear-rings, and bracelets, and put yellow leather upon his ankles. Permit it not, O Lord, that these decorations, badges, and ornaments be to him a cause of pride and presumption; but rather that he serve thee with humility and plainness. May it please thee, O our Lord, most clement, that he rule and govern this, thy seignory, that thou hast committed to him, with all prudence and wisdom. May it please thee that he do nothing wrong or to thine offense; deign to walk with him and direct him in all his ways. But if thou wilt not do this, ordain that from this day henceforth he be abhorred and disliked, and that he die in war at the hands of his enemies, that he depart to the house of the sun; where he will be taken care of as a precious stone, and his heart esteemed by the sun-lord; he dying in the war like a stout and valiant man. This would be much better than to be dishonored in the world, to be disliked and abhorred of his people for his faults or defects. O our Lord, thou that providest to all the things needful for them, let this thing be done as I have entreated and supplicated thee.

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[42] 'Dignidad,' *Sahagun*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., p. 359, misprinted 'diligencia' in Bustamente's *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. vi., p. 46.

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[43] This doubtful and involved sentence, with the contained clause touching the nature of the fire-god, runs exactly as follows in the two varying editions of the original: 'Si alguna cosa aviesa ó mal heche hiciera en la dignidad que le habeis dado, y en la silla en que le habeis puesto, que és vuestra, donde està tratando los negocios populares, como quien lava cosas sucias con agua muy clara y muy limpia; en la qual silla y dignidad tiene el mismo oficio de lavar vuestro padre y madre de todos los Dioses, el Dios antiguo que és el Dios del fuego, que está en medio del albergue cerca de quatro paredes, y está cubierto con plumas resplandecientes que son como alas, lo que este electo hiciese mal hecho, con que provoque vuestra ira é indignacion, y despierte vuestro castigo contra si, no será de su albedrio ó de su querer, sino de vuestra permision, ó de algun otra sugestion vuestra, ó de otro; por lo cual os suplico tengais por bien de abrirle los ojos y darle lumbre y abrirle las orejas, y guiadle á este pobre electo, no tanto por lo que él és, sino principalmente por aquellos á quienes ha de regir y llevar á cuestas.' *Sahagun*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., pp. 360–361. 'Si alguna cosa aviesa ó mal hecha hiciere, en la dignidad que le habeis dado, y en la silla en que lo habeis puesto que es vuestra, donde está tratando los negocios populares, como quien laba cosas sucias, con agua muy clara y muy limpia, en la cual silla y dignidad tiene el mismo oficio de labar vuestro padre y madre, de todos los dioses, el dios antiguo, que es el dios del fuego que está en medio de las flores, y en medio del albergue cercado de cuatro paredes, y está cubierto con plumas resplandecientes que son somo álas; lo que este electo hiciere mal hecho con que provoque vuestra ira é indignacion, y despierte vuestro castigo contra sí, no será de su alvedrio de ó su querer, sino de vuestra permision, ó de alguna otra sugestion vuestra, ó de otro; por lo cual os suplico tengais por bien de abirle los ojos, y darle luz, y abridle tambien las orejas, y guiad á este pobre electo; no tanto por lo que es él, sino principalmente por aquellos á quien ha de regir y llevar acuestas:' Bustamente's *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. vi., p. 48.

The next prayer, directed to the god under his name Tezcatlipoca Titlacaoamoquequeloa, is to ask, after the death of a ruler, that another may be given: O our Lord, already thou knowest how our ruler is dead, already thou hast put him under thy feet; he is gathered to his place; he is gone by the road that all have to go by, and to the house where all have to lodge; house of perpetual darkness, where there is no window, nor any light at all; he is now where none shall trouble his rest. He served thee here in his office during some few days and years, not indeed without fault and offense. Thou gavest him to taste in this world somewhat of thy kindness and favor, passing it before his face as a thing that passes quickly. This is the dignity and office that thou placedst him in, that he served thee in for some days, as has been said, with sighs, tears and devout prayers before thy majesty. Alas, he is gone now where our father and mother the god of hades is, the god that descended head foremost below the fire,[44] the god that desires to carry us all to his place, with a very importunate desire, with such a desire as one has that dies of hunger and thirst; the god that is moved exceedingly, both by day and night, crying and demanding that all go to him. There, with this god, is now our late-departed ruler; he is there with all his ancestors that were in the first times, that governed this kingdom, with Acamapichtli, with Tyzoc, with Avitzotl, with the first Mocthecuzoma, with Axayacatl, and with those that came last, as the second Mocthecuzoma and also Mocthecuzoma Ilhuicamina.[45] All these lords and kings ruled, governed, and enjoyed the sovereignty and royal dignity, and throne and seat of this empire; they ordered and regulated the affairs of this thy kingdom,—thou that art the universal lord and emperor, and that needest not to take counsel with another. Already had these put off the intolerable load that they had on their shoulders, leaving it to their successor, our late ruler, so that for some days he bore up this lordship and kingdom; but now he has passed on after his predecessors to the other world. For thou didst ordain him to go, and didst call him to give thanks for being unloaded of so great a burden, quit of so sore a toil, and left in peace and rest. Some few days we have enjoyed him, but now forever he is absent from us, never more to return to the world. Peradventure has he gone to any place whence he can return here, so that his subjects may see his face again? Will he come again to tell us to do this or that? Will he come again to look to the consuls or governors of the state? Peradventure will they see him any more, or hear his decree and commandment? Will he come any more to give consolation and comfort to his principal men and his consuls? Alas, there is an end to his presence, he is gone for ever. Alas, that our candle has been quenched, and our light, that the axe that shone with us is lost altogether. All his subjects and inferiors, he has left in orphanage and without shelter. Peradventure will he take care henceforward of this city, province, and kingdom, though this city be destroyed and leveled to the ground, with this seignory and kingdom? O our Lord, most clement, is it a fit thing that by the absence of him that died shall come to the city, seignory, and kingdom some misfortune, in which will be destroyed, undone, and affrighted the vassals that live therein? For while living, he who has died gave shelter under his wings, and kept his feathers spread over the people. Great danger runs this your city, seignory, and kingdom, if another ruler be not elected immediately to be a shelter thereto. What is it that thou art resolved to do? Is it good that thy people be in darkness? Is it good that they be without head or shelter? Is it thy will that they be leveled down and destroyed? Woe for the poor and the little ones, thy servants, that go seeking a father and mother, some one to shelter and govern them, even as little children that go weeping, seeking an absent father and mother, and that grieve, not finding them. Woe for the merchants, petty and poor, that go about by the mountains, deserts, and meadows, woe also to the sad toilers that go about seeking herbs to eat, roots and wood to burn, or to sell, to eke out an existence withal. Woe for the poor soldiers, for the men of war, that go about seeking death, that abhor life, that think of nothing but the field and the line where battle is given,—upon whom shall they call? who shall take a captive? to whom shall they present the same? And if they themselves be taken captive, to whom shall they give notice, that it may be known in their land? Whom shall they take for father and mother, so that in such a case favor may be granted them? Since he whose duty it was to see to this, who was as father and mother to all, is already dead. There will be none to weep, to sigh for the captives, to tell their relatives about them. Woe for the poor of the litigants, for those that have lawsuits with those that would take their estates. Who will judge, make peace among, and clear them of their disputes and quarrels? Behold when a child becomes dirty, if his mother clean him not, he must remain filthy. And those that make strife between themselves, that beat, that knock down, who will keep peace between them? Those that for all this go weeping and shedding tears, who shall wipe away their tears and put a stop to their laments? Peradventure can they apply a remedy to themselves? Those deserving death, will they peradventure pass sentence upon themselves? Who shall set up the throne of justice? Who shall possess the hall of the judge, since there is no judge? Who will ordain the things that are necessary for the good of this city, seignory, and kingdom? Who will elect the special judges that have charge of the lower people, district by district? Who will look to the sounding of the drum and fife to gather the people for war? who will collect and lead the soldiers and dexterous men to battle? O our Lord and protector see good to elect and decide upon some person sufficient to fill your throne and bear upon his shoulders the sore burden of the ruling of the state, to gladden and cheer the common people, even as the mother caresses the child, taking it in her lap; who will make music to the troubled bees[46] so that they may be at rest? O our Lord, most clement, favor our ruler-elect, whom we deem fit for this office, elect and choose him so that he may hold this your lordship and government; give him as a loan your throne and seat, so that he may rule over this seignory and kingdom as long as he lives; lift him from the lowliness and humility in which he is, and put on him this honor and dignity that we think him worthy of; O our Lord, most clement, give light and splendor with your hand to this state and kingdom. What has been said I only come to propose to thy majesty; although very defectively, as one that is drunken, and that staggers, almost ready to fall. Do that which may best serve thee, in all and through all.

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[44] See this volume p. 60.

[45] Some of these names are differently spelt in Kingsborough's ed., *Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., p. 362.: 'Uno de los quales fué Camapichtli, otro fué Tizocic, otro Avitzotl, otro el primero Motezuzoma, otro Axayaca, y los que ahora á la parte han muerto, como el segundo Motezuzoma, y tambien Ylhiycamina.'

What follows is a kind of greater excommunication, or prayer to get rid of a ruler that abused and misused his power and dignity: O our Lord, most clement, that givest shelter to every one that approaches, even as a tree of great height and breadth, thou that art invisible and impalpable; that art, as we understand, able to penetrate the stones and the trees, seeing what is contained therein. For this same reason thou seest and knowest what is within our hearts and readest our thoughts. Our soul in thy presence is as a little smoke or fog that rises from the earth. It cannot at all be hidden from thee, the deed and the manner of living of any one; for thou seest and knowest his secrets and the sources of his pride and ambition. Thou knowest that our ruler has a cruel and hard heart and abuses the dignity that thou hast given him, as the drunkard abuses his wine, as one drunken with a soporific;[47] that is to say that the riches, dignity, and abundance that for a little while thou hast given him, fill him with error, haughtiness, and unrest, and that he becomes a fool, intoxicated with the poison that makes him mad. His prosperity causes him to despise and make little of every one; it seems that his heart is covered with sharp thorns and also his face: all of which is made apparent by his manner of living, and by his manner of talking; never saying nor doing anything that gives pleasure to any one, never caring for any one, never taking counsel of any one; he ever lives as seems good to him and as the whim directs. O our Lord, most clement, protector of all, creator and maker of all, it is too certain that this man has destroyed himself, has acted like a child ungrateful to his father, like a drunkard without reason. The favors thou hast accorded him, the dignity thou hast set him in, have occasioned his perdition. Besides these, there is another thing, exceedingly hurtful and reprehensible: he is irreligious, never praying to the gods, never weeping before them, nor grieving for his sins, nor sighing; from this it comes about that he is as headstrong as a drunkard in his vices, going about like a hollow and empty person, wholly senseless; he stays not to consider what he is nor the office that he fills. Of a verity he dishonors and affronts the dignity and throne that he holds, which is thine, and which ought to be much honored and reverenced; for from it depends the justice and rightness of the judicature that he holds, for the sustaining and worthily directing of thy nation, thou being emperor of all. He should so hold his power that the lower people be not injured and oppressed by the great; from him should fall punishment and humiliation on those that respect not thy power and dignity. But all things and people suffer loss in that he fills not his office as he ought. The merchants suffer also, who are those to whom thou givest the most of thy riches, who overrun all the world, yea the mountains and the unpeopled places, seeking through much sorrow thy gifts, favors, and dainties, the which thou givest sparingly and to thy friends. Ah, Lord, not only does he dishonor thee as aforesaid, but also when we are gathered together to intone thy songs, gathered in the place where we solicit thy mercies and gifts, in the place where thou art praised and prayed to, where the sad afflicted ones and the poor gather comfort and strength, where very cowards find spirit to die in war,—in this so holy and reverend place this man exhibits his dissoluteness and hurts devotion; he troubles those that serve and praise thee in the place where thou gatherest and markest thy friends, as a shepherd marks his flock.[43] Since thou, Lord, hearest and knowest to be true all that I have now said in thy presence, there remains no more but that thy will be done, and the good pleasure of thy heart to the remedy of this affair. At least, O Lord, punish this man in such wise that he become a warning to others, so that they may not imitate his evil life. Let the punishment fall on him from thy hand that to thee seems most meet, be it sickness or any other affliction; or deprive him of the lordship, so that thou mayest give it to another, to one of thy friends, to one humble, devoted, and penitent; for many such thou hast, thou that lackest not persons such as are necessary for this office, friends that hope, crying to thee: thou knowest those for friends and servants that weep and sigh in thy presence every day. Elect some one of these that he may hold the dignity of this thy kingdom and seignory; make trial of some of these. And now, O Lord, of all the aforesaid things which is it that thou wilt grant? Wilt thou take from this ruler the lordship, dignity, and riches on which he prides himself, and give them to another who may be devout, penitent, humble, obedient, capable, and of good understanding? Or, peradventure, wilt thou be served by the falling of this proud one into poverty and misery, as one of the poor rustics that can hardly gather the wherewithal to eat, drink, and clothe himself? Or, peradventure, will it please thee to smite him with a sore punishment so that all his body may shrivel up, or his eyes be made blind, or his members rotten? Or wilt thou be pleased to withdraw him from the world through death, and send him to hades, to the house of darkness and obscurity, where his ancestors are, whither we have all to go, where our father is, and our mother, the god and the goddess of hell. O our Lord, most clement, what is it that thy heart desires the most? Let thy will be done. And in this matter in which I supplicate thee, I am not moved by envy nor hate; nor with any such motives have I come into thy presence. I am moved only by the robbery and ill-treatment that the people suffer, only by a desire for their peace and prosperity. I would not desire, O Lord, to provoke against myself thy wrath and indignation, I that am a mean man and rude; for it is to thee, O Lord, to penetrate the heart and to know the thoughts of all mortals.

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[46] 'Obejas,' in Bustamente's ed. *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. vi., p. 53; 'abejas' in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., p. 364.

[47] 'Y como el loco de los beleños.' *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. vi., p. 54.

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[43] Both editors of Sahagun agree here in using the word 'obejas.' As sheep were unknown in Mexico it is too evident that other hands than Mexican have been employed in the construction of this simile.

The following is a form of Mexican prayer to Tezcatlipoca, used by the officiating confessor after having heard a confession of sins from some one. The peculiarity of a Mexican confession was that it could not lawfully have place in a man's life more than once; a man's first absolution and remission of sins was also the last and the only one he had to hope for:—O our most compassionate Lord, protector and favorer of all, thou hast now heard the confession of this poor sinner, with which he has published in thy presence his rottenness and unsavoriness. Perhaps he has hidden some of his sins before thee, and if it be so he has irreverently and offensively mocked thy majesty, and thrown himself into a dark cavern and into a deep ravine;[49] he has snared and entangled himself; he has made himself worthy of blindness, shrivelling and rotting of the members, poverty, and misery. Alas, if this poor sinner have attempted any such audacity as to offend thus before thy majesty, before thee that art lord and emperor of all, that keepest a reckoning with all, he has tied himself up, he has made himself vile, he has mocked himself. Thou thoroughly seest him, for thou seest all things, being invisible and without bodily parts. If he have done this thing, he has, of his own will, put himself in this peril and risk; for this is a place of very strict justice and very strait judgment. This rite is like very clear water with which thou washest away the faults of him that wholly confesses, even if he have incurred destruction and shortening of days; if indeed he have told all the truth, and have freed and untied himself from his sins and faults, he has received the pardon of them and of what they have incurred. This poor man is even as a man that has slipped and fallen in thy presence, offending thee in divers ways, dirting himself also and casting himself into a deep cavern and a bottomless well.[51] He fell like a poor and lean man, and now he is grieved and discontented with all the past; his heart and body are pained and ill at ease; he is now filled with heaviness for having done what he did; he is now wholly determined never to offend thee again. In thy presence, O Lord, I speak, that knowest all things, that knowest also that this poor wretch did not sin with an entire liberty of free will; he was pushed to it and inclined by the nature of the sign under which he was born. And since this is so, O our Lord, most clement, protector and helper of all, since also this poor man has gravely offended thee, wilt thou not remove thine anger and thine indignation from him? Give him time, O Lord; favor and pardon him, inasmuch as he weeps, sighs, and sobs, looking before him on the evil he has done, and on that wherein he has offended thee. He is sorrowful, he sheds many tears, the sorrow of his sins afflicts his heart; he is not sorry only, but terrified also at thoughts of them. This being so, it is also a just thing that thy fury and indignation against him be appeased and that his sins be thrown on one side. Since thou art full of pity, O Lord, see good to pardon and to cleanse him; grant him the pardon and remission of his sins, a thing that descends from heaven, as water very clear and very pure to wash away sins,[52] with which thou washest away all the stain and impurity that sin causes in the soul. See good, O Lord, that this man go in peace, and command him in what he has to do; let him go to do penance for and to weep over his sins; give him the counsels necessary to his well living.

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[49] 'Si es así ha hecho burla de V.M., y con desacato y grande ofensa, se ha arrojado á una cima, y en una profunda barranca:' Bustamente's ed. of *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. vi., p. 58. The same passage runs as follows in Kingsborough's ed.: 'Si és así ha hecho burla de vuestra magestad, y con desacato y grande ofensa de vuestra magestad será arrojado en una sima, y en una profunda barranca:' *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., p. 367.

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[51] 'Poca' is misprinted for 'poza' in Bustamente's ed., *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. v., p. 58.

At this point the confessor ceases from addressing the god and turns to the penitent, saying: O my brother, thou hast come into a place of much peril, a place of travail and fear; thou hast come to a steep chasm and a sheer rock, where if any one fall he shall never come up again; thou hast come to the very place where the snares and the nets touch one another, where they are set one upon another, in such wise that no one may pass thereby without falling into some of them, and not only snares and nets but also holes like wells. Thou hast thrown thyself down the banks of the river and among the snares and nets, whence without aid it is not possible that thou shouldst escape. These thy sins are not only snares, nets, and wells, into which thou hast fallen, but they are also wild beasts that kill and rend both body and soul. Peradventure, hast thou hidden some one or some of thy sins, weighty, huge, filthy, unsavory, hidden something now published in heaven, earth, and hades, something that now stinks to the uttermost part of the world? Thou hast now presented thyself before our most clement Lord and protector of all, whom thou didst irritate, offend, and provoke the anger of, who to-morrow, or some other day, will take thee out of this world and put thee under his feet, and send thee to the universal house of hades, where thy father is and thy mother, the god and the goddess of hell, whose mouths are always open desiring to swallow thee and as many as may be in the world. In that place shall be given thee whatsoever thou didst merit in this world, according to the divine justice, and to what thou hast earned with thy works of poverty, misery, and sickness. In divers manners thou wilt be tormented and afflicted in the extreme, and wilt be soaked in a lake of intolerable torments and miseries; but here, at this time, thou hast had pity upon thyself in speaking and communicating with our Lord, with him that sees all the secrets of every heart. Tell therefore wholly all that thou hast done, as one that flings himself into a deep place, into a well without bottom. When thou wast created and sent into the world, clean and good thou wast created and sent; thy father and thy mother Quetzalcoatl formed thee like a precious stone, and like a bead of gold of much value; when thou wast born thou wast like a rich stone and a jewel of gold very shining and very polished. But of thine own will and volition thou hast defiled and stained thyself, and rolled in filth, and in the uncleanness of the sins and evil deeds that thou hast committed and now confessed. Thou hast acted as a child without judgment or understanding, that playing and toying defiles himself with a loathsome filth; so hast thou acted in the matter of the sins that thou hast taken pleasure in, but hast now confessed and altogether discovered before our Lord, who is the protector and purifier of all sinners. This thou shalt not take for an occasion of jesting, for verily thou hast come to the fountain of mercy, which is like very clear water, with which filthinesses of the soul are washed away by our Lord God, the protector and favorer of all that turn to him. Thou hast snatched thyself from hades, and hast returned again to come to life in this world, as one that comes from another. Now thou hast been born anew, thou hast begun to live anew, and our Lord God gives thee light and a new sun. Now once more thou beginnest to radiate and to shine anew like a very precious and clear stone, issuing from the belly of the matrix in which it was created. Since this is thus, see that thou live with much circumspection and very advisedly now and henceforward, all the time that thou mayest live in this world under the power and lordship of our Lord God, most clement, beneficent, and munificent. Weep, be sad, walk humbly, with submission, with the head low and bowed down, praying to God. Look that pride find no place within thee, otherwise thou wilt displease our Lord, who sees the hearts and the thoughts of all mortals. In what dost thou esteem thyself? At how much dost thou hold thyself? What is thy foundation and root? On what dost thou support thyself? It is clear that thou art nothing, canst do nothing, and art worth nothing; for our Lord will do with thee all he may desire and none shall stay his hand. Peradventure, must he show thee those things with which he torments and afflicts, so that thou mayest see them with thine eyes in this world? Nay verily, for the torments and horrible sufferings of his tortures of the other world are not visible, nor able to be seen by those that live here. Perhaps he will condemn thee to the universal house of hades; and the house where thou now livest will fall down and be destroyed, and be as a dunghill of filthiness and uncleanness, thou having been accustomed to live therein with much satisfaction, waiting to know how he would dispose of thee, he our Lord and helper, the invisible, incorporeal and alone one. Therefore I entreat thee to stand up and strengthen thyself and to be no more henceforth as thou hast been in the past. Take to thyself a new heart and a new manner of living, and take good care not to turn again to thine old sins. Consider that thou canst not see with thine eyes our Lord God, for he is invisible and impalpable, he is Tezcatlipoca, he is Titlacaoa, he is a youth of perfect perfection and without spot. Strengthen thyself to sweep, to clean, and to arrange thy house; for if thou do not this, thou wilt reject from thy company and from thy house, and wilt offend much the very clement youth that is ever walking through our houses, and through our streets, enjoying and amusing himself,—the youth that labors, seeking his friends, to comfort them and to comfort himself with them. To conclude, I tell thee to go and learn to sweep, and to get rid of the filth and sweepings of thy house, and to cleanse everything, thyself not the least. Seek out also a slave to immolate him before God; make a feast to the principal men, and let them sing the praises of our Lord. It is moreover fit that thou shouldst do penance, working a year or more in the house of God; there thou shalt bleed thyself, and prick thy body with maguey thorns; and, as a penance for the adulteries and other vilenesses that thou hast committed, thou shalt, twice every day, pass osier twigs through holes pierced in thy body, once through thy tongue, and once through thine ears. This penance shalt thou do not alone for the carnalities above mentioned, but also for the evil and injurious words with which thou hast insulted and affronted thy neighbors; as also for the ingratitude thou hast shown with reference to the gifts bestowed on thee by our Lord, and for thine inhumanity toward thy neighbors, neither making offerings of the goods that were given thee by God, nor sharing with the poor the temporal benefits given by our Lord. Thou shalt burden thyself to offer paper and copal; thou shalt give alms to the needy and the hungry, to those that have nothing to eat nor to drink nor to cover themselves with; even though thou thyself go without food to give it away and to clothe the naked: look to it, for their flesh is like thy flesh, and they are men as thou. Care most of all for the sick, they are the image of God.[53] There remains nothing more to be said to thee; go in peace, and entreat God to aid thee to fulfill what thou art obliged to do; for he gives favor to all.

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[52] 'Cosa que desciende del cielo, como agua clarísima y purísima par lavar los pecados:' *Sahagun*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., p. 368. See also *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. vi., p. 59.

The quality of mercy is not strain'd
It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven
Upon the place beneath: *Merchant of Venice*, act. iv.

The following prayer is one addressed to Tezcatlipoca by a recently elected ruler, to give thanks for his election and to ask favor and light for the proper performance of his office: O our lord, most clement, invisible and impalpable protector and governor, well do I know that thou knowest me, who am a poor man, of low destiny, born and brought up among filth, and a man of small reason and mean judgment, full of many defects and faults, a man that knows not himself, nor considers who he is. Thou hast bestowed on me a great benefit, favor, and mercy, without any merit on my part; thou hast lifted me from the dung-hill and set me in the royal dignity and throne. Who am I, my Lord, and what is my worth that thou shouldst put me among the number of those that thou lovest? among the number of thine acquaintance, of those thou holdest for chosen friends and worthy of all honor; born and brought up for thrones and royal dignities; to this end thou hast created them able, prudent, descended from noble and generous fathers; for this end they were created and educated; to be thine instruments and images they were born and baptized under the signs and constellations that lords are born under. They were born to rule thy kingdoms, thy word being within them and speaking by their mouth,—according to the desire of the ancient god, the father of all the gods, the god of fire, who is in the pond of water among turrets surrounded with stones like roses, who is called Xiuhtecutli, who determines, examines, and settles the business and lawsuits of the nation and of the common people, as it were washing them with water; in the company and presence of this god the generous personages aforementioned always are. O most clement Lord, ruler, and governor, thou hast done me a great favor. Perhaps it has been through the intercession and through the tears shed by the departed lords and ladies that had charge of this kingdom.[54] It would be great madness to suppose that for any merit or courage of mine thou hast favored me, setting me over this your kingdom, the government of which is something very heavy, difficult, and even fearful; it is as a huge burden, carried on the shoulders, and one that with great difficulty the past rulers bore, ruling in thy name. O our Lord, most clement, invisible, and impalpable, ruler and governor, creator and knower of all things and thoughts, beautifier of thy creatures,[55] what shall I say more, poor me? In what wise have I to rule and govern this thy state, or how have I to carry this burden of the common people? I who am blind and deaf, who do not even know myself, nor know how to rule over myself. I am accustomed to walk in filth, my faculties fit me for seeking and selling edible herbs, and for carrying and selling wood. What I deserve, O Lord, is blindness for mine eyes and shriveling and rotting for my limbs, and to go dressed in rags and tatters; this is what I deserve and what ought to be given me. It is I that need to be ruled and to be carried on some one's back. Thou hast many friends and acquaintances that may be trusted with this load. Since, however, thou has already determined to set me up for a scoff and a jeer to the world, let thy will be done and thy word fulfilled. Peradventure thou knowest not who I am; and, after having known me, wilt seek another and take the government from me; taking it again to thyself, hiding again in thyself this dignity and honor, being already angry and weary of bearing with me; and thou wilt give the government to another, to some close friend and acquaintance of thine, to some one very devout toward thee, that weeps and sighs and so merits this dignity. Or, peradventure, this thing that happened to me is a dream, or a walking in sleep. O Lord, thou that art present in every place, that knowest all thoughts, that distributest all gifts, be pleased not to hide from me thy words and thine inspiration. I do not know the road I have to follow, nor what I have to do, deign then not to hide from me the light and the mirror that have to guide me. Do not allow me to cause those I have to rule and carry on my shoulders to lose the road and to wander over rocks and mountains. Do not allow me to guide them in the tracks of rabbits and deer. Do not permit, O Lord, any war to be raised against me, nor any pestilence to come upon those I govern; for I should not know, in such a case, what to do, nor where to take those I have upon my shoulders; alas for me, that am incapable and ignorant. I would not that any sickness come upon me, for in that case thy nation and people would be lost, and thy kingdom desolated and given up to darkness. What shall I do, O Lord and creator, if by chance I fall into some disgraceful fleshly sin, and thereby ruin the kingdom? what do if by negligence or sloth I undo my subjects? what do if through my fault I hurl down a precipice those I have to rule? Our Lord, most clement, invisible and impalpable, I entreat thee not to separate thyself from me; visit me often; visit this poor house, for I will be waiting for thee therein. With great thirst I await thee and demand urgently thy word and inspiration, which thou didst breathe into thine ancient friends and acquaintances that have ruled with diligence and rectitude over thy kingdom. This is thy throne and honor, on either side whereof are seated thy senators and principal men, who are as thine image and very person. They give sentence and speak on the affairs of the state in thy name; thou usest them as thy flutes, speaking from within them and placing thyself in their faces and ears, opening their mouths so that they may speak well. In this place the merchants mock and jest at our follies, with which merchants thou art spending thy leisure, since they are thy friends and acquaintances; there also thou inspirest and breathest upon thy devoted ones, who weep and sigh in thy presence, sincerely giving thee their heart.[56] For this reason thou

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[53] ....'mayormente á los enfermos porque son imágen de dios.' *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. vi., p. 63.

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[54] 'Los pasados señores y señoras que tuvieron cargo de éste reino.' *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. vi., p. 71.

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[55] 'Adornador de las criaturas:' *Sahagun*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., p. 377. 'Adornador de las almas.' *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. vi., p. 71.

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[56] The precise force of much of this sentence it is hard to understand. It seems to show, at any rate, that the merchants were supposed to be very intimate with and especially favored by this deity. The original runs as follows: 'En este lugar burlan y rien de nuestras boberías los negociantes,

adornest them with prudence and wisdom, so that they may look as into a mirror with two faces, where every one's image is to be seen;[57] for this thou givest them a very clear axe, without any dimness, whose brightness flashes into all places. For this cause also thou givest them gifts and precious jewels, hanging them from their necks and ears, even like material ornaments such as are the *nacochtl*, the *tentetl*, the *tlapiloni* or head-tassel, the *matemecatl* or tanned strap that lords tie round their wrists,[58] the yellow leather bound on the ankles, the beads of gold, and the rich feathers. In this place of the good governing and rule of thy kingdom, are merited thy riches and glory, thy sweet and delightful things, calmness and tranquillity, a peaceable and contented life; all of which come from thy hand. In the same place, lastly, are also merited the adverse and wearisome things, sickness, poverty, and the shortness of life; which things are sent by thee to those that in this condition do not fulfill their duty. O our Lord, most clement, knower of thoughts and giver of gifts, is it in my hand, that am a mean man, to know how to rule? is the manner of my life in my hand, and the works that I have to do in my office? which indeed is of thy kingdom and dignity and not mine. What thou mayest wish me to do and what may be thy will and disposition, thou aiding me I will do. The road thou mayest show me I will walk in; that thou mayest inspire me with, and put in my heart, that I will say and speak. O our Lord, most clement, in thy hand I wholly place myself, for it is not possible for me to direct or govern myself; I am blind, darkness, a dung-hill. See good, O Lord, to give me a

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con los quales estais vos holgandoos, porque son vuestros amigos y vuestros conocidos, y allí inspirais é insuflais á vuestros devotos, que lloran y suspiran en vuestra presencia y os dan de verdad su corazon.' *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. vi., p. 73.

[57] "Para que vean como en espejo de dos hazes, donde se representa la imágen de cada uno'. *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. vi., p. 73.

[58] *Nacochtli*, orejeras [ear-rings]; *Tentetl*, beçote de indio [lip-ornament]: *Molina*, *Vocabulario*. Molina gives also *Matemecatl* to mean, a gold bracelet or something of that kind; Bustamante translates the word in the same way, explaining that the strap mentioned in the text was used to tie the bracelet on. *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. vi., p. 74.

little light, though it be only as much as a fire-fly gives out, going about at night; to light me in this dream, in this life asleep that endures as for a day; where are many things to stumble at, many things to give occasion for laughing at one, many things like a rugged road that has to be gone over by leaps. All this has to happen in the position thou hast put me in, giving me thy seat and dignity. O Lord, most clement, I entreat thee to visit me with thy light, that I may not err, that I may not undo myself, that my vassals may not cry out against me. O our Lord, most pitiful, thou hast made me now the back-piece[59] of thy chair, also thy flute; all without any merit of mine. I am thy mouth, thy face, thine ears, thy teeth, and thy nails. Although I am a mean man I desire to say that I unworthily represent thy person, and thine image, that the words I shall speak have to be esteemed as thine, that my face has to be held as thine, mine eyes as thine, and the punishment that I shall inflict as if thou hadst inflicted it. For all this I entreat thee to put thy spirit within me, and thy words, so that all may obey them and none contradict.[60]

Now with regard to the measure of the genuineness of the prayers to Tezcatlipoca, just given, it seems evident that either with or without the conscious connivance of Father Bernardino de Sahagun, their historian, a certain amount of sophistication and adaptation to Christian ideas has crept into them; it appears to be just as evident, however, on the other hand, that they contain a great deal that is original, indigenous, and characteristic in regard to the Mexican religion. At any rate they purport to do so, and as evidence bearing on the matter, presented by a hearer and eye-witness at first hand, by a man of strongly authenticated probity, learning, and above all, of strong sympathy with the Mexican people, beloved and trusted by those of them with whom he came in contact, and admitted to the familiarity of a friend with their traditions and habits of thought,—for all these reasons his evidence, however we may esteem it, must be heard and judged.[61]

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[59] 'Espaldar de vuestra silla.' *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. vi., p. 75.

[60] 'He that delivered this prayer before Tezcatlipoca, stood on his feet, his feet close together, bending himself towards the earth. Those that were very devout were naked. Before they began the prayer they offered copal to the fire, or some other sacrifice, and if they were covered with a blanket, they pulled the knot of it round to the breast, so that they were naked in front. Some spoke this prayer squatting on their calves, and kept the knot of the blanket on the shoulder' *Sahagun Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. vi., p. 75.

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[61] Father Bernardino de Sahagun, a Spanish Franciscan, was one of the first preachers sent to Mexico; where he was much employed in the instruction of the native youth, working for the most part in the province of Tezcuco. While there, in the city of Tepeopulco, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, he began the work, best known to us as the *Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva España*, from which the above prayers have been translated, and from which we shall draw largely for further information. It would be hard to imagine a work of such a character constructed after a better fashion of working than his. Gathering the principal natives of the town in which he carried on his labors, he induced them to appoint him a number of persons, the most learned and experienced in the things of which he wished to write. These learned Mexicans being collected, Father Sahagun was accustomed to get them to paint down in their native fashion the various legends, details of history and mythology, and so on that he wanted; at the foot of the said pictures these learned Mexicans wrote out the explanations of the same in the Mexican tongue; and this explanation the Father Sahagun translated into Spanish: that translation purports to be what we now read as the *Historia General*. Here follows a translation of the Prologo of his work, in which he describes all the foregoing in his own way: "All writers labor the best that they can to make their works authoritative; some by witnesses worthy of faith, others by the writings of previous writers held worthy of belief, others by the testimony of the Sacred Scriptures. To me are wanting all these foundations to make authoritative what I have written in these twelve books [of the *Historia General*]. I have no other foundation, but to set down here the relation of the diligence that I made to know the truth of all that is written in these twelve books. As I have said in other prologues to this work, I was commanded in all holy obedience by my chief prelate to write in the Mexican language that which appeared to me to be useful for the doctrine, worship, and maintenance of Christianity among these natives of New Spain, and for the aid of the workers and ministers that taught them. Having received this commandment, I made in the Spanish language a minute or memorandum of all the matters that I had to treat of, which matters are what is written in the twelve books,.... which were begun in the pueblo of Tepeopulco, which is in the province of Culhuacán or Tezcoco. The work was done in the following way. In the aforesaid pueblo, I got together all the principal men, together with the lord of the place, who was called Don Diego de Mendoza, of great distinction and ability, well experienced in things ecclesiastic, military, political, and even relating to idolatry. They being come together, I set before them what I proposed to do, and prayed them to appoint me able and experienced persons, with whom I might converse and come to an understanding on such questions as I might propose. They answered me that they would talk the matter over and give their answer on another day; and with this they took their departure. So on another day the lord and his principal men came, and having conferred together with great solemnity, as they were accustomed at that time to do, they chose out ten or twelve of the principal old men, and told me that with these I might communicate and that these would instruct me in any matters I should inquire of. Of these there were as many as four instructed in Latin, to whom I, some few years before, had myself taught grammar in the college

of Santa Cruz, in Tlaltelolco. With these appointed principal men, including the four instructed in grammar, I talked many days during about two years, following the order of the minute I had already made out. On all the subjects on which we conferred they gave me pictures,—which were the writings anciently in use among them,—and these the grammarians interpreted to me in their language, writing the interpretation at the foot of the picture. Even to this day I hold the originals of these.... When I went to the chapter, with which was ended the seven years' term of Fray Francisco Torál—he that had imposed the charge of this work upon me—I was removed from Tepeopulco, carrying all my writings. I went to reside at Santiago del Tlaltelolco. There I brought together the principal men, set before them the matter of my writings, and asked them to appoint me some able principal men, with whom I might examine and talk over the writings I had brought from Tepeopulco. The governor, with the alcaldes, appointed me as many as eight or ten principal men, selected from all the most able in their language, and in the things of their antiquities. With these and with four or five collegians, all trilinguists, and living for the space of a year or more secluded in the college, all that had been brought written from Tepeopulco was clearly emended and added to; and the whole was rewritten in small letters, for it was written with much haste. In this scrutiny or examination, he that worked the hardest of all the collegians was Martin Jacobita, who was then rector of the college, an inhabitant of the ward of Santa Ana. I, having done all as above said in Tlaltelolco, went, taking with me all my writings, to reside in San Francisco de México, where, by myself, for the space of three years, I examined over and over again the writings, emended them, divided them into twelve books, and each book into chapters and paragraphs. After this, Father Miguel Navarro being provincial, and Father Diego de Mendoza commissary-general in Mexico, with their favor I had all the twelve books clearly copied in a good hand, as also the *Postilla* and the *Cantáres* [which were other works on which Sahagun was engaged]. I made out also an Art of the Mexican language with a vocabulary-appendix. Now the Mexicans added to and emended my twelve books [of the *Historia General*] in many things while they were being copied out in full; so that the first sieve through which my work passed was that of Tepeopulco, the second that of Tlaltelolco, the third that of Mexico; and in all these scrutinies collegiate grammarians had been employed. The chief and most learned was Antonio Valeriano, a resident of Aztcapuzalco; another, little less than the first, was Alonso Vegerano, resident of Cuauhtitlan; another was Martin Jacobita, above mentioned; another Pedro de Santa Buenaventura, resident of Cuauhtitlan; all expert in three languages, Latin, Spanish, and Indian [Mexican]. The scribes that made out the clear copies of all the works are Diego Degrado, resident of the ward of San Martin, Mateo Severino, resident of Xochimilco, of the part of Ullác. The clear copy being fully made out, by the favor of the fathers above mentioned and the expenditure of hard cash on the scribes, the author thereof asked of the delegate Father Francisco de Rivera that the work be submitted to three or four religious, so that they might give an opinion on it, and that in the provincial chapter, which was close at hand, they might attend and report on the matter to the assembly, speaking as the thing might appear to them. And these reported in the assembly that the writings were of much value and deserved such support as was necessary toward their completion. But to some of the assembly it seemed that it was contrary to their vows of poverty to spend money in copying these writings; so they commanded the author to dismiss his scribes, and that he alone with his own hand should do what copying he wanted done; but as he was more than seventy years old, and for the trembling of his hand not able to write anything, nor able to procure a dispensation from this mandate, there was nothing done with the writings for more than five years. During this interval, and at the next chapter, Father Miguel Navarro was elected by the general chapter for custos custodium, and Father Alonso de Escalona, for provincial. During this time the author made a summary of all the books and of all the chapters of each book, and prologues, wherein was said with brevity all that the books contained. This summary Father Miguel Navarro and his companion, Father Gerónimo de Mendieta, carried to Spain, and thus in Spain the things that had been written about this land made their appearance. In the mean time, the father provincial took all the books of the author and dispersed them through all the province, where they were seen by many religious and approved for very precious and valuable. After some years, the general chapter meeting again, Father Miguel Navarro, at the petition of the author, turned with censures to collect again the said books; which, from that collecting, came within about a year into the hands of the author. During that time nothing was done in them, nor was there any one to help to get them translated into the vernacular Spanish, until the delegate-general Father Rodrigo de Sequera came to these parts, saw and was much pleased with them, and commanded the author to translate them into Spanish; providing all that was necessary to their being re-written, the Mexican language in one column and the Spanish in another, so that they might be sent to Spain; for the most illustrious Señor Don Juan de Ovando, president of the Council of Indies, had inquired after them, he knowing of them by reason of the summary that the said Father Miguel Navarro had carried to Spain, as above said. And all the above-said is to show that this work has been examined and approved by many, and during many years has passed through many troubles and misfortunes before reaching the place it now has:' *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. i., Prólogo, pp. iii. vii. As to the date at which Sahagun wrote he says: 'These twelve books and the Art and the vocabulary-appendix were finished in a clear copy in the year 1569; but not translated into Spanish.' *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. i., Introduccion, p. xv. The following scanty sketch of the life of Sahagun, is taken, after Bustamante, from the *Menealógio Seráfico* of Father Betancourt: 'Father Bernardino Sahagun, native of Sahagun, took the robe in the convent of Salamanca, being a student of that university. He passed into this province [Mexico] in the year 1529, in the company of Father Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo. While a youth he was endowed with a beauty and grace of person that corresponded with that of his soul. From his tenderest years he was very observant, self-contained, and given to prayer. Father Martin de Valencia held very close communion with him, owing to which he saw him many times snatched up into an ecstasy. Sahagun was very exact in his attendance in the choir, even in his old age, he never was absent at matins. He was gentle, humble, courteous in his converse with all. He was elected secondly with the learned Father Juan de Gaona, as professor at Tlaltelolco in the college of Santa Cruz; where he shone like a light on a candlestick, for he was perfect in all the sciences. His possession of the Mexican language was of a perfectness that has never to this day being equaled; he wrote many books in it that will be mentioned in the catalogue of authors. He had to strive with much opposition, for to some it did not seem good to write out in the language of the Mexicans their ancient rites, lest it should give occasion for their being persevered in. He watched over the honor of God against idolatry, and sought earnestly to impress the Christian faith upon the converted. He affirmed as a minister of much experience, that during the first twenty years [of his life in the province] the fervor of the natives was very great; but that afterward they inclined to idolatry, and became very lukewarm in the faith. This he says in the book of his *Postillas* that I have, in which I learnt much. During the first twenty years of his life [in the province] he was guardian of some convents; but after that he desired not to take upon himself any office or guardianship for more than forty years, so that he could occupy himself in preaching, confessing, and writing. During the sixty and one years that he lived in the province, for the most part in college, without resting a single day, he instructed the boys in civilization and good customs, teaching them reading, writing, grammar, music, and other things in the service of God and the state. This went on till the year 1590, when, the approach of death becoming apparent to every one, he entered the hospital of Mexico; where he died on the 23rd of October. There assembled to his funeral the collegians, trailing their *becas*, and the natives shedding tears, and the members of the different religious houses giving praises to God our Lord for this holy death, of which the martyrology treats,—Gonzaga, Torquemada, Deza, Rampineo, and many others. In the library of Señior Eguiara, in the manuscript of the Turriana collection, I have read the article relating to Father Sahagun; in it a large catalogue of works that he wrote is given. I remember only the following: *Historia General de las cosas de Nueva España; Arte de gramática mexicana; Diccionario trilingue de español, latin, y mexicano; Sermones para todo el año en mexicano*, (poséo aunque sin nombre de autor); *Postillas ó commentarios al evangelio, para las misas solemnes de dia de precepto; Historia de los primeros pobladores franciscanos en Mexico; Salmodia de la vida de Cristo, de la virgen y de los santos, que usaban los indios, y preceptos para los casados; Escala espiritual*, que fué la primera obra que se imprimió en Mexico en la imprenta que trajo Hernan Cortés de España.' *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., pp. vii.-ix. As to the manner in which the *Historia General* of Sahagun, 'whom,' says Prescott, *Mex.*, vol. i., p. 67, 'I have followed as the highest authority' in matters of Mexican religion,—at last saw the light of publication, I give Prescott's account, *Mex.*, vol. i., p. 88, as exact save in one point, for which see the correction in brackets:—'At length, toward the close of the last century, the indefatigable Muñoz succeeded in disinterring the long lost manuscript from the place tradition had assigned to it,—the library of a convent at Tolosa, in Navarre, the northern extremity of Spain. With his usual ardor, he transcribed the whole work with his own hands, and added it to the inestimable collection, of which, alas! he was destined not to reap the full benefit himself. From this transcript Lord Kingsborough was enabled to procure the copy which was published in 1830, in the sixth volume of his magnificent compilation. [It was published in two parts, in the fifth and seventh volumes of that compilation, and the exact date of the publication was 1831.] In it he expresses an honest satisfaction at being the first to give Sahagun's work to the world. But in this supposition he was mistaken. The very year preceding, an edition of it, with annotations, appeared in Mexico, in three volumes 8vo. It was prepared by Bustamante,—a scholar to whose editorial activity his country is largely indebted,—from a copy of the Muñoz manuscript which came into his possession. Thus this remarkable work, which was denied the honors of the press during the author's lifetime, after passing into oblivion, reappeared, at the distance of nearly three centuries, not in his own country, but in foreign lands widely remote from each other, and that almost simultaneously.... Sahagun divided his history into twelve books. The first eleven are occupied with the social institutions of Mexico, and the last with the Conquest. On the religion of the country he is particularly full. His great object evidently was, to give a clear view of its mythology, and of the burdensome ritual which belonged to it. Religion entered so intimately into the most private concerns and usages of the Aztecs, that Sahagun's work must be a text-book for every student of their antiquities. Torquemada availed himself of a manuscript copy, which fell into his hands before it was sent to Spain, to enrich his own pages,—a circumstance more fortunate for his readers than for Sahagun's reputation, whose work, now that it is published, loses much of the originality and interest which would otherwise attach to it. In one respect it is invaluable; as presenting a complete collection of the various forms of prayer, accommodated to every possible emergency, in use by the Mexicans. They are often clothed in dignified and beautiful language, showing that sublime speculative tenets are quite compatible with the most degrading practices of superstition. It is much to be regretted that we have not the eighteen hymns, inserted by the author in his book, which would have particular interest, as the only specimen of devotional poetry preserved of the Aztecs. The hieroglyphical paintings, which accompanied the text are also missing. If they have escaped the hands of fanaticism, both may reappear at some future day.' As may have been noticed, the editions of Sahagun by both Bustamante and Kingsborough have been constantly used together and collated during the course of this present work. They differ, especially in many minor points of typography, Bustamante's being the more carelessly edited in this respect. Notwithstanding, however, the opinion to the contrary of Mr Harrisse, Bustamante's edition is on the whole the more complete; Kingsborough having avowedly omitted divers parts of the original which he thought unimportant or uninteresting, —a fault also of Bustamante's, but to a lesser extent. Fortunately what is absent in the one I have always found in the other; and indeed, as a whole, and all circumstances being considered, they agree tolerably well. The criticism of Mr Harrisse, just referred to, runs as follows, *Bib. Am. Vet.*, p. 208, note 52: '*Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva España;* Mexico, 3 vols., 4to, 1829 (edited and castrated by Bustamente [Bustamante] in such a manner as to require for a perfect understanding of that dry but important work, the reading of the parts also published in vols. v. and vi. [v. and vii.], of Kingsborough's *Antiquities.*)' We are not yet done, however, with editions of Sahagun. A third edition of part of his work has seen the light. It is Bustamante himself that attempts to supersede a part of his first edition. He affirms, that book xii. of that first edition of his, as of course also book xii. of Kingsborough's edition, is spurious and has been garbled and glossed by Spanish hands quite away from the original as written by Sahagun. Exactly how or when this corruption took place he does not show; but he leaves it to be inferred that it was immediately after the original manuscript had been taken from its author, and that it was done because that twelfth book, which treats more immediately of the Conquest, reflected too hardly on the Conquerors. Bustamante having procured, in a manner now to be given in his own words, a correct and genuine copy of the twelfth book, a copy written and signed by the hand of Sahagun himself, proceeded in 1840 to give it to the world under the extraordinary title of *La Aparicion de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Mexico, comprobada con la refutacion del argumento negativo que presenta D. Juan Bautista Muñoz, fundandose en el testimonio del P. Fr. Bernardino Sahagun; ó sea, Historia Original de este Escritor, que altera la publicada en* 1829 *en el equivocado concepto de ser la unica y original del dicho autor.* All of which means to say that he, Bustamante, having already published in 1829-30, a complete edition of Sahagun's *Historia General*, in twelve books, according to the best manuscript he could then find, has found the twelfth book of that history to be not genuine, has found the genuine original of said twelfth book, and now, in 1840, publishes said genuine twelfth book under the above extraordinary name, inasmuch as it contains some reference to what is supposed to be uppermost in every religious Mexican's mind, to wit, the miraculous appearance of the Blessed Virgin to a certain native Mexican, la aparicion de nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Mexico. Bustamante's own account of all the foregoing, being translated from the above-mentioned *Nra. Señora de Guadalupe*, pp. iv., viii., xxiii., runs as follows: 'As he [Sahagun] wrote with the frankness proper to truth, and as this was not pleasing to the heads of the then government, nor even to some of his brother friars, he was despoiled of his writings. These were sent to Spain, and ordered to be stored away in the archives of the convent of San Francisco de Tolosa de Navarra, so that no one should ever be able to read them; there they lay hid for more than two centuries. During the reign of Carlos iii., Señor Muñoz was commissioned to write the history of the New World. But he found himself without this work [of Sahagun's] so necessary to his purpose; and he was ignorant of its whereabouts, till, reading the index of the Biblioteca Franciscana he came to know about it, and, furnished by the government with all powers, he took it out of the said monastery. Colonel D. Diego García Panes having come to Madrid at the same time, to publish the works of Señor Veytia, this gentleman contracted a friendship with Muñoz who allowed him to copy the two thick volumes in which Sahagun's work was written.... These two volumes, then, that Colonel Panes had copied, were what was held to be solely the work of Father Sahagun, and as such esteemed; still it does not appear to be proved by attestation that this was the author's original *autograph* history. Had it been so, the circumstance would hardly have been left without definite mention, when the relation was given of the way in which the book was got hold of, and when the guarantee of the exactness of the copy was procured. I, to-day, possess an original manuscript, written altogether and signed by the hand of Father Sahagun; in which is to be noted an essential variation in certain of the chapters which I now present, from those that I before published in the twelfth book of his *Historia General*; which is the book treating of the Conquest. Sahagun wrote this manuscript in the year 1585, that is to say, five years before his death, and he wrote it without doubt under a presentiment of the alterations that his work would suffer. He had already made alterations therein himself, since he confesses (they are his words) that certain defects existed in them, that certain things had been put into the narrative of that Conquest that should not have been put there, while other things were left out that should not have been omitted. Therefore [says Bustamante], this autograph manuscript discovers the alterations that his writings underwent and gives us good reason to doubt the authenticity and exactness of the text seen by Muñoz.... During the revolution of Madrid, in May, 1808, caused by the entrance of the French and the removal of the royal family to Bayonne, the office of the secretary of the Academy of History was robbed, and from it were taken various bundles of the works of Father Sahagun. These an old lawyer of the court bought, and among them one entitled: *Relacion de la conquista de esta Nueva España, como la contaron los soldados indios que se hallaron presentes. Convertióse en lengua española llana é inteligible y bien enmendada en este año de* 1585. Unfortunately there had only remained [of the *Relacion*, etc., (?)] a single volume of manuscript, which Señor D. José Gomez de la Cortina, ex-count of that title, bought, giving therefor the sum of a hundred dollars. He allowed me the use of it, and I have made an exact copy of it, adding notes for the better understanding of the Conquest; the before-mentioned being altogether written, as I have said, and signed by the hands of Father Sahagun. This portion, which the said ex-count has certified to, induces us to believe that the other works of Sahagun, relating both to the Conquest and to the Aparicion Guadalupana have been adulterated because they did little honor to the first Conquerors. That they have at all come to be discussed with posterity, has been because a knowledge of them was generally scattered, and in such a way that it was no longer possible to keep them hidden; or, perhaps, because the faction interested in their concealment had disappeared. In proof of the authenticity and identity of this manuscript, we refer to Father Betancur in his Chronicle of the province of the Santo Evangelio de México, making a catalogue of the illustrious men thereof; speaking of Sahagun, he says on page 138: "The ninth book that this writer composed was the Conquest of Mexico by Cortés; which book afterward, in the year 1585, he re-wrote and emended; the [emended] original of this I saw signed with his hand in the possssion of Señor D. Juan Francisco de Montemayor, president of the Royal Audiencia, who carried it to Spain with the intention of having it printed; and of this I have a translation wherein it is said that the Marquis of Villa-Manrique, viceroy of Mexico, took from him [Sahagun] the twelve books and sent them to his majesty for the royal chronicler." ' Bustamante lastly gives a certificate of the authenticity of the manuscript under discussion and published by him. The certificate is signed by José Gomez de la Cortina, and runs as follows: 'Mexico, 1st April, 1840. I certify that, being in Madrid in the year 1828, I bought from D. Lorenzo Ruiz de Artieda, through the agency of my friend and companion, D. José Musso Valiente, member of the Spanish Academies of language and of history, the original manuscript of Father Sahagun, of which mention is made in this work by his Excellency Señor D. Cárlos María Bustamante, as constated by the receipts of the seller, and by other documents in my possession.' So much for Bustamante's new position as a reëditor of a part of Sahagun's *Historia General*; we have stated it in his own words, and in those of his own witnesses as brought forward by him. The changes referred to do not involve any matter bearing on mythology; it may be not out of place to say however, that the evidence in favor of Bustamante's new views seems strong and truth-like.

CHAPTER VII.

GODS, SUPERNATURAL BEINGS, AND WORSHIP.

Image of Tezcatlipoca — His Seats at the Street-corners — Various Legends about his Life on Earth—Quetzalcoatl—His Dexterity in the Mechanical Arts — His Religious Observances—The Wealth and Nimbleness of his Adherents—Expulsion from Tulla of Quetzalcoatl by Tezcatlipoca and Huitzilopochtli—The Magic Draught—Huemac, or Vemac, King of the Toltecs, and the Misfortunes brought upon him and his people by Tezcatlipoca in various disguises — Quetzalcoatl in Cholula—Differing Accounts of the Birth and Life of Quetzalcoatl—His Gentle Character—He drew up the Mexican Calendar—Incidents of his Exile and of his Journey to Tlapalla, as related and commented upon by various writers—Brasseur's ideas about the Quetzalcoatl Myths—Quetzalcoatl considered a Sun-God by Tylor, and as a Dawn-Hero by Brinton—Helps—Domenech—The Codices—Long Discussion of the Quetzalcoatl Myths by J. G. Müller.

In the preceding chapter I have given only the loftier view of Tezcatlipoca's nature, which even on this side cannot be illustrated without many inconsistencies. We pass now to relations evidencing a much meaner idea of his character, and showing him whom we have seen called invisible, almighty, and beneficent, in a new and much less imposing light. We pass, in fact, from the Zeus of Plato and Socrates to the Zeus of Hesiod and Homer.

Let us glance first at the fashion of his representation in the temples, though with little hope of seeing the particular fitness of many of the trappings and symbols with which his statue was decorated. His principal image, at least in the city of Mexico, was cut out of a very shining black stone, called itzli, a variety of obsidian,—a stone valued, in consideration of its capabilities of cleavage, for making those long splinters, used as knives by the Aztecs, for sacrificial and other purposes. For these uses in worship, and perhaps indeed for its manifold uses in all regards, it was surnamed *teotetl*, divine stone. In places where stone was less convenient the image was made of wood. The general idea intended to be given was that of a young man; by which the immortality of the god was set forth. The ears of the idol were bright with earrings of gold and silver. Through his lower lip was thrust a little crystal tube, perhaps six inches long, and through the hollow of this tube a feather was drawn; sometimes a green feather, sometimes a blue, giving the transparent ornament the tint at one time of an emerald, at another of a turquois. The hair—carved from the stone, we may suppose—was drawn into a queue and bound with a ribbon of burnished gold, to the end of which ribbon, hanging down behind, was attached a golden ear with certain tongues of ascending smoke painted thereon; which smoke was intended to signify the prayers of those sinners and afflicted that, commending themselves to the god, were heard by him. Upon his head were many plumes of red and green feathers. From his neck there hung down in front a great jewel of gold that covered all his breast. Bracelets of gold were upon his arms, and in his navel was set a precious green stone. In his left hand there flashed a great circular mirror of gold, bordered like a fan with precious feathers, green and azure and yellow; the eyes of the god were ever fixed on this, for therein he saw reflected all that was done in the world. This mirror was called *itlachia*, that is to say, the 'looker-on,' the 'viewer.' Tezcatlipoca was sometimes seated on a bench covered with a red cloth, worked with the likeness of many skulls, having in his right hand four darts, signifying, according to some, that he punished sin. To the top of his feet were attached twenty bells of gold, and to his right foot the fore-foot of a deer, to show the exceeding swiftness of this deity in all his ways. Hiding the shining black body, was a great cloak, curiously wrought in black and white, adorned with feathers, and fringed about with rosettes of three colors, red, white, and black. This god, whose decorations vary a little with different writers—variations probably not greater than those really existing among the different figures representing in different places the same deity — had a kind of chapel built to hold him on the top of his temple. It was a dark chamber lined with rich cloths of many colors; and from its obscurity the image looked out, seated on a pedestal, with a costly canopy immediately overhead, and an altar in front; not apparently an altar of sacrifice, but a kind of ornamental table, like a Christian altar, covered with rich cloth. Into this holy of holies it was not lawful for any but a priest to enter.

What most of all, however, must have served to bring the worship of Tezcatlipoca prominently before the people, were the seats of stone, built at the corners of the streets, for the accommodation of this god when he walked invisibly abroad. Mortal, born of woman, never sat thereon; not the king himself might dare to use them: sacred they were, sacred for ever, and always shadowed by a canopy of green boughs, reverently renewed every five days.[1]

Lower and lower we must now descend from the idea of an almighty god, to take up the thread of various legends in which Tezcatlipoca figures in an anything but creditable light. We have already seen him described as one of those hero-gods whom the new-born Sun was instrumental in destroying;[2] and we may suppose that he then ascended into heaven, for we find him afterward descending thence, letting himself. down by a rope twined from spider's web. Rambling through the world he came to a place called Tulla, where a certain Quetzalcoatl—another, according to Sahagun, of the hero-gods just referred to—had been ruling for many years. The two engaged in a game of ball, in the course of which Tezcatlipoca suddenly transformed himself into a tiger, occasioning thereby a tremendous panic among the spectators, many of whom in the haste of their flight precipitated themselves down a ravine in the neighborhood into a river and were drowned. Tezcatlipoca then began to persecute Quetzalcoatl from city to city till he drove him to Cholula. Here Quetzalcoatl was held as chief god, and here for some time he was safe. But only for a few years; his indefatigable and powerful enemy forced him to retreat with a few of his adherents toward the sea, to a place called Tlillapa or Tizapan. Here the hunted Quetzalcoatl died, and his followers inaugurated the custom of burning the dead by burning his body.[3]

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[1] *Acosta, Hist. Nat. Ind.*, pp. 353–4; *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 7; *Duran, Hist. Ant. de la Nueva España*, MS., quoted in *Squier's Notes to Palacio, Carta*, note 27, pp. 117–8; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. iii., p. 242; *Explicacion del Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, lam. ii. and xxvi., in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., pp. 132, 144-5; *Spiegazione delle Tavole del Codice Mexicano*, tav. xlii., xlix., in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., pp. 185, 188.

[2] See this volume p. 62.

The foregoing, from Mendieta, gives us a glimpse, from one point of view, of that great personage Quetzalcoatl, of whom we shall know much more anon, and whom in the meantime we meet again and again as the opponent, or rather victim of Tezcatlipoca. Let us consider Sahagun's version of the incidents of this strife:—

Quetzalcoatl was, from very ancient times, adored as a god in Tulla. He had a very high *cu*[4] there, with many steps up to it, steps so narrow that there was not room for a whole foot on any of them. His image was always in a recumbent position and covered with blankets. The face of it was very ugly, the head large and furnished with a long beard. The adherents of this god were all devoted to the mechanical arts, dexterous in working the green stone called chalchiuite, and in founding the precious metals; all of which arts had their beginning and origin with the said Quetzalcoatl. He had whole houses made of chalchiuites, others made of silver, others of white and red shells, others of planks, others of turquoises, and others of rich feathers. His adherents were very light of foot and swift in going whither they wished, and they were called *tlanquacemilhiyme.* There is a mountain called Tzatzitepetl on which Quetzalcoatl used to have a crier, and the people afar off and scattered, and the people of Anáhuac, a hundred leagues distant, heard and understood at once whatever the said Quetzalcoätl commanded. And Quetzalcoatl was very rich; he had all that was needful both to eat and to drink; maize was abundant, and a head of it was as much as a man could carry clasped in his arms; pumpkins measured a fathom round; the stalks of the wild amarinth were so large and thick that people climbed them like trees. Cotton was sowed and gathered in of all colors, red, scarlet, yellow, violet, whitish, green, blue, blackish, grey, orange, and tawny; these colors in the cotton were natural to it, thus it grew. Further it is said that in that city of Tulla, there abounded many sorts of birds of rich and many-colored plumage, the *xiuhtototl*, the *quetzaltototl*, the *zaquan*, the *tlauhquechol*, and other birds that sang with much sweetness. And this Quetzalcoatl had all the riches of the world, of gold and silver, of green stones called chalchiuites, and of other precious things, and a great abundance of cocoa-nut trees of divers colors. The vassals or adherents of Quetzalcoatl were also very rich and wanted for nothing; they were never hungry; they never lacked maize, nor ate the small ears of it, but burned them like wood to heat the baths. It is said lastly that Quetzalcoatl did penance by pricking his legs and drawing blood with the spines of the maguey and by washing at midnight in a fountain called *xicapoya*;[5] this custom the priests and ministers of the Mexican idols adopted.

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[3] *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, p. 82.

[4] Temple; see this vol., p. 192, note 26.

There came at last a time in which the fortunes of Quetzalcoatl and of his people, the Toltecs, began to fail; for there came against them three sorcerers, gods in disguise, to wit Tezcatlipoca, Huitzilopochtli, and Tlacavepan, who wrought many deceits in Tulla. Tezcatlipoca especially prepared a cunning trick; he turned himself into a hoary-headed old man, and went to the house of Quetzalcoatl, saying to the servants there, I wish to see and speak to your master. Then the servants said, Go away, old man, thou canst not see our king, for he is sick, thou wilt annoy him and cause him heaviness. But Tezcatlipoca insisted, I must see him. Then the servants bid the sorcerer to wait, and they went in and told Quetzalcoatl how an old man without affirmed that he would see the king and would not be denied. And Quetzalcoatl answered, Let him come in, behold for many days I have waited for his coming. So Tezcatlipoca entered, and he said to the sick god-king, How art thou? adding further that he had a medicine for him to drink. Then Quetzalcoatl answered, Thou art welcome, old man, behold for many days I have waited for thee. And the old sorcerer spake again, How is thy body, and how art thou in health? I am exceedingly sick, said Quetzalcoatl, all my body is in pain, I cannot move my hands nor my feet. Then, answered Tezcatlipoca, behold this medicine that I have, it is good and wholesome and intoxicating; if thou will drink it, thou shalt be intoxicated and healed and eased at the heart, and thou shalt have in mind the toils and fatigues of death and of thy departure.[6] Where, cried Quetzalcoatl, have I to go? To Tullantlapallan, replied Tezcatlipoca, where there is another old man waiting for thee; he and thou shall talk together, and on thy return thence thou shalt be as a youth, yea, as a boy. And Quetzalcoatl hearing these words his heart was moved, while the old sorcerer, insisting more and more, said, Sir, drink this medicine. But the king did not wish to drink it. The sorcerer, however, insisted, Drink, my lord, or thou wilt be sorry for it hereafter; at least rub a little on thy brow and taste a sip. So Quetzalcoatl tried and tasted it, and drank, saying, What is this? it seems to be a thing very good and savory; already I feel myself healed and quit of mine infirmity; already I am well. Then the old sorcerer said again, Drink once more, my lord, since it is good; so thou shall be the more perfectly healed. And Quetzalcoatl drank again, he made himself drunk, he began to weep sadly, his heart was eased and moved to depart, he could not rid himself of the thought that he must go; for this was the snare and deceit of Tezcatlipoca. And the medicine that Quetzalcoatl drank was the white wine of the country, made from the magueys that are called *teumetl*.

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[5] Or perhaps *xipacoya*, as in Kingsborough's ed. of *Sahagun, Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., p. 108.

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[6] Y acordarseos há de los trabajos y fatigas de la muerte, ó de vuestra ida. *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., p. 109. Y acordarseos ha los trabajos y fatigas de la muerte, ó de vuestra vida. *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. iii., pp. 245–6.

So Quetzalcoatl, whose fortunes we shall hereafter follow more particularly, set out upon his journey; and Tezcatlipoca proceeded further guilefully to kill many Toltecs, and to ally himself by marriage with Vemac, who was the temporal lord of the Toltecs, even as Quetzalcoatl was the spiritual ruler of that people. To accomplish these things Tezcatlipoca took the appearance of a poor foreigner, and presented himself naked, as was the custom of such people, in the market-place of Tulla, selling green chilly pepper. Now the palace of Vemac, the great king, overlooked the market-place, and he had an only daughter, and the girl, looking by chance among the buyers and sellers, saw the disguised god. She was smitten through with love of him, and she began to sicken. Vemac heard of her sickness and he inquired of the women that guarded her as to what ailed his daughter. They told him as best they could, how for the love of a peddler of pepper, named Toveyo, the princess had lain down to die. The king immediately sent a crier upon the mountain Tzatzitepec to make this proclamation: O Toltecs, seek me out Toveyo that goes about selling green pepper, let him be brought before me. So the people sought everywhere for the handsome pepper vender; but he was nowhere to be found. Then, after they could not find him, he appeared of his own accord one day, at his old place and trade in the market. He was brought before the king, who said to him, Where dost thou belong to? and Toveyo answered, I am a foreigner come here to sell my green pepper. Why dost thou delay to cover thyself with breeches and with a blanket? said Vemac. Toveyo answered that in his country such things were not in fashion. Vemac continued, My daughter longs after thee, not willing to be comforted by any Toltec; she is sick of love and thou must heal her. But Toveyo replied, This thing can in no wise be, kill me first; I desire to die, not being worthy to hear these words, who get my living by selling green pepper. I tell thee, said the king, that thou must heal my daughter of this her sickness; fear not. Then they took the cunning god, and washed him, and cut his hair, and dyed all his body, and put breeches on him and a blanket; and the king Vemac said, Get thee in and see my daughter, there where they guard her. Then the young man went in and he remained with the princess and she became sound and well; thus Toveyo become the son-in-law of the king of Tulla.

Then behold all the Toltecs being filled with jealousy and offended, spake injurious and insulting words against king Vemac, saying among themselves, Of all the Toltecs can there not to be found a man, that this Vemac marries his daughter to a peddler? Now when the king heard all the injurious and insulting words that the people spake against him, he was moved, and he spoke to the people saying, Come hither, behold I have heard all these things that ye say against me in the matter of my son-in-law Toveyo; dissimulate then; take him deceitfully with you to the war of Cacatepec and Coatepec, let the enemy kill him there. Having heard these words the Toltecs armed themselves, and collected a multitude, and went to the war, bringing Toveyo along. Arrived where the fighting was to take place, they hid him with the lame and the dwarfs, charging them, as the custom was in such cases, to watch for the enemy, while the soldiers went on to the attack. The battle began; the Toltecs at once gave way; treacherously and guilefully deserting Toveyo and the cripples, leaving them to be slaughtered at their post, they returned to Tulla and told the king how they had left Toveyo and his companions alone in the hands of the enemy. When the king heard the treason he was glad, thinking Toveyo dead, for he was ashamed of having him for a son-in-law. Affairs had gone otherwise, however, with Toveyo from what the plotters supposed. On the approach of the hostile army he consoled his deformed companions, saying, Fear nothing; the enemy come against us, but I know that I shall kill them all. Then he rose up and went forward against them, against the men of Coatepec and Cacatepec; he put them to flight and slew of them without number. When this came to the ears of Vemac, it weighed upon and terrified him exceedingly. He said to his Toltecs, Let us now go and receive my son-in-law. So they all went out with king Vemac to receive Toveyo, bearing the arms or devises called *quetzalapanecayutl*, and the shields called *xiuchimali*. They gave these things to Toveyo, and he and his comrades received them with dancing and the music of flutes, with triumph and rejoicing. Furthermore, on reaching the palace of the king, plumes were put upon the heads of the conquerors, and all the body of each of them was stained yellow, and all the face red; this was the customary reward of those that came back victorious from war. And king Vemac said to his son-in-law, I am now satisfied with what thou hast done and the Toltecs are satisfied; thou hast dealt very well with our enemies, rest and take thine ease. But Toveyo held his peace.

And after this, Toveyo adorned all his body with the rich feathers called *tocivitl*, and commanded the Toltecs to gather together for a festival, and sent a crier up to the top of the mountain, Tzatzitepec, to call in the strangers and the people afar off to dance and to feast. A numberless multitude gathered to Tulla. When they were all gathered Toveyo led them out, young men and girls, to a place called Texcalapa, where he himself began and led the dancing, playing on a drum. He sang too, singing each verse to the dancers, who sang it after him, though they knew not the song before hand. Then was to be seen there a marvelous and terrible thing. From sunset till midnight the beat of the countless feet grew faster and faster; the tap, tap, tap of the drum closed up and poured into a continual roll; the monotonous song rose higher, wilder, till it burst into a roar. The multitude became a mob, the revel a riot; the people began to press upon and hustle each other; the riot became a panic. There was a fearful gorge or ravine there, with a river rushing through it called the Texcaltlauhco; a stone bridge led over the river. Toveyo broke down this bridge as the people fled; grim corypheus of this fearful revel, he saw them tread and crush each other down, under-foot, and over into the abyss. They that fell were turned into rocks and stones; as for them that escaped, they did not see nor think that it was Toveyo and his sorceries had wrought this great destruction; they were blinded by the witchcraft of the god, and out of their senses like drunken men.

Far from being satisfied with the slaughter at Texcalapa, Tezcatlipoca proceeded to hatch further evil against the Toltecs. He took the appearance of a certain valiant man called Teguioa, and commanded a crier to summon all the inhabitants of Tulla and its neighborhood to come and help at a certain piece of work in a certain flower-garden (said to have been a garden belonging to Quetzalcoatl.). All the people gathered to the work, whereupon the disguised god fell upon them, knocking them on the head with a *coa*.[7] Those that escaped the *coa* were trodden down and killed by their fellows in attempting to escape; a countless number was slain; every man that had come to the work was left lying dead among the trodden flowers.

And after this Tezcatlipoca wrought another witchcraft against the Toltecs. He called himself Tlacavepan, or Acexcoch, and came and sat down in the midst of the market-place of Tulla, having a little manikin (said to have been Huitzilopochtli) dancing upon his hand. There was an instant uproar of all the buyers and sellers and a rush to see the miracle. The people crushed and trod each other down, so that many were killed there; and all this happened many times. At last the god-sorcerer cried out, on one such occasion, What is this? do you not see that you are befooled by us? stone and kill us. So the people took up stones and killed the said sorcerer and his little dancing manikin. But when the body of the sorcerer had lain in the market-place for some time it began to stink and to taint the air, and the wind of it poisoned many. Then the dead sorcerer spake again, saying, Cast this body outside the town, for many Toltecs die because of it. So they prepared to cast out the body, and fastened ropes thereto and pulled. But the talkative and ill-smelling corpse was so heavy that they could not move it. Then a crier made a proclamation, saying, Come all ye Toltecs, and bring ropes with you, that we may drag out and get rid of this pestilential carcass. All came accordingly, bringing ropes, and the ropes were fastened to the body, and all pulled. It was utterly in vain. Rope after rope broke with a sudden snap, and those that dragged on a rope fell and were killed when it broke. Then the dead wizard looked up and said, O Toltecs, a verse of a song is needed; and he himself gave them a verse. They repeated the verse after him, and, singing it, pulled all together, so that with shouts they hauled the body out of the city; though still not without many ropes breaking and many persons being killed as before. All this being over, those Toltecs that remained unhurt returned every man to his place, not remembering anything of what had happened, for they were all as drunken.

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[7] Hoe of burnt wood. '*Coa*: palo tostado, empleado por los indios para labrar la tierra, á manera de hazada. (Lengua de Cuba.)' *Voces Americanas Empleadas Por Oviedo*, appended to *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, tom. iv., p. 596.

Other signs and wonders were wrought by Tezcatlipoca in his rôle of sorcerer. A white bird called Yztaccuixtli, was clearly seen flying over Tulla, transfixed with a dart. At night also, the sierra called Zacatepec burned, and the flames were seen from far. All the people were stirred up and affrighted, saying one to another, O Toltecs, it is all over with us now; the time of the end of Tulla is come; alas for us, whither shall we go?

Then Tezcatlipoca wrought another evil upon the Toltecs: he rained down stones upon them. There fell also, at the same time, a great stone from heaven called *techcatl*; and when it fell the god-sorcerer took the appearance of an old woman, and went about selling little banners in a place called Chapultepecuitlapilco, otherwise named Vetzinco. Many then became mad and bought of these banners and went to the place where was the stone Techcatl, and there got themselves killed; and no one was found to say so much as, What is this that happens to us? they were all mad.

Another woe Tezcatlipoca brought upon the Toltecs. All their victuals suddenly became sour, and no one was able to eat of them. The old woman, above mentioned, took up then her abode in a place called Xochitla, and began to roast maize; and the odor of the roasted maize reached all the cities round about. The starving people set out immediately, and with one accord, to go where the old woman was. They reached her instantly, for here it may be again said, that the Toltecs were exceedingly light of foot, and arrived always immediately whithersoever they wished to go. As for the Toltecs that gathered to the sham sorceress, not one of them escaped, she killed them every one.[9]

Turning, without remark for the present, from Tezcatlipoca, of whose life on earth the preceding farrago of legends is all that is known, let us take up the same period in the history of Quetzalcoatl. The city of Cholula was the place in which this god was most honored, and towards which he was supposed to be most favorably inclined; Cholula being greatly given to commerce and

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[8] *Xochitla*, garden; see *Molina Vocabulario*. Perhaps that garden belonging to Quetzalcoatl, which had been already so fatal to the Toltecs. See this volume p. 246.

[9] *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 108–13; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. iii., pp. 243–55. It will be seen that in almost all point of spelling the edition of Kingsborough is followed in preference to the, in such points very inaccurate, edition of Bustamante.

handicraft, and the Cholulans considering Quetzalcoatl to be the god of merchandise. As Acosta tells: "In Cholula, which is a commonwealth of Mexico, they worshipt a famous idoll which was the god of marchandise, being to this day greatly given to trafficke. They called it Quetzaalcoalt. This idoll was in a great place in a temple very hie: it had about it, golde, silver, jewells, very rich feathers, and habites of divers colours. It had the forme of a man, but the visage of a little bird, with a red bill, and above a combe full of wartes, having ranckes of teeth, and the tongue hanging out. It carried vpon the head, a pointed myter of painted paper, a sithe in the hand, and many toyes of golde on the legges; with a thousand other foolish inventions, whereof all had their significations, and they worshipt it, for that hee enriched whome hee pleased, as Memnon and Plutus. In trueth this name which the Choluanos gave to their god, was very fitte, although they vnderstood it not: they called it Quetzaalcoalt, signifying colour of a rich feather, for such is the divell of covetousnesse."[10]

Motolinia gives the following confused account of the birth as a man, the life, and the apotheosis of this god. The Mexican Adam, called Iztacmixcoatl by some writers, married a second time.[11] This second wife, Chimamatl by name, bore him, it is said, an only son who was called Quetzacoatl. This son grew up a chaste and temperate man. He originated by his preaching and practice the custom of fasting and self-punishment; and from that time many in that country began to do this penance. He never married, nor knew any woman, but lived restrainedly and chastely all his days. The custom of sacrificing the ears and the tongue, by drawing blood from these members, was also introduced by him; not for the service of the devil but in penitence for the sins of his speech and his hearing: it is true that afterward the demon misappropriated these rites to his own use and worship. A man called Chichimecatl fastened a leather strap on the arm of Quetzalcoatl, fixing it high up near the shoulder; Chichimecatl was from that time called Aco¹huatl, and from him, it is said, are descended those of Colhua, ancestors of Montezuma and lords of Mexico and Coluacan. This Quetzalcoatl is now held as a deity and called the god of the air; everywhere an infinite number of temples has been raised to him, and everywhere his statue or picture is found.[12]

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[10] *Acosta, Hist. Nat. Ind.*, p. 354.

[11] As to the first wife and her family see this vol. p. 60.

According to the account of Mendieta, tradition varied much as to the facts of the life of Quetzalcoatl. Some said he was the son of Camaxtli, god of hunting and fishing, and of Camaxtli's wife Chimalma. Others make mention only of the name of Chimalma, saying that as she was sweeping one day she found a small green stone called chalchiuite, that she picked it up, became miraculously pregnant, and gave birth to the said Quetzalcoatl. This god was worshiped as a principal deity in Cholula, where, as well as in Tlaxcala and Huejotzingo, there were many of his temples. We have already had one legend from Mendieta,[13] giving an account of the expulsion from Tulla and death of Quetzalcoatl; the following from the same source gives a different and more usual version of the said expulsion:—

Quetzalcoatl came from the parts of Yucatan (although some said from Tulla) to the city of Cholula. He was a white man, of portly person, broad brow, great eyes, long black hair, and large round beard; of exceedingly chaste and quiet life, and of great moderation in all things. The people had at least three reasons for the great love, reverence, and devotion with which they regarded him: first, he taught the silversmith's art, a craft the Cholulans greatly prided themselves on; second, he desired no sacrifice of the blood of men or animals, but delighted only in offerings of bread, roses and other flowers, of perfumes and sweet odors; third, he prohibited and forbade all war and violence. Nor were these qualities esteemed only in the city of his chiefest labors and teachings; from all the land came pilgrims and devotees to the shrine of the gentle god. Even the enemies of Cholula came and went secure, in fulfilling their vows; and the lords of distant lands had in Cholula their chapels and idols to the common object of devotion and esteem. And only Quetzalcoatl among all the gods was preëminently called Lord; in such sort, that when any one swore, saying, By Our Lord, he meant Quetzalcoatl and no other; though there were many other highly esteemed gods. For indeed the service of this god was gentle, neither did he demand hard things, but light; and he taught only virtue, abhorring all evil and hurt. Twenty years this good deity remained in Cholula, then he passed away by the road he had come, carrying with him four of the principal and most virtuous youths of that city. He journeyed for a hundred and fifty leagues, till he came to the sea, in a distant province called Goatzacoalco. Here he took leave of his companions and sent them back to their city, instructing them to tell their fellow citizens that a day should come in which white men would land upon their coasts, by way of the sea in which the sun rises; brethren of his and having beards like his; and that they should rule that land. The Mexicans always waited for the accomplishment of this prophecy, and when the Spaniards came they took them for the descendants of their meek and gentle prophet, although, as Mendieta remarks with some sarcasm, when they came to know them and to experience their works, they thought otherwise.

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[12] *Motolinia, Hist. Indios*, in *Icazbalceta, Col.*, tom. i., pp. 10–11.
[13] See this vol., p. 240.

Quetzalcoatl is further reported by Mendieta to have assisted in drawing up and arranging the Mexican Calendar, a sacred book of thirteen tables, in which the religious rites and ceremonies proper to each day were set forth, in connection with the appropriate signs. It is said that the gods having created mankind, bethought themselves that it would be well if the people they had made had some writings by which they might direct themselves. Now there were, in a certain cave at Cuernavaca, two personages of the number of the gods, and they were man and wife, he Oxomoco and she Cipactonal; and they were consulting together. It appeared good to the old woman that her descendant Quetzalcoatl should be consulted. The Cholulan god thought the thing of the calendar to be good and reasonable; so the the three set to work. To the old woman was respectfully allotted the privilege of choosing and writing the first sign; she painted a kind of water-serpent called *cipactli*, and called the sign *Ce Cipactli*, that is "a serpent." Oxomoco, in his turn wrote "two canes," and then Quetzalcoatl wrote "three houses;" and so they went on till the whole thirteen signs of each table were written out in their order.[14]

Let us now take up again the narrative of Sahagun, at the point where Quetzalcoatl, after drinking the potion prepared by Tezcatlipoca, prepares to set off upon his journey. Quetzalcoatl, very heavy in heart for all the misfortunes that this rival god was bringing upon the Toltecs, burned his beautiful houses of silver and of shell, and ordered other precious things to be buried in the mountains and ravines. He turned the cocoa-nut trees into a kind of trees that are called *mizquitl*; he commanded all the birds of rich plumage, the quetzaltototl, and the xiuhtotl, and the tlauquechol, to fly away and go into Anáhuac, a hundred leagues distant. Then he himself set out upon his road from Tulla; he traveled on till he came to a place called Quauhtitlan, where was a great tree, high and very thick. Here the exile rested, and he asked his servants for a mirror, and looked at his own face. What thoughts soever were working in his heart, he only said, I am already old. Then he named that place Vevequauhtitlan, and he took up stones and stoned the great tree; and all the stones he threw sank into it, and were for a long time to be seen sticking there, from the ground even up to the topmost branches. Continuing his journey, having flute-players playing before him, he came to a place on the road where he was weary and sat down on a stone to rest. And looking toward Tulla, he wept bitterly. His tears marked and ate into the stone on which he sat, and the print of his hands, and of his back parts, was also found therein when he resumed his journey. He called that place Temacpalco. After that he reached a very great and wide river, and he commanded a stone bridge to be thrown across it; on that bridge he crossed the river, and he named the place Tepanoaya. Going on upon his way, Quetzalcoatl came to another place, where certain sorcerers met and tried to stop him, saying, Whither goest thou? why dost thou leave thy city? to whose care wilt thou commend it? who will do penance? Quetzalcoatl replied to the said sorcerers, Ye can in no wise hinder my going, for I must go. They asked him further, Whither goest thou? He said, To Tlapalla. They continued, But to what end goest thou? He said, I am called and the sun calls me. So the sorcerers said, Go then, but leave behind all the mechanical arts, the melting of silver, the working of precious stones and of masonry, the painting, feather-working, and other crafts. And of all these the sorcerers despoiled Quetzalcoatl. As for him, he cast into a fountain all the rich jewels that he had with him; and that fountain was called Cohcaapa, and it is so named to this day.

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[14] *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, pp. 82, 86, 92-3, 97-8.

Quetzalcoatl continued his journey; and there came another sorcerer to meet him, saying, Whither goest thou? Quetzalcoatl said, To Tlapalla. The wizard said, Very well; but drink this wine that I have. The traveler answered, No: I cannot drink it; I cannot so much as taste it. Thou must drink, said the grim magician, were it but a drop; for to none of the living can I give it; it intoxicates all, so drink. Then Quetzalcoatl took the wine and drank it through a cane. Drinking, he made himself drunk; he slept upon the road; he began to snore; and when he awoke, he looked on one side and on the other, and tore his hair with his hands. And that place was called Cochtoca.

Quetzalcoatl going on upon his way and passing between the sierra of the volcano and the snowy sierra, all his servants, being hump-backed and dwarfs, died of cold in the pass between the said mountains. And Quetzalcoatl bewailed their death bitterly and sang with weeping and sighing. Then he saw the other snowy sierra, which is called Poyauhtecatl and is near Tecamachalco; and so he passed by all the cities and places, leaving many signs, it is said, in all the mountains and roads. It is said further that he had a way of crossing the sierras whereby he amused and rested himself at the same time: when he came to the top of a mountain he used to sit down, and so seated, let himself slide down the mountain-side to the bottom. In one place he built a court for ball-play, all of squared stone, and here he used to play the game called *tlachtli*.[16] Through the midst of this court he drew a line called the *telcotl*; and where that line was made the mountain is now opened with a deep gash. In another place he cast a dart at a great tree called a *pochutl*, piercing it through with the dart in such wise that the tree looked like a cross; for the dart he threw was itself a tree of the same kind.[17] Some say that Quetzalcoatl built certain subterranean houses, called *mictlancalco*; and further, that he set up and balanced a great stone, so that one could move it with one's little finger, yet a multitude could not displace it. Many other notable things remain that Quetzalcoatl did among many peoples; he it was that named all the places and woods and mountains. Traveling ever onward, he came at last to the sea-shore, and there commanded a raft to be made of the snakes called *coatlapechtli*. Having seated himself on this raft as in a canoe, he put out to sea, and no man knows how he got to Tlapallan.[18]

Torquemada gives a long and valuable account of Quetzalcoatl, gathered from many sources, which cannot be overlooked. It runs much as follows:—The name

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[15] See this vol. p. 243.

[16] *Tlachtli*, juego de pelota con las nalgas; el lugar donde juegan assi. *Molina*, *Vocabulario*.

[17] This last clause is to be found only in Bustamante's ed.; see *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. iii., p. 258.

[18] *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 114–5; *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. iii., pp. 255–9.

Quetzalcoatl means Snake-plumage, or Snake that has plumage,—and the kind of snake referred to in this name, is found in the province of Xicalanco, which is on the frontier of the kingdom of Yucatan as one goes thence to Tabasco. This god Quetzalcoatl was very celebrated among the people of the city of Cholula, and held in that place for the greatest of all. He was, according to credible histories, high priest in the city of Tulla. From that place he went to Cholula, and not, as Bishop Bartolomé de las Casas says in his *Apologia*, to Yucatan; though he went to Yucatan afterwards, as we shall see. It is said of Quetzalcoatl that he was a white man, large bodied, broad-browed, great-eyed, with long black hair, and a beard heavy and rounded.[19] He was a great artificer, and very ingenious. He taught many mechanical arts, especially the art of working the precious stones called chalchiuites, which are a kind of green stone highly valued, and the art of casting silver and gold. The people, seeing him so inventive, held him in great estimation, and reverenced him as king in that city; and so it came about that, though in temporal things the ruler of Tulla was a lord named Huemac,[20] yet in all spiritual and ecclesiastical matters Quetzalcoatl was supreme, and as it were chief pontiff.

It is feigned by those that seek to make much of their god that he had certain palaces made of green stone like emeralds, others made of silver, others of shells, red and white, others of all kinds of wood, others of turquoise, and others of precious feathers. He is said to have been very rich, and in need of nothing. His vassals were very obedient to him, and very light of foot; they were called tlanquacemilhuique. When they wished to publish any command of Quetzalcoatl, they sent a crier up upon a high mountain called Tzatzitepec, where with a loud voice he proclaimed the order; and the voice of this crier was heard for a hundred leagues distance, and farther, even to the coasts of the sea: all this is affirmed for true. The fruits of the earth and the trees flourished there in an extraordinary degree, and sweet singing birds were abundant. The great pontiff inaugurated a system of penance, pricking his legs, and drawing blood and staining therewith maguey thorns. He washed also at midnight in a fountain called Xiuhpacoya. From all this, it is said, the idolatrous priests of Mexico adopted their similar custom.

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[19] 'Era Hombre blanco, crecido de cuerpo, ancha la frente, los ojos grandes, los cabellos largos, y negros, la barba grande y redonda.' *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., p, 47.

[20] Spelled Vemac by Sahagun; see preceding pages of this chapter.

While Quetzalcoatl was enjoying this good fortune with pomp and majesty, we are told that a great magician called Titlacahua [Tezcatlipoca], another of the gods, arrived at Tulla. He took the form of an old man, and went in to see Quetzalcoatl, saying to him, My lord, inasmuch as I know thine intent and how much thou desirest to set out for certain distant lands, also, because I know from thy servants that thou art unwell, I have brought thee a certain beverage, by drinking which thou shalt attain thine end. Thou shalt so make thy way to the country thou desirest, having perfect health to make the journey; neither shalt thou remember at all the fatigues and toils of life, nor how thou art mortal.[21] Seeing all his projects thus discovered by the pretended old man, Quetzalcoatl questioned him, Where have I to go. Tezcatlipoca answered, That it was already determined with the supreme gods, that he had to go to Tlapalla, and that the thing was inevitable, because there was another old man waiting for him at his destination. As Quetzalcoatl heard this, he said that it was true, and that he desired it much; and he took the vessel and drank the liquor it contained. Quetzalcoatl was thus easily persuaded to what Tezcatlipoca desired, because he wished to make himself immortal and to enjoy perpetual life. Having swallowed the draught he became beside himself, and out of his mind, weeping sadly and bitterly. He determined to go to Tlapalla. He destroyed or buried all his plate and other property and set out. First he arrived at the place, Quauhtitlan, where the great tree was and where he, borrowing a mirror from his servants, found himself "already old." The name of this place was changed by him to Huehuequauhtitlan, that is to say, "near the old tree, or the tree of the old man;" and the trunk of the tree was filled with stones that he cast at it. After that he journeyed on, his people playing flutes and other instruments, till he came to a mountain near the city of Tlalnepantla, two leagues from the city of Mexico, where he sat down on a stone and put his hands on it, leaving marks embedded therein that may be seen to this day. The truth of this thing is strongly corroborated by the inhabitants of that district; I myself have questioned them upon the subject, and it has been certified to me. Furthermore we have it written down accurately by many worthy authors; and the name of the locality is now Temacpalco, that is to say "in the palm of the hand."

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[21] This agrees ill with what is related at this point by Sahagun; see this vol. p. 242.

Journeying on to the coast and to the kingdom of Tlapalla, Quetzalcoatl was met by the three sorcerers, Tezcatlipoca and other two with him, who had already brought so much destruction upon Tulla. These tried to stop or hinder him in his journey, questioning him, Whither goest thou? He answered, To Tlapalla. To whom, they inquired, hast thou given the charge of thy kingdom of Tulla, and who will do penance there? But he said that that was no longer any affair of his and that he must pursue his road. And being further questioned as to the object of his journey, he said that he was called by the lord of the land to which he was going, who was the sun.[22] The three wizards seeing then the determination of Quetzalcoatl, made no further attempt to dissuade him from his purpose, but contented themselves with taking from him all his instruments and his mechanical arts, so that though he departed those things should not be wanting to the state. It was here that Quetzalcoatl threw into a fountain all the rich jewels that he carried with him; for which thing the fountain was called from that time Cozcaapan, that is to say, "The water of the strings or chains of jewels." The same place is now called Coaapan, that is to say, "In the snake-water," and very properly, because the word Quetzalcoatl means "feathered snake." In this way he journeyed on, suffering various molestations from those sorcerers, his enemies, till he arrived at Cholula where he was received (as we in another part say),[23] and afterward adored as god. Having lived twenty years in that city he was expelled by Tezcatlipoca. He set out for the kingdom of Tlapalla, accompanied by four virtuous youths of noble birth, and in

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[22] At this part of the story Torquemada takes opportunity, parenthetically, to remark that this fable was very generally current among the Mexicans, and that when Father Bernardino de Sahagun was in the city of Xuchimilco, they asked him where Tlapalla was. Sahagun replied that he did not know, as indeed he did not (nor any one else - it being apparently wholly mythical), nor even understand their question, inasmuch as he had been at that time only a little while in the country—it being fifty years before he wrote his book [the *Historia General*]. Sahagun adds that the Mexicans made at that time divers trials of this kind, questioning the Christians to see if they knew anything of their antiquities. *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., p. 50.

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[23] The passage of Torquemada referred to I condense as follows:—Certain people came from the north by way of Panuco. These were men of good carriage, well-dressed in long robes of black linen, open in front, and without capes, cut low at the neck, with short sleeves that did not come to the elbow; the same, in fact, as the natives use to this day in their dances. From Panuco they passed on very peaceably by degrees to Tulla, where they were well received by the inhabitants. The country there, however, was already too thickly populated to sustain the new-comers, so these passed on to Cholula where they had an excellent reception. They brought with them as their chief and head, a personage called Quetzalcoatl, a fair and ruddy complexioned man, with a long beard. In Cholula these people remained and multiplied, and sent colonies to people Upper and Lower Misteca and the Zapotecan country; and these it is said raised the grand edifices, whose remains are still to be seen at Mictlan. These followers of Quetzalcoatl were men of great knowledge and cunning artists in all kinds of fine work; not so good at masonry and the use of the hammer, as in casting and in the engraving and setting of precious stones, and in all kinds of artistic sculpture, and in agriculture. Quetzalcoatl had, however, two enemies; Tezcatlipoca was one, and Huemac king of Tulla the other; these two had been most instrumental in causing him to leave Tulla. And at Cholula, Huemac followed him up with a great army; and Quetzalcotal, not wishing to engage in any war, departed for another part with most part of his people —going, it is said, to a land called Onohualco, which is near the sea, and embraced what are now called Yucatan, Tabasco, and Campeche. Then when Huemac came to the place where he had thought to find Quetzalcoatl, and found him not, he was wrath and laid waste and destroyed all the country, and made himself lord over it and caused also that the people worshipped him as a god. All this he did to obscure and blot out the memory of Quetzalcoatl and for the hate that he bore him. *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. i., pp. 254–6.

Goatzacoalco, a province distant from Cholula toward the sea a hundred and fifty leagues, he embarked for his destination. Parting with his disciples, he told them that there should surely come to them in after times, by way of the sea where the sun rises, certain white men with white beards, like him, and that these would be his brothers and would rule that land.

After that the four disciples returned to Cholula, and told all that their master and god had prophesied when departing. Then the Cholulans divided their province into four principalities and gave the government to those four, and some four of their descendants always ruled in like manner over these tetrarchies till the Spaniard came; being, however, subordinate to a central power.

This Quetzalcoatl was god of the air, and as such had his temple, of a round shape and very magnificent. He was made god of the air for the mildness and gentleness of all his ways, not liking the sharp and harsh measures to which the other gods were so strongly inclined. It is to be said further that his life on earth was marked by intensely religious characteristics; not only was he devoted to the careful observance of all the old customary forms of worship, but he himself ordained and appointed many new rites, ceremonies, and festivals for the adoration of the gods; and it is held for certain that he made the calendar. He had priests who were called quequetzalcohua, that is to say "priests of the order of Quetzalcoatl." The memory of him was engraved deeply upon the minds of the people, and it is said that when barren women prayed and made sacrifices to him, children were given them. He was, as we have said, god of the winds, and the power of causing them to blow was attributed to him as well as the power of calming or causing their fury to cease. It was said further that he swept the road, so that the gods called Tlaloques could rain: this the people imagined because ordinarily a month or more before the rains began there blew strong winds throughout all New Spain. Quetzalcoatl is described as having worn during life, for the sake of modesty, garments that reached down to the feet, with a blanket over all, sown with red crosses. The Cholulans preserved certain green stones that had belonged to him, regarding them with great veneration and esteeming them as relics. Upon one of these was carved a monkey's head, very natural. In the city of Cholula there was to be found dedicated to him a great and magnificent temple, with many steps, but each step so narrow that there was not room for a foot on it. His image had a very ugly face, with a large and heavily bearded head. It was not set on its feet but lying down, and covered with blankets. This, it is said, was done as a memorial that he would one day return to reign. For reverence of his great majesty, his image was kept covered, and to signify his absence it was kept lying down, as one that sleeps, as one that lies down to sleep. In awaking from that sleep, he was to rise up and reign. The people also of Yucatan reverenced this god Quetzalcoatl, calling him Kukulcan, and saying that he came to them from the west, that is from New Spain, for Yucatan is eastward therefrom. From him it is said the kings of Yucatan are descended, who call themselves Cocomes, that is to say "judges or hearers."[24]

Clavigero's account is characteristically clear and comprehensible. It may be summed up as follows:—

Among the Mexicans and other nations of Anáhuac, Quetzalcoatl was accounted god of the air. He is said to have been sometime high-priest of Tulla. He is described as having been white,—a large, broad-browed, great-eyed man, with long black hair and thick beard. His life was rigidly temperate and exemplary, and his industry was directed by the profoundest wisdom. He amassed great treasure, and his was the invention of gem-cutting and of metal-casting. All things prospered in his time. One ear of corn was a man's load; and the gourds, or pumpkins, of the day were as tall as one's body. No one dyed cotton then, for it grew of all colors; and all other things in like manner were perfect and abundant. The very birds in the trees sang such songs as have never since been heard, and flashed such marvelous beauties in the sun as no plumage of later times could rival. Quetzalcoatl had his laws proclaimed from the top of the hill Tzatzitepec, (mountain of outcry), near Tulla, by a crier whose voice was audible for three hundred miles.

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[24] *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 48-52.

All this, however, was put an end to, as far as Tulla was concerned, by Tezcatlipoca, who, moved perhaps by jealousy, determined to remove Quetzalcoatl. So the god appeared to the great teacher in the guise of an old man, telling him it was the will of the gods that he betake himself to Tlapalla, and administering at the same time a potion, the effect of which was to cause an intense longing for the said journey. Quetzalcoatl set out and, having performed many marvels on the way, arrived in Cholula. Here the inhabitants would not suffer him to go farther, but persuaded him to accept the government of their city; and he remained with them, teaching many useful arts, customs, and ceremonies and preaching against war and all other forms of cruelty. According to some, he at this time arranged the divisions of the seasons and the calendar.

Having lived twenty years in Cholula, he left, still impelled by the subtle draught, to seek this imaginary city of Tlapalla. He was no more seen of men, some said one thing and some another; but, however he might have disappeared, he was apotheosized by the Toltecs of Cholula, who raised him a great mound and built a sanctuary upon it. A similar structure was erected to his honor at Tulla. From Cholula his worship as god of the air spread over all the country; in Yucatan the nobles claimed descent from him.[25]

The ideas of Brasseur with regard to Quetzalcoatl have their roots in and must be traced back to the very first appearing of the Mexican religion, or of the religion or religions by which it was preceded; so that to arrive at those ideas I must give a summary of the abbé's whole theory of the origin of that creed. He believes that in the seething and thundering of volcanoes a conception of divinity and of supernatural powers first sprang up in the mind of the ancestors of the Mexicans. The volcanoes were afterwards identified with the stars, and the most terrific of all, Nanahuatl or Nanahuatzin,[26] received the honors of apotheosis in the sun. Issued from the earth of the Crescent (Brasseur's sunken island or continent in the Atlantic),[27] personified in the antique Quetzalcoatl, prototype of priests and of sacerdotal continence, he is thus his son and identifies himself with him; he (the divinity, Tylor's "Great Somebody") is the model of sages under the name of Hueman and the prototype of kings under that of Topiltzin. Strange thing to find united in one being, personalities so diverse! King, philosopher, priest par excellence, whose virtues serve as a rule to all the priests of the pagan antiquity, and, side by side with all that, incontinence and passion deified in this invalid, whose name even, "the syphilitic," is the expression of the abuse he has made of the sex.

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[25] *Clavigero, Hist. Ant. del Messico*, pp. 11-13.

At the commencement of the religion two sects appear to have sprung up, or rather two manners of judging the same events. There was first a struggle, and then a separation; under the banner-names of Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca the rival schools fought for the most part—of course there were divers minor factions; but the foregoing were the principal and most important. There is every reason to believe that the religion that took Quetzalcoatl for symbol was but a reformation upon another more ancient, that had the moon for its object. It is the moon, male and female, *Luna Lunus*, personified in the earth of the Crescent, engulfed in the abyss, that I believe (it is always the abbé that speaks) I see at the commencement of the amalgam of rites and symbols of every kind, religion of enjoyments and material pleasures, born of the promiscuity of the men and women, taken refuge in the lesser Antilles after the cataclysm.

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[26] See p. 60 of this volume.
[27] See p. 112 of this volume.

The religion that had taken the moon for point of departure, and in which women seem to have played the principal rôle, as priestesses, attacked formally, by this very fact, a more antique religion, a pre-diluvian religion that appears to have been Sabaism, entirely exempt from idolatry, and in which the sun received the chief homage. In the new religion, on the contrary, it was not the moon as a star, which was the real object of worship, it was the moon-land (lune-terre), it was the region of the Crescent, shrouded under the waves, whose death was wept and whose resurrection was afterward celebrated in the appearance of the isles—refuge of the shipwrecked of the grand catastrophe—of the Lesser Antilles; to the number of seven principal islands, sung, in all American legends, as the Seven Grottoes, cradle of nations.

This is the myth of Quetzalcoatl, who dies or disappears, and whose personality is represented at the outset in the isles, then successively, in all the countries whither the civilization was carried of which he was the flag. So far as I can judge at present, the priest who placed himself under the ægis of this grand name, labored solely to reform what there was of odious and barbarous in the cult of which the women had the chief direction, and under whose regime human blood flowed in waves. After the triumph of Quetzalcoatl, the men who bore his name took the direction of religion and society, which then made considerable progress in their hands.

But if we are to believe the same traditions, their preponderance had not a very long duration. The most restless and the most audacious among the partisans of the ancient order of things, raised the flag of revolt: they became the chiefs of a warlike faction, rival of the sacerdotal,—a conquering faction, source of veritable royal dynasties and of the religion of the sun living and victorious, in opposition to the god entombed in the abyss. Quetzalcoatl, vanquished by Tezcatlipoca, then retired before a too-powerful enemy, and the Toltecs were dispersed among all nations. Those of them that remained coalesced with the victors, and from the accord of the aforementioned three cults, there sprang that monstrous amalgam of so many different ideas and symbols, such as is found to-day in what remains to us of the Mexican religion.

For me (and it is always the abbé that speaks), I believe I perceive the origin of the struggle, not alone in the diversity of races, but principally in the existence of two currents of contrary ideas, having had the same point of departure in the events of the great cataclysm of the Crescent Land, above referred to. Different manners of looking at these events and of commemorating them, seem to me to have marked from the beginning the starting point of two religions that lived, perhaps, side by side for centuries without the explosion of their disagreements, otherwise than by insignificant agitations. Before these two could take, with regard to each other, the proportions of a schism or a heresy, it was necessary that all the materials of which these religions are constituted had had time to elaborate themselves, and that the hieroglyphics which represented their origin had become sufficiently obscure for the priesthood to keep the vulgar from understanding them. For, if schism has brought on the struggle between and afterward the violent separation of families, this separation can not have taken place till after the entire creation of myths, the entire construction of these divine genealogies, of these poetic traditions, that are found scattered among all the peoples of the earth, but of which the complete whole does not exist, save in the history and religion of Mexico.[28]

Two orders of gods,—the one order fallen from heaven into the abyss, becoming there the judges of the dead, and being personified in one of their number, who came to life again, symbolizing thus life and death,—the other order surviving the cataclysm and symbolizing thus an imperishable life,—such, at its origin, is the double character of the myth of Quetzalcoatl. But, in reality, this god he is the earth, he is the region swallowed up by the waters, he is the vanquished stifled under the weight of his adversary, under the force of the victorious wave; which adversary, which power in opposition to the first, joining itself to the fire on the blazing pile of Nanahuatl, is Tezcatlipoca, is Hercules, conqueror of enemies, is the god whose struggle is eternal as that of the ocean beating the shore, is he in whom the light becomes afterward personified, and who becomes thus the battle-flag of the opponents of Quetzalcoatl. To the dead god a victim is necessary, one that like him descends into the abyss. This victim was a young girl, chosen among those that were consecrated at the foot of the pyramid, and drowned; a custom long found as well in Egypt as at Chichen-Itza,[29] and in many other countries of the world. But to the god come to life again, to the god in whom fire was personified, and immortal life, to Quetzalcoatl when he became Huitzilopochtli, victims were sacrificed, by tearing out the heart—symbol of the jet of flame issuing from the volcano—to offer it to the conquering sun, symbol of Tezcatlipoca, who first demanded holocausts of human blood.[30]

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[28] This, in its astounding immensity, is the abbé's theory: his suppositional Crescent Land was the cradle of all human races and human creeds. On its submergence the aforesaid races and creeds spread and developed through all the world to their respective present localities and phases. The Mexican branch of this development he considers the likest to and the most closely connected with the original.

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[29] In Yucatan.

[30] *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, *Quatres Lettres*, pp. 154–7. Much of this last paragraph seems utterly incomprehensible and absurd, even viewed from the stand-point of the Abbé Brasseur himself. By no means certain, at all points, of having caught the exact meaning by its author, I give the original:—Deux ordres de dieux, dont les uns, tombés du ciel dans l'abîme où ils deviennent les juges des morts, se personnifient en un seul qui ressuscite, symbole de la vie et de la mort; dont les autres survivent à la destruction, symbole de la vie impérissable; tel est le double caractère du mythe de Quetzal-Coatl, à son origine. Mais en réalité, ce dieu, c'est la terre, c'est la région ensevelie sous les eaux, c'est le vaincu étouffé sous le poids de son adversaire, sous l'effort de la vague victorieuse et celle-ci s'unissant au feu sur le bûcher de Nanahuatl, c'est Tezcatlipoca, c'est Hercule, vainqueur de ses ennemis, c'est le dieu dont la lutte est éternelle, comme celle de l'Océan battant le rivage, c'est celui en qui se personnifie ensuite la lumière et qui devient ainsi le drapeau des adversaires de Quetzal-Coatl. Au dieu mort, il fallait une victime, com-

Mr Tylor declares Quetzalcoatl to have been the Sun: "We may even find him identified with the Sun by name, and his history is perhaps a more compact and perfect series of solar myths than hangs to the name of any single personage in our own Aryan mythology. His mother, the Dawn or the Night, gives birth to him, and dies. His father Camaxtli is the sun, and was worshiped with solar rites in Mexico, but he is the old Sun of yesterday. The clouds, personified in the mythic race of the Mixcohuas, or "Cloud-Snakes" (the Nibelungs of the western hemisphere), bear down the old Sun and choke him, and bury him in their mountain. But the young Quetzalcoatl, the Sun of to-day, rushes up into the midst of them from below, and some he slays at the first onset, and some he leaves, rift with red wounds to die. We have the Sun boat of Helios, of the Egyptian Ra, of the Polynesian Maui. Quetzolcoatl, his bright career drawing toward its close, is chased into far lands by his kindsman Tezcatlipoca, the young Sun of to-morrow. He, too, is well known as a Sun God in the Mexican theology. Wonderfully fitting with all this, one incident after another in the life of Quetzalcoatl falls into its place. The guardians of the sacred fire tend him, his funeral pile is on the top of Orizaba, he is the helper of travelers, the maker of the calendar, the source of astrology, the beginner of history, the bringer of wealth and happiness. He is the patron of the craftsmen, whom he lights to his labor; as it is written in an ancient Sanskrit hymn, 'He steps forth, the splendor of the sky, the wide-seeing, the far-aiming, the shining wanderer; surely enlivened by the sun, do men go to their tasks and do their work.' Even his

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me lui, descendue dans l'abîme: ce fut une jeune fille, choisie parmi celles qui lui étaient consacrées au pied de la pyramide, et qu'on noyait en la plongeant sous l'eau, coutume qu'on retrouva longtemps en Egypte, comme à Chichen-Itza, ainsi que dans bien d'autres pays du monde. Mais au dieu ressuscitè, au dieu en qui se personnifiait le feu, la vie immortelle, à *Quetzal-Coatl*, devenu *Huitzil-Opochtli*, on sacrifia des victimes sans nombre, à qui l'on arrachait le cœur, symbole du jet de flamme sortant du volcan, pour l'offrir au soleil vainqueur, symbole de Tezcatlipoca qui, le premier, avait demandé des holocaustes de sang humain. *Id.*, pp. 342–3.

people, the Toltecs, catch from him solar qualities. Will it be even possible to grant to this famous race, in whose story the legend of Quetzalcoatl is the leading incident, anything more than a mythic existence?"[31]

Dr Brinton is of opinion that "that there were in truth many Quetzalcoatls, for his high priest always bore his name, but he himself is a pure creation of the fancy, and all his alleged history is nothing but a myth. His emblematic name, the Bird-Serpent, and his rebus and cross at Palenque, I have already explained. Others of his titles were, Ehecatl, the air; Yolcuat, the rattlesnake; Tohil, the rumbler; Huemac, the strong hand; Nanihehecatl, lord of the four winds. The same dualism reappears in him that has been noted in his analogues elsewhere. He is both lord of the eastern light and the wind.

As the former, he was born of a virgin in the land of Tula or Tlapallan, in the distant Orient, and was high priest of that happy realm. The morning star was his symbol, and the temple of Cholula was dedicated to him expressly as the author of light. As by days we measure time, he was the alleged inventor of the calendar. Like all the dawn heroes, he too was represented as of white complexion, clothed in long white robes, and, as most of the Aztec gods, with a full and flowing beard. When his earthly work was done he too returned to the east, assigning as a reason that the sun, the ruler of Tlapallan, demanded his presence. But the real motive was that he had been overcome by Tezcatlipoca, otherwise called Yoalliehecatl, the wind or spirit of night, who had descended from heaven by a spider's web and presented his rival with a draught pretended to confer immortality, but, in fact, producing uncontrollable longing for home. For the wind and the light both depart when the gloaming draws near, or when the clouds spread their dark and shadowy webs along the mountains, and pour the vivifying rain upon the fields.

In his other character, he was begot of the breath of

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[31] *Tylor's Researches*, pp. 155-6.

Tonacateotl, god of our flesh or subsistence, or (according to Gomara) was the son of Iztac Mixcoatl, the white cloud serpent, the spirit of the tornado. Messenger of Tlaloc, god of rain, he was figuratively said to sweep the road for him, since in that country violent winds are the precursors of the wet seasons. Wherever he went all manner of singing birds bore him company, emblems of the whistling breezes. When he finally disappeared in the far east, he sent back four trusty youths who had ever shared his fortunes, 'incomparably swift and light of foot,' with directions to divide the earth between them and rule it till he should return and resume his power. When he would promulgate his decrees, his herald proclaimed them from Tzatzitepec, the hill of shouting, with such a mighty voice that it could be heard a hundred leagues around. The arrows which he shot transfixed great trees, the stones he threw leveled forests, and when he laid his hands on the rocks the mark was indelible. Yet as thus emblematic of the thunderstorm, he possessed in full measure its better attributes. By shaking his sandals he gave fire to men; and peace, plenty, and riches blessed his subjects. Tradition says he built many temples to Mictlantecutli, the Aztec Pluto, and at the creation of the sun that he slew all the other gods, for the advancing dawn disperses the spectral shapes of night, and yet all its vivifying power does but result in increasing the number doomed to fall before the remorseless stroke of death.

His symbols were the bird, the serpent, the cross and the flint, representing the clouds, the lightning, the four winds, and the thunderbolt. Perhaps, as Huemac, the Strong Hand, he was god of the earthquakes. The Zapotecs worshiped such a deity under the image of this number carved from a precious stone, calling to mind the 'Kab ul,' the Working Hand, adored by the Mayas, and said to be one of the images of Zamna their hero god. The human hand, 'that divine tool,' as it has been called, might well be regarded by the reflective mind as the teacher of the arts and the amulet whose magic power has won for man what vantage he has gained in his long combat with nature and his fellows."[32]

Mr Helps sees in Quetzalcoatl the closest analogies with certain other great civilizers and teachers that made their appearance in various parts of the American continent:—"One peculiar circumstance, as Humboldt remarks, is very much to be noted in the ancient records and traditions of the Indian nations. In no less than three remarkable instances has superior civilization been attributed to the sudden presence among them of persons differing from themselves in appearance and descent.

Bohica, a white man with a beard, appeared to the Mozca Indians in the plains of Bogota, taught them how to build and to sow, formed them into communities, gave an outlet to the waters of the great lake, and, having settled the government civil and ecclesiastical, retired into a monastic state of pentitence for two thousand years.

In like manner Manco Capac, accompanied by his sister, Mama Oello, descended amongst the Peruvians, gave them a code of admirable laws, reduced them into communities, and then ascended to his father, the Sun.

Amongst the Mexicans there suddenly appeared Quetzalcoatl (green-feathered snake), a white and bearded man, of broad brow, dressed in a strange dress; a legislator, who recommended severe penances, lacerating his own body with the prickles of the agave and the thorns of the cactus, but who dissuaded his followers from human sacrifice. While he remained in Anáhuac, it was a Saturnian reign; but this great legislator, after moving on to the plains of Cholula, and governing the Cholulans with wisdom, passed away to a distant country, and was never heard of more. It is said briefly of him that 'he ordained sacrifices of flowers and fruits, and stopped his ears when he was spoken to of war.'"[33]

The Abbé Domenech considers the tradition of the lives of Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca to be a bit of simple and slightly veiled history, and also that there were several Quetzalcoatls. Let it be remembered in reading the abbé's version of this matter that the names of places, peoples, and the dates he gives are in great part mythical and conjectural:—"After the enfranchisement of the Olmecs, a man named Quetzalcoatl arrived in the country, whom Garcia, Torquemada, Sahagun, and other Spanish writers took to be Saint Thomas. It was also at that time that the third age ended, and that the fourth began, called Sun of the fire, because it was supposed that it was in this last stage that the world would be destroyed by fire.

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[32] *Brinton's Myths*, pp. 180-3.

[33] *Helps' Span. Conq.*, vol. i., pp. 286-7.

It is in this fourth period that the Mexican historian places the Toltecs' arrival in New Spain, that is to say, about the third century before the Christian era. According to the Quichés' traditions, the primitive portion of the Nahoas, or ancestors of the Toltecs, were in a distant East, beyond immense seas and lands. Amongst the families and tribes that bore with least patience this long repose and immobility, those of Canub, and of Tlocab may be cited, for they were the first who determined to leave their country. The Nahoas sailed in seven barks or ships, which Sahagun calls Chicomoztoc, or the seven grottos. It is a fact worthy of note, that in all ages the number seven was a sacred number among the American people, from one pole to the other. It was at Pánuco, near Tampico, that those strangers disembarked; they established themselves at Paxil, with the Votanites' consent, and their state took the name of Huehue-Tlopallan. It is not stated from whence they came, but merely that they came out of the regions where the sun rises. The supreme command was in the hand of a chieftain, whom history calls Quetzalcohuatl, that is to say, Lord par excellence. To his care was confided the holy envelope, which concealed the divinity from the human gaze, and he alone received from it the necessary instructions to guide his people's march. These kinds of divinities, thus enveloped, passed for being sure talismans, and were looked upon with the greatest respect and veneration. They consisted generally of a bit of wood, in which was inserted a little idol of green stone; this was covered with the skin of a serpent or of a tiger, after which it was rolled in numerous little bands of stuff, wherein it would remain wrapped for centuries together. Such is, perhaps, the origin of the medicine bags made use of, even in the present day, by the Indians of the Great Desert, and of which we shall speak in the second volume of this work."

Of apparently another Quetzalcoatl, he writes: "The Toltecs became highly flourishing under the reign of Ceocatl Quetzalcohuatl, a Culhuacan prince, who preached a new religion, sanctioning auricular confession and the celibacy of the priests. He proscribed all kinds of warfare and human sacrifices. Tezcatlipoca put himself at the head of the dissatisfied party, and besieged Tollan, the residence of Ceocatl Quetzalcohuatl; but the latter refused to defend himself, in order to avoid the effusion of blood, which was prohibited by the laws of the religion he himself had established, and retired to Cholula, that had been constructed by his followers. From thence he went to Yucatan. Tezcatlipoca, his fortunate rival, after a long reign became in his turn the victim of the popular discontent, and fell in a battle that was given him by Ceocatl Quetzalcohuatl's relatives. Those two kings are elevated to the rank of gods, and their worship was a perpetual subject of discord and civil war in all Anáhuac until the arrival of the Spaniards in the New World."[34]

The interpreters of the different codices, or Mexican paintings represented in Kingsborough's great work, give, as is their wont in all matters, a confused, imperfect, and often erroneous account of Quetzalcoatl:— "Quetzalcoatl is he who was born of the virgin, called Chalchihuitztli, which means the precious stone of penance or of sacrifice. He was saved in the deluge, and was born in Zivenaritzcatl where he resides. His fast was a kind of preparation for the arrival of the end of the world which they said would happen on the day of Four Earthquakes, so that they were thus in daily expectation of that event. Quetzalcoatl was he who they say created the world, and they bestowed on him the appellation of lord of the wind, because they said that Tonacatecotli, when it appeared good to him, breathed and begat Quetzalcoatl. They erected round temples to him, without any corners. They said that it was he (who was also the lord of the thirteen signs which are here represented), who formed the first man. He alone had a human body like that of men, the other gods were of an incorporeal nature."[35]

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[34] *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. i., pp. 32-3, 39

"They declare that their supreme deity, or more properly speaking, demon Tonacatecotle, whom we have just mentioned, who by another name was called Citinatonali, ... begot Quetzalcoatl, not by connection with a woman, but by his breath alone, as we have observed above, when he sent his ambassador, as they say, to the virgin of Tulla. They believed him to be the god of the air, and he was the first to whom they built temples and churches, which they formed perfectly round, without any angles. They say it was he who effected the reformation of the world by penance, as we have already said; since, according to their account, his father had created the world, and men had given themselves up to vice, on which account it had been so frequently destroyed. Citinatonali sent this his son into the world to reform it. We certainly must deplore the blindness of these miserable people, on whom Saint Paul says the wrath of God has to be revealed, inasmuch as his eternal truth was so long kept back by the injustice of attributing to this demon that which belonged to Him; for He being the sole creator of the universe, and He who made the division of the waters, which these poor people just now attributed to the Devil, when it appeared good to Him, dispatched the heavenly ambassador to announce to the virgin that she should be the mother of his eternal word; who, when He found the world corrupt, reformed it by doing penance and by dying upon the cross for our sins; and not the wretched Quetzalcoatl, to whom these miserable people attributed this work. They assigned to him the dominion over the other thirteen signs, which are here represented, in the same manner as they had assigned the preceding thirteen to his father. They celebrated a great festival on the arrival of his sign, as we shall see in the sign of Four Earthquakes, which is the fourth in order here, because they feared that the world would be destroyed in that sign, as he had foretold to them when he disappeared in the Red Sea; which event occurred on the same sign. As they considered him their advocate, they celebrated a solemn festival, and fasted during four signs."[36]

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[35] *Explicacion del Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, parte ii., lam. ii., in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., pp. 135-6.

J. G. Müller holds Quetzalcoatl to be the representative national god of the Toltecs, surviving under many misconceptions and amid many incongruities,—bequeathed to or adopted into the later Mexican religion. The learned professor has devoted an unusual amount of care and research to the interpretation of the Quetzalcoatl myths; and as no other inquirer has shown therein at once so accurate and extensive an acquaintance with the subject and so calm and judicious a judgment, we give his opinion at length, and first his summing up of the fable-history of Quetzalcoatl:—

The Toltecs, a traditional pre-historic people, after leaving their orignal northern home Huehuetlapallan (that is Old-red-land) chose Tulla, north of Anáhuac as the first capital of their newly founded kingdom. Quetzalcoatl was their high-priest and religious chief at this place. Huemac, or Huematzin, conducted the civil government as the companion of Quetzalcoatl, and wrote the code of the nation. Quetzalcoatl is said to have been a white man (some gave him a bright red face), with a strong formation of body, broad forehead, large eyes, black hair, and a heavy beard. He always wore a long white robe; which, according to Gomara, was decorated with crosses; he had a mitre on his head and a sickle in his hand. At the volcano of Cotcitepec, or Tzatzitepec, near Tulla, he practised long and numerous penances, giving thereby an example to his priests and successors. The name of this volcano means "the mountain of outcry;" and when Quetzalcoatl gave laws, he sent a crier to the top of it whose voice could be heard three hundred miles off. He did what the founders of religions and cults have done in other countries: he taught the people agriculture, metallurgy, stone-cutting, and the art of government. He also arranged the calendar, and taught his subjects fit religious ceremonies; preaching specially against human sacrifices, and ordering offerings of fruits and flowers only. He would have nothing to do with wars, even covering his ears when the subject was mentioned. His was a veritable golden age, as in the time of Saturn; animals and even men lived in peace, the soil produced the richest harvests without cultivation, and the grain grew so large that a man found it trouble enough to carry one ear; no cotton was dyed, as it grew of all colors, and fruits of all kinds abounded. Everybody was rich and Quetzalcoatl owned whole palaces of gold, silver, and precious stones. The air was filled with the most pleasant aromas, and a host of finely feathered birds filled the world with melody.

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[36] *Spiegazione delle Tavole del Codice Mexicano*, tav. xli., *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., pp. 184–5.

But this earthly happiness came to an end. Tezcatlipoca rose up against Quetzalcoatl and against Huemac, in order to separate them, and to destroy their government. He descended from the sky on a rope of spider-web and commenced to work for his object with the aid of magic arts. He first appeared in the form of a handsome youth (and in the dress of a merchant), dressed as a merchant selling pepper-pods, and presented himself before the daughter of king Huemac. He soon seduced the princess, and thereby opened the road to a general immorality and a total collapse of the laws. He presented himself before Quetzalcoatl in the form of an old man, with the view of inducing him to depart to his home in Tlapalla. For this purpose he offered him a drink which he pretended would endow him with immortality. No sooner had Quetzalcoatl taken the drink, then he was seized with a violent desire to see his fatherland. He destroyed the palaces of gold, silver, and precious stones, transformed the fruit-trees into withered trunks, and ordered all song-birds to leave the country, and to accompany him. Thus he departed, and the birds entertained him during his journey with their songs.

He first traveled southward, and arrived in Quauhtitlan, in Anáhuac. In the vicinity of this town he broke down a tree by throwing stones, the stones remaining in the trunk. Farther south, in the same valley, near Tlalnepantla, or Tanepantla, he pressed hand and foot into a rock with such force that the impression has remained down to the latest centuries, in the same manner as the mark of the shoes of the horses of Castor and Pollux near Regillum. The Spaniards were inclined to ascribe these and similar freaks of nature to the Apostle Thomas.

Quetzalcoatl now turned toward the east, and arrived in Cholula, where he had to remain for a longer period, as the inhabitants intrusted him with the government of their state. The same order of things which had taken place in Tulla, his first residence, was here renewed. From this centre his rule spread far and wide; he sent colonists from Cholula to Huaxayacac, Tabasco and Campeche, and the nobility of Yucatan prided themselves on their descent from him; men having been found in our time who bear his name, just as the descendants of Votan bore the name of Votan in Chiapas. In Cholula itself he was adored, and temples were everywhere erected in his honor, even by the enemies of the Cholulans. After a residence of twenty years in Cholula, he proceeded on his journey toward Tlalpalla until he arrived at the river and in the province of Coatzacoalco, or Goasacoalco, Guasacualco, that is Hiding-nook of the snake—south of Vera Cruz. He now sent the four youths, who had accompanied him from Cholula, back to the Cholulans, promising to return later on and renew the old government. The Cholulans placed the four youths at the head of their government, out of love for him. This hope of his return still existed among the Mexican nations at the time of Cortés' arrival. In fact, Cortés was at first held to be the returning Quetzalcoatl, and a man was sacrificed to him, with whose blood the conqueror and his companions were marked. Father Sahagun was also asked, by everybody on his journey to Mexico, if he and his suite came from Tlapalla. According to Montezuma's account to Cortés, Quetzalcoatl really did once return to Cholula, but after such a length of time that he found his subjects married to the native women, having children, and so numerous that a number of new districts had to be founded. This new race would not recognize their old chief, and refused to obey him. He thereupon departed angrily, threatening to return at another time and to subdue them by force. It is not remarkable that an expectation, which was a hope to the Cholulans, should be a dread to Montezuma and his subjects.

According to some accounts, Quetzalcoatl died in the Hiding-nook of the snakes, in the Goatzacoalco country; according to others, he suddenly disappeared toward the east, and a ship, formed of snakes wound together, brought him to Tlapalla.

A closer view and criticism of this tale, in the light of the analogy of mythological laws, shows us that Quetzalcoatl is the euhemerized religious ideal of the Toltecan nations. The similarity of this tale with those of Manco Capac, Botschika, Saturn, and others, is at once apparent. The opinion of Prescott, Wuttke, and many others, who held him for a deified man, founder of a religion and of a civilization, is confirmed by the latest version of the fable, in which Quetzalcoatl is represented in this character. Although euhemerism is an old idea with all people, as well as with the Americans,—personification being the first step toward it,—the general reasons which everywhere appear against the existence of such founders of a civilization must also be made to speak against this idea of Quetzalcoatl.

If a special value is placed upon the white face and the beard, it must be remembered that the beard, which is givén to the Mexican priests, could not be omitted with Quetzalcoatl; and the mention by some of his having had a white face, and by others a red, might arouse a suspicion that Quetzalcoatl has been represented as a white man on account of his white robe.

The fable of Quetzalcoatl contains contradictions, the younger elements of which are a pure idealism of the more ancient. For instance, the statement that the earth produced everything spontaneously, without human labor, does not agree with the old version of the myth, according to which Quetzalcoatl taught agriculture and other industries requiring application and hard work. The sentimental love of peace has also been attributed to this god in later times, during a time when the Toltecs had lost the martial spirit of their victorious ancestors, and when the Cholulans, given to effeminacy, distinguished themselves more by cunning than by courage. The face of the god is represented, in the fable, as more beautiful and attractive, than it is depicted on the images. At the place where he was most worshiped, in Cholula, the statute of Quetzalcoatl stood in his temple, on the summit of the great pyramid. Its features had a gloomy cast, and differed from the beautiful face which is said to have been his on earth.

The fable shows its later idealized elements in these points. In all other respects, the Toltecan peculiarities of the entire nation are either clearly and faithfully depicted in their hero, as in a personified ideal, or else the original attributes of the nature deity are recognizable. Where the Toltecs were, there was he also, or a hero identical with him; the Toltecs who journeyed southward are colonists sent by him; the Toltecs capitals, Tulla and Cholula, are his residences; and as the laws of the Toltecs extended far and wide, so did the voice of his crier reach three hundred miles into the country. The arts and welfare of the Toltecs, their riches and religious feeling, even their later unwarlike peacefulness, all these attributes are transferred to Quetzalcoatl. The long robe of the Toltecs was also the dress of their hero; the necktie of the boys of his religious order is attached to his image; and, as his priests wore the mitre, he is also represented with it. He is, above all, depicted as the original model of the Toltec priests, the Tlamacazque (the order was called Tlamacazcojotl), whose chief, or superior, always bore the name of Quetzalcoatl. As these orders of his had to submit to the strictest observances,—their members having to slit the tongue, ears and lips in honor of Quetzalcoatl, and the small boys being set apart for him by making an incision on their breasts,—so he submitted, before all others, to these penances on the Tzatzitipec Mountain. These self-inflicted punishments must not be termed penances, as is often done, for they have no moral meaning, such as to do penance for committed sins, nor have they the mystic meaning of the East Indian idea of the end of the world (Weltabsterben) and the return to the pantheistic chaos (Urall and Urnichts); all this is foreign to the American religion. They are, on the contrary, blood-offerings, substitutes for the human sacrifices in the background, to obtain earthly blessings, and to avert earthly misfortunes. As Quetzalcoatl preached against human sacrifices, so his priests under the Aztec rule, were very reluctant to make them. After the great slaughter by Cortés, in Cholula, Montezuma proceeded to the great temple of Huitzilopochtli, made many human sacrifices, and questioned the god, who bade him to be of good heart, and assured him that the Cholulans had suffered so terribly merely on account of their reluctance to offer up human beings.

As the disappearance of the Toltecs toward the south and the south-east agrees with the disappearance of Quetzalcoatl, so we find many traits from the end of the last Toltec king reproduced in the end of the Toltec hero. After the defeat of king Tlolpintzin, he (Tlolpintzin) fled southward, toward Tlapalla. He made use of these words, in his last farewell to his friends: I have retired toward the east, but will return after 5012 years to avenge myself on the descendants of mine enemies. After having lived thirty years in Tlapalla, he died. His laws were afterward accepted by Nezalhualcoyotzin. The belief that Tlolpintzin stayed with Nezalhualcoyotzin, and some other brave kings, in the cave of Xicco, after death, like the three Tells of Switzerland, but would at some time come out and deliver his people, was long current among the Indians. Every one will notice how well this agrees with Montezuma's account of the return of Quetzalcoatl.

Quezatlcoatl cannot, however, be a representative and a national god of the Toltecs, without having an original nature-basis for his existence as a god. It is everywhere the case among savages with their national god, that the latter is a nature-deity, who becomes gradually transformed into a national god, then into a national king, high-priest, founder of a religion, and at last ends in being considered a human being. The older and purer the civilization of a people is, the easier it is to recognise the original essence of its national god, in spite of all transformations and disguises. So it is here. Behind the human form of the god glimmers the nature shape, and the national god is known by, perhaps, all his worshipers as also a nature deity. From his powerful influence upon nature, he might also be held as the creator.

The pure human form of this god, as it appears in the fable, as well as in the image, is not the original, but the youngest. His oldest concrete forms are taken from nature, to which he originally belongs, and have maintained themselves in many attributes. All these symbolize him as the god of fertility, chiefly, as it is made apparent, by means of the beneficial influence of the air. All Mexican and European statements make him appear as the god of the air and of the wind; even the euhemeristic idea deifies the man Quetzalcoatl into a god of the air. All the Mexican tribes adored him at the time of the conquest as god of the air, and all accounts, however much they may differ on the particular points of his poetical life, agree, without exception, in this one respect, as the essential and chief point. Besides the symbols, which are merely attached to the image, there are three attributes, which represent as many original visible forms and exteriors of the god, in which he is represented and worshiped: the sparrow, the flint (Feuerstein), and the snake.

According to Herrera, the image of Quetzalcoatl had the body of a man, but the head of a bird, a sparrow with a red bill, a large comb, and with the tongue hanging far out of the mouth. The air-god of these northern people, parallel to Quetzalcoatl, the Aztec Huitzilopochtli, was represented with devices connected with the humming-bird, in remembrance of his former humming-bird nature. This is the northern element. The great spirit of the northern redskins also appear in his most esteemed form as a bird. The Latin Picus was originally a woodpecker (Specht), afterward anthropomorphized and even euhemerized, but he has ever the woodpecker by his side, in his capacity of human seer. Several Egyptian gods have human bodies and animal heads, especially heads of birds. Birds are not alone symbols of particular godlike attributes, as used in the anthropomorphic times, not mere messengers and transmitters of the orders of the gods, but they have originally been considered as gods themselves, with forms of godlike powers, especially in North America; and the exterior of the god of the air, the fructifying air, is naturally that of a bird, a singing-bird. The hieroglyphic sign among the Mexicans for the air is, therefore, the head of a bird with three tongues. Wherever Quetzalcoatl stayed and ruled, there birds filled the air, and song-birds gave indication of their presence; when he departed, he took them with him, and was entertained during the journey by their singing.

A second form of Quetzalcoatl was the flint, which we have already learned to know as a symbol and hieroglyphic sign for the air. He was either represented as a black stone, or several small green ones, supposed to have fallen from heaven, most likely ærolites, which were adored by the Cholulans in the service of Quetzalcoatl. Bétancourt even explains the meaning of the name Quetzalcoatl, contrary to the usual definition, as "twin of a precious stone." The fable of Quauhtitlan is also connected with this stone-worship; how Quetzalcoatl had overthrown a tree by means of stones which remained fixed in it. These stones were later on adored as holy stones of Quetzalcoatl. The stone at Tlalnepantla, into which he pressed his hand, must also have reppresented the god himself. Similar ancient stone-worships, of greater nature deities as well as fetiches, were found, in many instances, in Peru, in the pre-Inca times. In ancient Central America we meet with the worship of such green stones called chalchihuites. Votan was worshiped in the form of such a green stone, connected with the other two attributes. This attribute of Quetzalcoatl most likely belongs to the south.

The third form of Quetzalcoatl, which also belongs to the south, is the snake; he is a snake-god, or, at least, merged into an ancient snake-god. The snake is not, as far as I know, a direct symbol of the air, and this attribute is, therefore, not the one pertaining to him from the beginning; but the snake represents the season which, in conjunction with heat and rain, contains the fructifying influence of the atmosphere, spring, the rejuvenating year. However, the very name of the god signifies, according to the usual explanation given to it, "the feathered snake, the snake covered with feathers, the green feathered-snake, the wood-snake with rich feathers." A snake has consequently been added to the human figure of this god. The other name, under which he is adored in Yucatan, is Cuculcan, a snake covered with godlike feathers. The entrance to his round temple in Mexico represented the jaw and fangs of a tremendous snake. Quetzalcoatl disappeared in Goatzacoalco, the Snake-corner (or nook), and a ship of snakes brought him to Tlapalla. His followers in Yucatan were called snakes, Cocome (plural of Coatl), while he himself bore the name of Cocolcan in this country as well as in Chiapas. The snake attribute signifies, in connection with Huitzilopochtli, also the beneficial influence of the atmosphere, the yearly renewed course of nature, the continual rejuvenation of nature in germs and blossoms. The northern celestial god, Odin, is in many ways connected with snakes, he transformed himself into a snake, and bore the by-name of Snake.

The relationship of Tezcatlipoca and Quetzalcoatl, as given in the fable, may be touched upon here. The driving away of the latter by Tezcatlipoca does not, as may be supposed, signify a contest between the Aztec religion and the preceding Toltecan. In such a case Huitzilopochtli, the chief of the Aztec gods, by whose adoration the contrast is painted in the deepest colors, would have been a much better representant.

Quetzalcoatl no doubt preached against human sacrifices, brought into such unprecedented swing by the Aztecs, yet the worshipers of this god adopted the sacrifice of human beings in an extensive way during the Aztec rule, to which period this part of the Quetzalcoatl fable necessarily owes its origin. At this time the contrast was so slight that Quetzalcoatl partook of the highest adoration of Aztecs, not only in Cholula, but in Mexico and everywhere. His priest enjoyed the highest esteem and his temple in Mexico stood by the side of that of Huitzilopochtli. Montezuma not only calls the Toltec hero a leader of his forefathers, but the Aztecs actually consider him as a son of Huitzilopochtli. The opposition of the two gods, Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca, has another reason: the difference lies not in their worship, but in their nature and being, in the natural phenomena which they represent. If the god of the beneficial atmosphere, the manifested god-power of the atmosphere of the fructifying seasons, is adored in Quetzalcoatl; then

Tezcatlipoca is his opposite, the god of the gloomy lower regions destitute of life and germ, the god of drouth, of withering, of death.

Wherever, therefore, Quetzalcoatl rules, there are riches and abundance, the air is filled with fragrance and song-birds—an actual golden era; but when he goes southward with his song-birds, he is expelled by Tezcatlipoca, drouth sets in, and the palaces of gold, silver, and precious stones, symbols of wealth, are destroyed. He promises, however, everywhere to return. A representation mentioned and copied by Humboldt, shows Tezcatlipoca in the act of cutting up the snake. This has not the meaning of the acts of Hercules, of Tonatiuh, of the great spirit of the Chippewas, of the German Siegfried, of the Celtic dragon-killers Tristan and Iwein, or of the other sun-gods, spring-gods, and culture-heroes, who fight and subdue the snake of the unfertile moisture; such an interpretation would be opposed to the nature of this god. On the contrary, the god of death and drouth here fights the snake as the symbol of moisture, of the fertilization of the plant-life.

The question now arises: if Quetzalcoatl only received his snake attribute in the south, and this his name, what was his original northern and Toltecan name? We answer, coinciding with the views expressed by Ixtlilxochitl and others, who affirm that Quetzalcoatl and his worldly companion, Huemac, were one and the same person. The opposed opinion of Ternaux-Compans, who states that Quetzalcoatl must have been an Olmec, while Huemac was a Toltec, actually gives the key to the solution of the question. Both are right, Ixtlilxochitl and Ternaux, Huemac is the original Toltec name of the Toltec national god, ruler, and author of the holy books, the ancient name used by the Toltecs. As this people succumbed more and more to southern influences, and their ancient air-god in his sparrow form received in addition the snake attribute, on account of his rejuvenating influence upon nature, then, the new name of the more cultivated people soon appeared.

The name may, therefore, be Olmec, but not the god; we may sooner suppose that the attributes of the Maya god, Votan, have been transferred to the Toltec god. Both names having thus a double origin; the legend which found two names, made also two persons of them, and placed them side by side. It is, however, easy to see that they are naturally one: Huemac has just as much a religious signification as Quetzalcoatl; as Hue-matzin, he wrote the divine book, containing all the earthly and heavenly wisdom of the Toltecs. Quetzalcoatl has, in the same degree, besides his religious position, the worldly one of ruler and founder of a civilization. As Quetzalcoatl possesses a divine nature, so does Huemac, to whom also are ascribed the three hundred years of life, and the impression of the hand in the rock.

Besides the attributes of the sparrow, flint, and snake, there are others which ascribe to Quetzalcoatl the same properties, but less prominently. As god of the air, he holds the wonderfully painted shield in his hand, a symbol of his power over the winds. As god of the fertilizing influence of the air, he holds, like Saturn, the sickle, symbol of the harvest—he it is that causes the grain to ripen. It used to be said that he prepared the way for the water-god, for in these regions, the rains are always preceded by winds. It was on account of this intimate connection with the rain, which had already procured him the snake attribute, that his mantle was adorned with crosses. We have already seen that such crosses represented the rain-god with the Mayas, and are symbols of the fructifying rain. Consequently they are well suited for the god who is only air-god in the sense of the air exercising its fructifying and invigorating influence upon the earth.

Another question, which has already occurred to us, must here be considered. Why did this god come from the east, depart toward the east, and why should he be expected from the east? The Toltecs have, according to almost unanimous statements, come from the north, and even Quetzalcoatl commences his rule in the north, in Tulla, and proceeds gradually on his journey from the north to the south-east, just like the Toltecs, who traveled southward from Tulla. It is plain that he departs for the east, because this is his home, from which he came and will return. His eastern origin is, no doubt, based upon the direction of the eastern trade-winds, which carry rain and, with it, fertility to the interior of Central America. The rains began three or four weeks earlier in Vera Cruz, Tampico, and Tabasco than in Puebla and Mexico. Another reason, which has, however, a certain connection with the above, may be the relationship of the god of air and the sun-god, who often assumed an equal position in nature and in worship. We know that the founders of the Peruvian and Muyscan cults come from the east, because they are sun-gods. Quetzalcoatl is not such a deity, it is true, but the fertilizing air-god is also in other places closely connected with the fructifying sun, as, for example Huitzilopochtli, Odin, and Brama. The sun is his eye. This connection with the sun, Montezuma referred to when he spoke in the presence of Cortés of the departure of Quetzalcoatl for the regions from which the sun comes. As the sun is the eye of heaven, to whom the heart of the victim sacrificed to the god of heaven is presented, so it is at night with the moon, to whom the same tribute was paid at the feast of Quetzalcoatl. I merely refer to this here to show the connection of the air-god with the great heavenly bodies.

Several other significations are attached to the idea of an air-god. It is natural that the god of heavenly blessing should also be the god of wealth. All wealth depends originally upon the produce of the soil, upon the blessing of heaven, however worldly the opinion of the matter may be. Gold is merely the symbol of this wealth, like the golden shower of Zeus. The image of Quetzalcoatl was, therefore, according to Acosta, adorned with gold, silver, jewels, rich feathers, and gay dresses, to illustrate his wealth. For this reason he wore a golden helmet, and his sceptre was decorated with costly stones. The same view is also the basis of the myths of the ancients about snakes and dragons guarding treasures. The fact that the merchants of Cholula worshiped the god of wealth before all others, and as their chief deity, requires no explanation.

His worship in Cholula was conducted as follows: Forty days before the festival, the merchants bought a spotless slave, who was first taken to bathe in a lake called the Lake of the Gods, then dressed up as the god Quetzalcoatl, whom he had to represent for forty days. During this time he enjoyed the same adoration as was given to the god: he was set upon a raised place, presented with flowers, and fed on the choicest viands. He was, however, well guarded during the night, so that he might not escape. During his exhibition through the town, he danced and sang, and the women and children ran out of their houses to salute him and make him presents. This continued until nine days before the end of the forty days. Then two old priests approached him in all humility, saying, in deep voice: Lord, know that in nine days thy singing and dancing will cease, because thou must die! If he continued of good spirit, and inclined to dance and sing, it was considered a good omen, if the contrary, a bad one. In the latter case they prepared him a drink of blood and cacao, which was to obliterate the remembrance of the past conversation. After drinking this, it was hoped that he would resume his former good humor. On the day of the festival still greater honors were shown him, music sounded and incense was burnt. At last, at the midnight hour, he was sacrificed, the heart was torn out of his body, held up to the moon, and then thrown toward the image of the god. The body was cast down the steps of the temple, and served the merchants, especially the slave-dealers, for a sacrificial meal. This feast and sacrifice took place every year, but after a certain number of cycles, as in the divine year, Teoxihuitl, they were celebrated with much more pomp. Quetzalcoatl had, generally, his human sacrifices during the Aztec rule, as well as the other gods.

The power which reëstablishes the macrocosm, heals and rejuvenates the microcosm also: it is the general healing power. With the good weather thousands of invalids are restored, and refreshing rains not only revive the thirsty plains of the tropics, but man himself. Thus the air-god, the atmosphere, becomes a healing god. A Phœnician told Pausanius that the snake god, Æsculapius, signified the health-restoring air. If this god of heaven is also a snake-god, like Quetzalcoatl, the rejuvenating and reïnvigorating power of nature is expressed in a clear parallelism.

The snake-god is also a healing god, and even the Greek Æsculapius cannot dispense with the snake. It is, thus, not to be wondered at that the sterile women of the Mexican peoples directed their prayers to Quetzalcoatl.[37]

This concludes the able summing-up presented by Müller, and it is given as I give all theoretical matter, neither accepting nor rejecting it, as simply another ray of light bent in upon the god Quetzalcoatl, whose nature it is not proposed here to either explain or illustrate, but only to reproduce, as regarded from many sides by the earliest and closest observers.

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[37] *Müller*, *Amerikanische Urreligionen*, pp. 577–590. Some further notes regarding this god from a different point, may be found in *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, *Palenqué*, pp.40 etc., 66 etc.

CHAPTER VIII.

GODS, SUPERNATURAL BEINGS, AND WORSHIP.

Various accounts of the Birth, Origin, and Derivation of the name of the Mexican War God, Huitzilopochtli, of his Temple, Image, Ceremonial, Festivals, and his deputy, or page, Paynal—Clavigero—Boturini — Acosta — Solis — Sahagun — Herrera — Torquemada —J. G. Müller's Summary of the Huitzilopochtli Myths, their Origin, Relation, and Signification — Tylor — Codex Vaticanus—Tlaloc, God of Water, especially of Rain, and of Mountains—Clavigero, Gama, and Ixtlilxochitl — Prayer in time of Drought —Camargo, Motolinia, Mendieta, and the Vatican Codex on the Sacrifices to Tlaloc—The Decorations of his Victims and the places of their Execution—Gathering Rushes for the Service of the Water God — Highway Robberies by the Priests at this time—Decorations and Implements of the Priests—Punishments for Ceremonial Offences — The Whirlpool of Pantitlan — Images of the Mountains in honor of the Tlaloc Festival — of the coming Rain and Mutilation of the Images of the Mountains—General Prominence in the cult of Tlaloc, of the Number Four, the Cross, and the Snake.

Huitzilopochtli, Huitziloputzli, or Vitziliputzli, was the god of war and the especially national god of the Mexicans. Some said that he was a purely spiritual being, others that a woman had borne him after miraculous conception. This legend, following Clavigero, ran as follows:

In the ancient city of Tulla, lived a most devout woman, Coatlicue by name. Walking one day in the temple as her custom was, she saw a little ball of feathers floating down from heaven, which, taking without thought, she put into her bosom. The walk being ended, however, she could not find the ball, and wondered much, all the more that soon after this she found herself pregnant. She had already many children, who now, to avert this dishonor of their house, conspired to kill her; at which she was sorely troubled. But, from the midst of her womb the god spoke: Fear not, O my mother, for this danger will I turn to our great honor and glory. And lo, Huitzilopochtli, perfect as Pallas Athena, was instantly born, springing up with a mighty war-shout, grasping the shield and the glittering spear. His left leg and his head were adorned with plumes of green; his face, arms, and thighs barred terribly with lines of blue. He fell upon the unnatural children, slew them all, and endowed his mother with their spoils. And from that day forth his names were Tezahuitl, Terror, and Tetzauhteotl, Terrible god.

This was the god who became protector of the Mexicans, who conducted them so many years in their pilgrimage, and settled them at last on the site of Mexico. And in this city they raised him that proud temple so much celebrated even by the Spaniards, in which were annually held their solemn festivals, in the fifth, ninth, and fifteenth months; besides those kept every four years, every thirteen years, and at the beginning of every century. His statue was of gigantic size, in the posture of a man seated on a blue-colored bench, from the four corners of which issued four huge snakes. His forehead was blue, but his face was covered with a golden mask, while another of the same kind covered the back of his head. Upon his head he carried a beautiful crest, shaped like the beak of a bird; upon his neck a collar consisting of ten figures of the human heart; in his right hand, a large, blue, twisted club; in his left, a shield, on which appeared five balls of feathers disposed in the form of a cross, and from the upper part of the shield rose a golden flag with four arrows, which the Mexicans pretended to have been sent to them from heaven to perform those glorious actions which we have seen in their history. His body was girt with a large golden snake, and adorned with various lesser figures of animals made of gold and precious stones, which ornaments and insignia had each their peculiar meaning. They never deliberated upon making war without imploring the protection of this god, with prayers and sacrifices; and offered up a greater number of human sacrifices to him than to any other of the gods.[1]

A different account of the origin of this deity is given by Boturini, showing the god to have been a brave Mexican chief, who was afterward apotheosized:—

While the Mexicans were pushing their conquests and their advance toward the country now occupied by them, they had a very renowned captain, or leader, called Huitziton. He it was that in these long and perilous journeys through unknown lands, sparing himself no fatigue, took care of the Mexicans. The fable says of him that being full of years and wisdom he was one night caught up in sight of his army, and of all his people, and presented to the god Tezauhteotl, that is to say the Frightful God, who, being in the shape of a horrible dragon, commanded him to be seated at his right hand, saying: Welcome, O valiant captain; very grateful am I for thy fidelity in my service and in governing my people. It is time that thou shouldest rest, since thou art already old, and since thy great deeds raise thee up to the fellowship of the immortal gods. Return then to thy sons and tell them not to be afflicted if in future they cannot see thee as a mortal man; for from the nine heavens thou shalt look down propitious upon them. And not only that, but also, when I strip the vestments of humanity from thee, I will leave to thine afflicted and orphan people thy bones and thy skull so that they may be comforted in their sorrow, and may consult thy relics as to the road they have to follow: and in due time the land shall be shown them that

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[1] Huitzilopochtli is derived from two words; *huitzilin*, the humming-bird, and *opochtli*, left,—so called from the left foot of his image being decorated with humming-bird feathers. *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., pp. 17–19.

I have destined for them, a land in which they shall hold wide empire, being respected of the other nations.

Huitziton did according to these instructions, and after a sorrowful interview with his people, disappeared, carried away by the gods. The weeping Mexicans remained with the skull and bones of their beloved captain, which they carried with them till they arrived in New Spain, and at the place where they built the great city of Tenochtitlan, or Mexico. All this time the devil spoke to them through this skull of Huitziton, often asking for the immolation of men and women, from which thing originated those bloody sacrifices, practiced afterwards by this nation with so much cruelty on prisoners of war. This deity was called, in early as well as in later times, Huitzilopochtli,—for the principal men believed that he was seated at the left hand of Tezcatlipoca,—a man derived from the original name Huitziton, and from the word *mapoche*, 'left hand.'[2]

Acosta gives a minute description of the image and temple of this god:—

"The chiefest idoll of Mexico was, as I have sayde, Vitziliputzli. It was an image of wood like to a man, set vpon a stoole of the colour of azure, in a brankard or litter, at every corner was a piece of wood in forme of a Serpent's head. The stoole signified that he was set in heaven: this idoll hadde all the forehead azure, and had a band of azure vnder the nose from one eare to another: vpon his head he had a rich plume of feathers, like to the beake of a small bird, the which was covered on the toppe with golde burnished very browne: hee had in his left hand a white target, with the figures of five pine apples, made of white feathers, set in a crosse: and from above issued forth a crest of gold, and at his sides hee hadde foure dartes, which (the Mexicaines say) had beene sent from heaven to do those actes and prowesses which shall be spoken of: In his right hand he had an azured staffe, cutte in fashion of a waving snake. All those ornaments with the rest hee had, carried his sence as the Mexicaines doe shew; the name of Vitziliputzli signifies the left hand of a shining feather. I will speake heereafter of the prowde Temple, the sacrifices, feasts and ceremonies of this great idoll, being very notable things. But at this present we will only shew, that this idoll thus richly appareled and deckt, was set vpon an high Altare, in a small peece or boxe, well covered with linnen clothes, jewells, feathers and ornaments of golde, with many rundles of feathers, the fairest and most exquisite that could be found: hee had alwaies a curtine before him for the greater veneration. Ioyning to the chamber or chappell of this idoll, there was a peece of lesse worke, and not so well beautified, where there was another idoll they called Tlaloc. These two idolls were alwayes together, for that they held them as companions, and of equal power.

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[2] *Boturini, Idea de una Hist.*, pp. 60–1.

There was in Mexico, this Cu, the famous Temple of Vitziliputzli, it had a very great circuite, and within a faire Court. It was built of great stones, in fashion of snakes tied one to another, and the circuite was called Coatepantli, which is, a circuite of snakes: vppon the toppe of every chamber and oratorie where the Idolls were, was a fine piller wrought with small stones, blacke as ieate, set in goodly order, the ground raised vp with white and red, which below gave a great light. Vpon the top of the pillar were battlements very artificially made, wrought like snailes [caracoles], supported by two Indians of stone, sitting, holding candlesticks in their hands, the which were like Croisants garnished and enriched at the ends, with yellow and greene feathers and long fringes of the same. Within the circuite of this court, there were many chambers of religious men, and others that were appointed for the service of the Priests and Popes, for so they call the soveraigne Priests which serve the Idoll.

There were foure gates or entries, at the east, west, north, and south; at every one of these gates beganne a faire cawsey of two or three leagues long. There was in the midst of the lake where the cittie of Mexico is built, *foure* large cawseies in crosse, which did much beautify it; vpon every portall or entry, was a God or Idoll, having the visage turned to the causey, right against the Temple gate of Vitziliputzli. There were thirtie steppes of thirtie fadome long, and they divided from the circuit of the court by a streete that went betwixt them; vpon the toppe of these steppes there was a walke thirtie foote broad, all plaistered with chalke,. in the midst of which walke was a Pallisado artificially made of very high trees, planted in order a fadome one from another. These trees were very bigge, and all pierced with small holes from the foote to the top, and there were roddes did runne from one tree to another, to the which were chained or tied many dead mens heades. Vpon every rod were twentie sculles, and these ranckes of sculles continue from the foote to the toppe of the tree. This Pallissado was full of dead mens sculls from one end to the other, the which was a wonderfull mournefull sight and full of horror. These were the heads of such as had beene sacrificed; for after they were dead, and had eaten the flesh, the head was delivered to the Ministers of the Temple, which tied them in this sort vntil they fell off by morcells; and then had they a care to set others in their places. Vpon the toppe of the temple were two stones or chappells, and in them were the two Idolls which I have spoken of, Vitziliputzli, and his companion Tlaloc. These Chappells were carved and graven very artificially, and so high, that to ascend vp to it, there was a staire of stone of sixscore steppes. Before these Chambers or Chappells, there was a Court of fortie foote square, in the midst thereof, was a high stone of five hand breadth, poynted in fashion of a Pyramide, it was placed there for the sacrificing of men; for being laid on their backes, it made their bodies to bend, and so they did open them and pull out their hearts, as I shall shew heereafter."[3]

[3] *Acosta, Hist. Nat. Ind.*, pp. 352–3, 361–3. Acosta gives a description of the wanderings of the Mexicans and how their god Vitziliputzli, directed and guided them therein, much as the God of Israel directed his people, across the wilderness to the Promised Land. Tradition also tells, how he him-

Solis describes this temple also:—

The top of the truncated pyramid on which the idols of Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc were placed was forty feet square, and reached by a stair of a hundred and twenty steps. On this platform, on either hand, at the head of the stairs, stood two sentinel-statues supporting great candlesticks of an extraordinary fashion. And first, from the jasper flags, rose a hump-backed altar of green stone. Opposite and beyond was the chapel wherein behind curtains sat Huitzilopochtli, on a throne supported by a blue globe. From this, supposed to represent the heavens, projected four staves with serpents' heads, by which the priests carried the god when he was brought before the public. The image bore on its head a bird of wrought plumes whose beak and crest were of burnished gold. The feathers expressed horrid cruelty and were made still more ghastly by two stripes of blue one on the brow and the other on the nose. Its right hand leaned as on a staff upon a crooked serpent. Upon the left arm was a buckler bearing five white plums, arranged in form of a cross; and the hand grasped four arrows venerated as heaven-descended. To the left of this was another chapel, that of Tlaloc. Now these two chapels and idols were the same in every particular. These gods were esteemed brothers—their attributes, qualities, powers, inclinations, service, prayers, and so on, were identical or interchangeable.[4]

Sahagun says of Huitzilopochtli, that, being originally a man, he was a sort of Hercules, of great strength and warlike, a great destroyer of towns and slayer of men.

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self revealed that manner of sacrifice most acceptable to his will:—some of the priests having overnight offended him, lo, in the morning, they were all dead men; their stomachs being cut open, and their hearts pulled out; which rites in sacrifice were thereupon adopted for the service of that deity, and retained until their rooting out by the stern Spanish husbandry, so well adapted to such foul and bloody tares. *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, vol. iv., pp. 1002-3.

[4] *Solis, Hist. Conq. Mex.*, tom. i., pp. 396-8. This writer says: 'The Spanish soldiers called this idol *Huchilobos*, by a corrupt pronunciation: so too Bernal Diaz del Castillo writes it. Authors differ much in describing this magnificent building. Antonio de Herrera follows Francisco Lopez de Gómara too closely. We shall follow Father Josef de Acosta and the better informed authors.' *Id.*, p. 395.

In war he had been a living fire, very terrible to his adversaries; and the devise he bore was a dragon's head, frightful in the extreme, and casting fire out of its mouth. A great wizard he had been, and sorcerer, transforming himself into the shape of divers birds and beasts. While he lived, the Mexicans esteemed this man very highly for his strength and dexterity in war, and when he died they honored him as a god, offering slaves, and sacrificing them in his presence. And they looked to it that those slaves were well fed and well decorated with such ornaments as were in use, with ear-rings and visors; all for the greater honor of the god. In Tlaxcala also they had a deity, called Camaxtli, who was similar to this Huitzilopochtli.[5]

Gage, in a pretty fair translation of Herrera, describes this god with Tezcatlipoca. He says:—

"The gods of Mexico (as the Indians reported to the first Spaniards) were two thousand in number; the chiefest were Vitzilopuchtli, and Tezcatlipoca, whose images stood highest in the temple upon the altars. They were made of stone in full proportion as big as a giant. They were covered with a lawn called Nacar; they were beset with pearls, precious stones, and pieces of gold, wrought like birds, beasts, fishes, and flowers, adorned with emeralds, turquies, chalcedons, and other little fine stones, so that when the lawn was taken away, the images seemed very beautiful and glorious to behold. These two Indian idols had for a girdle great snakes of gold, and for collars or chains about their necks ten hearts of men made of gold; and each of them had a counterfeit visor with eyes of glass, and in their necks Death painted. These two gods were brethren, for Tezcatlipoca was the god of providence, and Vitzilopuchtli, god of the wars, who was worshiped and feared more than all the rest."[6]

Torquemada goes to some length into the legend and description of this god of war, Huitzilopochtli, or Mexitl:[7]—

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[5] *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. i., p. i.

[6] *Gage's New Survey*, pp. 116–7; *Herrera*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., dec. ii., lib. vii., cap. xvii.

Huitzilopochtli, the ancient god and guide of the Mexicans, is a name variously derived. Some say it is composed of two words: *huitzilin*, 'a humming-bird', and *tlahuipuchtli*, 'a sorcerer that spits fire.' Others say that the second part of the name comes not from tlahuipuchtli, but from *opuchtli*, that is, 'the left hand;' so that the whole name, Huitzilopochtli, would mean 'the shining-feathered left hand.' For this idol was decorated with rich and resplendent feathers on the left arm. And this god it was that led out the Mexicans from their own land and brought them into Anáhuac.

Some held him to be a purely spiritual being, others affirmed that he had been born of a woman, and related his history after the following fashion: Near the city of Tulla there is a mountain called Coatepec, that is to say the Mountain of the Snake, where a woman lived, named Coatlicue, or Snake-petticoat. She was the mother of many sons called Centzunhuitznahua, and of a daughter whose name was Coyolxauhqui. Coatlicue was very devout and careful in the service of the gods, and she occupied herself ordinarily in sweeping and cleaning the sacred places of that mountain. It happened that one day, occupied with these duties, she saw a little ball of feathers floating down to her through the air, which she taking, as we have already related, found herself in a short time pregnant.[8]

Upon this all her children conspired against her to slay her, and came armed against her, the daughter Coyolxauhqui being the ringleader and most violent of all. Then, immediately, Huitzilopochtli was born, fully armed, having a shield called *teuehueli* in his left hand, in his right a dart, or long blue pole, and all his face barred over with lines of the same color. His forehead was decorated with a great tuft of green feathers, his left leg was lean and feathered, and both thighs and the arms barred with blue. He then caused to appear a serpent made of torches, *teas*, called *xiuhcoatl*; and he ordered a soldier named Tochaucalqui to light this serpent, and taking it with him, to embrace Coyolxauhqui. From this embrace the matricidal daughter immediately died, and Huitzilopochtli himself slew all her brethren and took their spoil, enriching his mother therewith. After this he was surnamed Tetzahuitl, that is to say, Fright, or Amazement, and held as a god, born of a mother, without a father,—as the great god of battles, for in these his worshipers found him very favorable to them. Besides the ordinary image of this god, permanently set up in the great temple of Mexico, there was another, renewed every year, made of grains and seeds of various kinds. In one of the halls in the neighborhood of the temple the priests collected and ground up with great devotion a mass of seeds, of the amaranth and other plants, moistening the same with the blood of children, and making a dough thereof, which they shaped into a statue of the form and stature of a man. The priests carried this image to the temple and the altar, previously arranged for its reception, playing trumpets and other instruments, and making much noise and ado with dancing and singing at the head of the procession. All this during the night; in the morning the high-priest and the other priests blessed and consecrated the image, with such blessing and consecration as were in use among them. This done, and the people assembled, every person that could come at the image touched it wherever he could, as Christians touch a relic, and made offerings thereto, of jewels of gold and precious stones, each according to his means and devotion, sticking the said offerings into the soft fresh dough of which the idol was confected. After this ceremony no one was allowed to touch the image any more, nor to enter the place where it was, save only the high-priest. After that they brought out the image of the god Paynalton,[9]—who is also a war god, being vicar or sub-captain of the said Huitzilopochtli,—an image made of wood. It was carried in the arms of a priest who represented the god Quetzalcoatl, and who was decorated with ornaments rich and curious. Before this priest there marched another carrying [the image of] a great snake, large and thick, twisted and of many coils. The procession filed along at great length, and here and there at various temples and altars the priests offered up sacrifices, immolating human captives and quails. The first station, or stopping-place, was at the ward of Teotlachco. Thence the cortège passed to Tlatelulco (where I, Torquemada, am now writing this history); then to Popotlan; then to Chapultepec—nearly a league from the city of Mexico; then to Tepetoca; then to Acachinanco; then back again to the temple whence it had set out; and then the image of Paynalton was put on the altar where stood that of Huitzilopochtli, being left there with the banner, called *expaniztli*, that had been carried before it during the march: only the great snake, mentioned above, was carried away and put in another place, to which it belonged. And at all these places where the procession appeared, it was received with incensings, sacrifices, and other ceremonies.

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[7] 'Pero los mismos Naturales afirman, que este Nombre tomaron de el Dios Principal, que ellos traxeron, el qual tenia dos Nombres, el uno Huitzilopuchtli, y el otro Mexitly, y este segundo, quiere decir Ombligo de Maguey.' *Torquemada*, *Monarq. Ind.*, tom. i., p. 293.

[8] 'Aconteciò, pues, vn dia, que estando barriendo, come acostumbraba, viò bajar por el Aire, una pelota pequeña, hecha de plumas, à manera de ovillo, hecho de hilado, que se le vino à los manos, la qual tomò, y metiò entre los Nahuas, ò Faldellin, y la carne, debajo de la faja que le ceñia el cuerpo (porque siempre traen fajado este genero de vestido) no imaginando ningun misterio, ni fin de aquel caso. Acabo de barrer, y buscò la pelota de pluma, para vèr de què podria aprovecharla en servicio de sus Dioses, y no la hallò. Quedò de esto admirada, y mucho mas de conocer en sì, que desde aquel punto se avia hecho preñada.' *Torquemada*, *Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 41–2.

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[9] This Paynalton, or Paynal, was a kind of deputy-god, or substitute for Huitzilopochtli; used in cases of urgent haste and immediate emergency, where perhaps it might be thought there was not time for the lengthened ceremonies necessary to the invocation of the greater war deity. Sahagun's account of Paynal is concise, and will throw light on the remarks of Torquemada, as given above in the text. Sahagun says, in effect: This god Paynal was a kind of sub-captain to Huitzilopochtli. The latter, as chief-captain, dictated the deliberate undertaking of war against any province; the former, as vicar to the other, served when it became unexpectedly necessary to take up arms and make front hurriedly against an enemy. Then it was that Paynal—whose name means 'swift, or hurried,'—when living on earth set out in person to stir up the people to repulse the enemy. Upon his death he was deified and a festival appointed in his honor. In this festival, his image, richly decorated, was carried in a long procession, every one, bearer of the idol or not, running as fast as he could; all of which represented the promptness that is many times necessary to resist the assault of a foe attacking by surprise or ambuscade. *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. i., p. 2.

This procession finished, it having occupied the greater part of the day, all was prepared for a sacrifice. The king himself acted the part of priest; taking a censer, he put incense therein with certain ceremonies and incensed the image of the god. This done, they took down again the idol, Paynalton, and set out in march, those going in front that had to be sacrificed, together with all things pertaining to the fatal rite. Two or three times they made the circle of the temple, moving in horrid cortège, and then ascended to the top, where they slew the victims; beginning with the prisoners of war, and finishing with the fattened slaves, purchased for the occasion, rending out their hearts and casting the same at the feet of the idol.

All through this day the festivities and the rejoicings continued, and all the day and night the priests watched vigilantly the dough statue of Huitzilopochtli, so that no oversight or carelessness should interfere with the veneration and service due thereto. Early next day they took down said statue and set it on its feet in a hall. Into this hall there entered the priest, called after Quetzalcoatl, who had carried the image of Paynalton in his arms in the procession, as before related; there entered also the king, with one of the most intimate servants, called Tehua, of the god Huitzilopochtli, four other great priests, and four of the principal youths, called Telpochtlatoque, out of the number of those that had charge of the other youths of the temple. These mentioned, and these alone, being assembled, the priest named after Quetzalcoatl took a dart tipped with flint and hurled it into the breast of the statue of dough, which fell on receiving the stroke. This ceremony was styled, 'killing the god Huitzilopochtli so that his body might be eaten.' Upon this the priests advanced to the fallen image and one of them pulled the heart out of it, and gave the same to the king. The other priests cut the pasty body into two halves. One half was given to the people of Tlatelulco, who parted it out in crumbs among all their wards, and specially to the young soldiers,—no woman being allowed to taste a morsel. The other half was allotted to the people of that part of Mexico called Tenochtlitlan; it was divided among the four wards, Teopan, Atzaqualco, Quepopan, and Moyotlan; and given to the men, to both small and great, even to the men-children in the cradle. All this ceremony was called *teoqualo*, that is to say, 'god is eaten,' and this making of the dough statue and eating of it was renewed once every year.[10]

Closely as J. G. Müller studied the character of Quetzalcoatl, his examination of that of Huitzilopochtli, has been still more minute and was indeed the subject of a monograph published by him in 1847. A student of the subject cannot afford to overlook this study, and I translate the more important parts of it in the paragraphs which follow; not, indeed, either for or against the interests of the theory it supports, but for the sake of the accurate and detailed handling, rehandling, and grouping there, by a master in this department of mythological learning, of almost all the data relating to the matter in hand:—

Huitzilopochtli has been already referred to as an original god of the air and of heaven. He agrees also with Quetzalcoatl in a second capital point, in having become the anthropomorphic national god of the Aztecs, as Quetzalcoatl of the Toltecs. On their marches and in their wars, in the establishment of codes and towns, in happiness as well as in misfortune, the Aztecs were guided by his oracle, by the spirit of his being. As the Toltecs, especially in their later national character, differ from the Aztecs, so differ their two chief national gods. If the capital of the Toltecs, Cholula, resembled modern Rome in its religious efforts, so the god enthroned there was transformed into the human form of a high-priest, in whom this people saw his human ideal. In the same manner one might be led to compare the capital of the Aztecs with ancient Rome, on account of its warlike spirit, and therefore it was right to make the national god of the Aztecs a war god like the Roman Mars.

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[10] *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. i., p. 293, tom. ii., pp. 41-3, 71-3.

We will commence with the name of the god, which, according to Sahagun, Acosta, Torquemada, and most of the writers, signifies 'on the left side a humming-bird;' from *huitzilin*, 'a humming-bird,' and *opochtli*, 'left.' In connecting the Aztec words, the ending is cut off. The image of the god had in reality, frequently, the feathers of the humming-bird on the left foot. The connection of this bird with the god is, in many ways, appropriate. It no doubt appeared to them as the most beautiful of birds, and as the most worthy representant of their chief deity. Does not its crest glitter like a crown set with rubies and all. kinds of precious stones? The Aztecs have accordingly, in their way, called the humming-bird, 'sun-beam,' 'or sun-hair;' as its alighting upon flowers, is like that of a sun-beam. The chief god of the Caribs, Juluca, is also decorated with a band of its feathers round the forehead. The ancient Mexicans had, as their most noble adornment, state-mantles of the same feathers, so much praised by Cortés; and even at the present time the Aztec women adorn their ears with these plumes. This humming-bird decoration on the left foot of the god was not the only one; he had also a green bunch of plumage upon his head, shaped like the bill of a small bird. The shield in his left hand was decorated with white feathers, and the whole image was at times covered with a mantle of feathers. To the general virtues which make comprehensible the humming-bird attribute as a divine one, must be added the special virtue of bravery peculiar to this bird, which is specially suited to the war god. The English traveler Bullock tells how this bird distinguishes itself for its extraordinary courage, attacking others ten times its own size, flying into their eyes, and using its sharp bill as a most dangerous weapon. Nothing more daring can be witnessed than its attack upon other birds of its own species, when it fears disturbance during the breeding-season. The effects of jealousy transform these birds into perfect furies, the throat swells, the crest on their head, the tail, and the wings are expanded; they fight whistling in the air, until one of them falls exhausted to the ground. That such a martial spirit should exist in so small a creature shows the intensity of this spirit; and the religious feeling is the sooner aroused, when the instrument of a divine power appears in so trifling and weak a body. The small but brave and warlike woodpecker stood in a similar relation to Mars, and is accordingly termed *picus martius*.

This, the most common explanation of the name Huitzilopochtli, as 'humming-bird, left side' is not followed by Veytia, with whom Prichard agrees. He declares the meaning of the name to be 'left hand,' from *huitzitoc*, 'hand,' because Huitzilopochtli, according to the fable, after his death, sits on the left side of the god Tezcatlipoca. Now, Huitzilopochtli is in another place considered as the brother of this god; he also stands higher, and can therefore scarcely have obtained his name from his position with respect to the other deity. Besides, hand in Aztec is properly translated as *maitl*, or *toma*.

Over and above this attribute which gives the god his name, there are others which point towards the conception of a war god. Huitzilopochtli had, like Mars and Odin, the spear, or a bow, in his right hand, and in the left, sometimes a bundle of arrows, sometimes a round white shield, on the side of which were the four arrows sent him from heaven wherewith to perform the heroic deeds of his people. On these weapons depended the welfare of the state, just as on the *ancile* of the Roman Mars, which had fallen from the sky, or on the *palladium* of the warlike Pallas Athena.

By-names also point out Huitzilopochtli as war god; for he is called the terrible god, Tetzateotl, or the raging, Tetzahuitl. These names he received at his birth, when he, just issued from his mother's womb, overthrew his adversaries.

Not less do his connections indicate his warlike nature. His youngest brother, Tlacahuepancuextotzin, was also a war god, whose statue existed in Mexico, and who received homage, especially in Tezcuco. In still closer relationship to him stands his brother-in-arms, or, as Bernal Diaz calls him, his page, Paynalton, that is, 'the fleet one;' he was the god of the sudden war alarm, *tumultus* or general *levée en masse;* his call obliged all capable of bearing arms to rush to the defence. He is otherwise considered as the representant of Huitzilopochtli and subordinate to him, for he was only a small image, as Diaz says, and as the ending *ton* denotes. The statue of this little war-crier was always placed upon the altar of Huitzilopochtli, and sometimes carried round at his feast.

Other symbolic attributes establish Huitzilopochtli as the general national god of this warlike people, and symbolized his personal presence. On the march from the ancient home, the priests took their turn, in fours, to carry his wooden image, with the little flag fallen from heaven, and the four arrows. The litter, upon which the image was carried, was called the 'chair of god,' *teoicpalli*, and was a holy box, such as was used among the Etruscans and Egyptians, the Greeks and the Romans, in Ilium, among the Japanese, among the Mongols. In America, the Cherokees are also found with such an ark. The ark of the covenant carried by the Levites through the desert and in battle, was of a similar kind. Wherever the Aztecs halted for some time during their wanderings, they erected an altar or a sacrifice mound to their god, upon which they placed this god's-litter with the image; which ancient observance they kept up, in later times, in their temples. By its side they erected a movable tent, *tabernaculum*, (Stiftshütte), in the open country, as is customary among nomadic people, such as the Mongols. The god, however, gave them the codes and usages of a cultured people, and received offerings of prisoners, hawks, and quails.

As the head of a sparrow on a human body points to the former worship of Quetzalcoatl under the form of a sparrow, so the humming-bird attribute on the image and in the name of Huitzilopochtli, points him out as an original animal god. The general mythological rule, that such animal attributes refer to an ancient worship of the god in question under the form of an animal, points this out in his case, and the special myth of Huitziton assists here in the investigation of the foundation of this original nature.

When the Aztecs still lived in Aztlan, a certain Huitziton enjoyed their highest esteem, as the fable tells. This Huitziton heard the voice of a bird, which cried "tihui," that is 'let us go.'[11] He thereupon asked the people to leave their home, which they accordingly did. When we consider the name Huitziton, the nature of the story, and the mythical time to which it refers, no doubt remains as to who this Huitziton is supposed to be. It is evident that he is none other than the little bird itself, which, in our later form of the myth, as an anthropomorphic fable, is separated from him; separated euhemeristically, just as the latin Picus was separated from his woodpecker. This Picus, whose songs and flight were portentous, was represented as a youth with a woodpecker on his head, of which he made use for his seer-art; but was originally, as denoted by his name, nothing else than a woodpecker, which was adored on the wooden pillar from which it sent its sayings. This woodpecker placed itself upon the *vexillum* of the Sabines, and guided them to the region which has been named Picenum after it. As this bird guided its people to their new abode, like Huitziton, so many other animal gods have lead those who, in ancient times, sought new homes. Thus a crow conducted Battus to Cyrene; a dove led the Chalcidians to Cyrene; Apollo, in the form of a dolphin, took the Cretans to Pytho; Antinous founded a new settlement, to which a snake had pointed the way; a bull carried Cadmus to Thebes; a wolf led the Hirpinians. The original stock of the South American people, the Mbayas, received the divine order, through the bird Caracara, to roam as enemies in the territories of other people instead of settling down in a fixed habitation—this is an anti-culture myth. As the founding of towns favors the birth of myths like the preceeding, so also does the founding of convents, the sites of which, according to the numerous fables of the Christian mediæval age, were pointed out by animals,—one of the remnants of old heathenism then existing in the popular fancy. To resume the subject, Huitziton is, therefore, the humming-bird god, who, as oracular god, commanded the Aztecs to emigrate. His name signifies nothing else than 'small humming-bird,' the ending *ton* being a diminutive syllable, as in Paynalton. Thus the humming-bird was the bearer, at the time of the great flood, of the divine message of joy to the Tezpi of the Michoacans, a people related to the Aztecs. It had been let loose as the water receded, and soon returned with a small twig to the ark.[12] On the Catherine Islands [islands of Santa Catalina],[13] in California, crows were adored as interpreters of the divine will. From the above it is also self-evident that Huitziton and Huitzilopochtli were one, which is the conclusion arrived at by the learned researcher of Mexican languages and traditions, the Italian Boturini. The name, myth, and attributes of Huitzilopochtli point then to the humming-bird. Previous to the transformation of this god, by anthropomorphism, he was merely a small humming-bird, *huitziton*; by anthropomorphism, the bird became, however, merely the attribute, emblem or symbol, and name of the god, —a name which changed with his form into 'humming-bird on the left,' or Huitzilopochtli.

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[11] See this vol., p. 69, note.

[12] See this vol. p. 67.

[13] See this vol. p. 134.

The identity of the two, in spite of the different explanations of the name, is accepted by Veytia, who gives Huitzitoc as the name of the chief who led the Aztec armies during their last wanderings from Chicomoztoc, or the Seven Caves, into Anáhuac. Under his leadership the Aztecs were everywhere victorious, and for this reason he was placed, after his death, on the left side of the god Tezcatlipoca; since which time he was called Huitzilopochtli.

The identity of Huitziton and Huitzilopochtli, is also shown by other facts besides the name, the attribute, and the mythological analogy: the same important acts are ascribed to both. We have seen that Huitziton commanded the Aztecs to leave their home; according to another account of Acosta, this was done on the persuasion of Huitzilopochtli. If other Spanish authors state that this was done by instigation of the devil, they mean none other than Huitzilopochtli, using a mode of speech which had become an established one. This name became a common title of the devil in Germany, under the form of Vizliputzli, soon after the conquest of Mexico, as may be seen in the old popular drama of Faust. The fable further relates of Huitziton that he taught the Aztecs to produce fire by friction, during their wanderings. The gift of fire is usually ascribed to a culture-god. Huitzilopochtli was such a deity; he introduced dress, laws, and ceremonies among his people. The statement that Huitziton had at some time, given fire to the people, has no historical meaning; there is no people without fire, and a formerly told myth mentions that man made fire even before the existence of the present sun. The signification of the fable is a religious one, it is a myth in which the Aztecs ascribe the origin of all human culture to Huitziton their culture-god, afterward Huitzilopochtli.

This god wore also a band of human hearts and faces of gold and silver; while various bones of dead men, as well as a man torn in pieces, were depicted on his dress. These attributes like those of the Indian Schiwa and Kali, clearly point him out as the god to whom human sacrifices were made. It was extensively believed among the nations composing the Mexican Empire that human sacrifices had been introduced by the Aztecs within the last two centuries. Before that time only bloodless offerings had been made. A myth places the commencement of human sacrifices in the fourteenth century, in which the three first successive cases thereof are said to have occurred.

The Colhuas, the ruling nation at that time in the valley of Anáhuac, are said to have fought a battle with their enemies of Xochimilco, which was decided in favor of the Colhuas, owing to the impetuous attack made by the tributary Aztecs in their aid. While the Colhuas were presenting a large number of prisoners before their king, the Aztecs had only secured four, whom they kept secreted, but exhibited, in token of their bravery, a number of ears that they had cut from their slain enemies, boasting that the victory would have been much delayed had they lost time in making prisoners. Proud of their triumph, they erected an altar to Huitzilopochtli, in Huitzilopochco, and made known to their lord, the king of the Colhuas, that they desired to offer this god a costly and worthy sacrifice. The king sent them, by the hands of priests, a dead bird, which the messengers laid irreverently upon the altar, and departed. The Aztecs swallowed their chagrin, and set a fragrant herb with a knife of iztli beside the bird. As the king with his suite arrived at the festival, more for the sake of mocking the proceedings than to grace them, the four prisoners taken from the Xochimilcos were brought out, placed upon the stone of sacrifice, their breasts cut open with the iztli, and the palpitating heart torn out. This sacrifice brought consternation upon the Colhuas, they discharged the Aztecs from their service and drove them away. The Aztecs wandered for some time about the country, and then, at the command of their god, founded the town of Tenochtitlan, or Mexico, on a site where they had found a nopal (Opuntie) growing upon a rock.

At the second sacrifice a Colhua was the victim. An Aztec was hunting, on the shore of the lake, for an animal to offer his patron deity, when he met a Colhua called Xomimitl; he attacks him furiously, bears him down, and the defeated man is made to bleed upon the sacrifice stone.

Both myths are aitiological, and explained by the sacrifice system (Opferkultus). This is shown in the case of the four prisoners, of whom we shall learn more in the third story. The second story personifies the Aztec and the Colhua peoples in the two men, the second nation supplying the first with human sacrifices. With the sacrifice of Xomimitl, the parallelism of which to the four Xochimilos cannot be overlooked by any one, the first temple of Huitzilopochtli, in Tenochtitlan, was inaugurated.

The third sacrifice shows still more closely the religious basis (Kultusgrundlage) of the myth. Here also, as in the former, we have to do with a Colhua. The Aztecs offered the Colhua king to show divine honors to his daughter and to apotheosize her into the mother of their national god, declaring that such was the will of the deity. The king, rejoicing at the honor intended for his daughter, let her go, and she was brought to Tenochtitlan with great pomp. No sooner, however, had she arrived than she was sacrificed, flayed, and one of the bravest youths dressed in her skin. The king was invited to the solemn act of the deification of his daughter, and only became aware of her death when the flame from the copal gum revealed to him the bloody skin about the youth placed at the side of the god. The daughter was, however, at once formally declared mother of Huitzilopochtli and of all the gods.

This aitiological cultus-myth is easily explained. The name of the daughter is Teteionan, whom we have learned to know as the gods'-mother, and as Tocitzin, 'our grandmother.'[14] She was never the daughter of a human king, but has been transformed into one by euhemerism, somewhat as Iphigenia is to be considered as originally Artemis. The goddess Teteionan had her special festival in Mexico, when a woman, dressed as goddess, was sacrificed; while held on the back of another woman, her head was cut off, then she was flayed, and the skin carried by a youth, accompanied by a numerous retinue, as a present to Huitzilopochtli. Four prisoners of war were, moreover, previously sacrificed.

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[14] If some of the names and myths, mentioned or alluded to from time to time, by Müller and others, are yet unknown to the reader, he will remem-

Similar to this story, told by Clavigero, is another, narrated by Acosta. According to the latter, Tozi was the daughter of the king of Culhuacan, and was made the first human sacrifice by order of Huitzilopochtli, who desired her for a sister. Tozi is, however, none other than Tocitzin, and is also shown to be 'our grandmother.' According to the Aztec version, the custom of dressing priests in the skin of sacrificed beings dates from her—such representations are often seen, especially in Humboldt; the Bâsle collection of Mexican antiquities possesses also the stone image of a priest dressed in a human skin. The fourth month, Tlacaxipehualitzli, this is, 'to flay a man,' derived its name from this custom, which is said to have been most frequent at this period of the year.

Goddesses, or beings representing goddesses, are sacrificed in both of these fables. We have met with human sacrifices among the Muyscas in Central America, and in connection with many deities of the Mexicans, in which the human victim represents the god to whom he is to be sacrificed. Slaves impersonating gods were also sacrificed among the northern Indians, the so-called *Indios bravos*. The person sacrificed is devoured by the god, is given over to him, is already part of him, is the god himself. Such was the case with the slave that personated Quetzalcoatl in the merchants' festival in Cholula.

The critic is only able to admit the relative truth of

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ber the impossibility of any arrangement of these mixed and far-involved legends by which, without infinite verbiage, this trouble could be wholly obviated. In good time, and with what clearness is possible, the list of gods and legends will be made as nearly as may be complete.

the recentness of the period in which the origin of Mexican human sacrifices is placed by these three myths. We already know that human sacrifices are very ancient in all America, and that they have only been put aside at a few places by humane efforts; as in Peru to some extent by means of the Incas. We have met with them throughout all South America.

The statement so generally made that the Toltec Quetzalcoatl preached against human sacrifices, certainly implies the previous existence of such sacrifices. This statement about Quetzalcoatl also points out the way to the assimilation of the varying accounts, fables, and myths. In very ancient times human sacrifices predominated everywhere. The Toltecs, like the Incas, endeavored more or less to abolish them, and, even if not altogether successful, they reduced them considerably. The Aztecs reïntroduced them. In the East Indies, these sacrifices date back to the era before the flood, and the Greeks there met with remains of anthropophagy, the basis thereof.

Brahmanism sought to exterminate these ancient sacrifices, and the Vedas forbid them, a prohibition which, in connection with the custom of pretending to sacrifice human beings, gives evidence of a former use of actual sacrifices. The later sect of Shiwaits again introduced them.

However ancient the national political phase of Huitzilopochtli may be, the nature phase is still older. This god, too, has a nature-basis which not only explains his being, but throws light upon his further unfolding as a national or war god. All searchers who do not begin with this basis, see nothing but inexplicable riddles and contradictions before them.

This nature-basis is first seen in the myth about his birth. In the neighborhood of Tulla there was a place called Coatepec, where lived a god-fearing woman, called Coatlicue. One day, as she was going to the temple, according to her custom, a gaily colored ball of feathers fell down from heaven; she picked it up, and hid it in her bosom, intending to decorate the altar therewith. As she was on the point of producing it for this purpose, it could not be found. A few days afterward she was aware of being pregnant. Her children, the Centzunhuitznahuas, also noticed this, and, in order to avoid their own disgrace, they determined to kill her before she was delivered. Her sorrow was however, miraculously consoled by a voice that made itself heard from within her womb, saying: Fear not, O mother, I will save thee to thy great honor, and to my great fame! The brothers, urged on by their sister, were on the point of killing her, when, behold, even as the armed Athena sprang from her father's head, Huitzilopochtli was born; the shield in his left hand, the spear in his right, the green plumage on his head, and humming-bird feathers on his left leg; his face, arms, and legs being, moreover, striped with blue. At once he slew his opponents, plundered their dwellings, and brought the spoils to his mother. From this he was called Terror and the Frightful God.

If we dissect this myth, we notice that another mother appears than the one formerly sacrificed in his honor, Teteionan. Two mothers present nothing remarkable in mythology, I have only to mention Aphrodite and Athena, who according to different accounts, had different fathers. So long as the formation of myths goes on, founded upon fresh conceptions of nature, somewhat different ideas (for wholly different, even here, the two mothers are not) from distinct points of view, are always possible. It is the anthropomorphism of the age that fixes on the one-sided conclusion. Teteionan is Huitzilopochtli's mother, because she is the mother of all the gods. The mother, in this instance, is the Flora of the Aztecs, euhemerized into a god-fearing woman, Coatlicue, or Coatlantana, of whose worship in Coatepec and Mexico we we have already spoken.

The second point prominent in the myth, is the close connection of Huitzilopochtli with the botanical kingdom. The humming-bird is the messenger of spring, sent by the south to the north, by the hot to the temperate region. It is the means of fructifying the flowers, its movements causing the transfer of the pollen from the stamens to the germ-shells. It sticks its long, thin little bill deep into the flower, and rummaging beneath the stamens, drinks the nectar of the flower, while promoting the act of plant-reproduction. In the Latin myth also, Mars stands in close connection with Flora: Juno gives him birth with Flora's aid, without the assistance of Jupiter. In our mythology of the north, Thor is on a friendly footing with Nanna, the northern Flora. We are already acquainted also with a fable of the Pimas, according to which the goddess of maize became pregnant by a raindrop, and bore the forefather of the people, he who built the great houses.

The question, why Huitzilopochtli should be the son of the goddess of plants, and what his real connection with the botanical kingdom consists in, is solved by examining his worship at the three ancient yearly feasts, which take place exactly at those periods of the year that are the most influential for the Mexican climate, the middle of May, the middle of August, and the end of December. As a rule, in the first half of May the rain begins. Previous to this, the greatest drought and torpidness reign; the plants appear feeble and drooping; nature is bare, the earth gray with dry, withered grass. After a few days of rain, however, the trees appear in a fresh green, the ground is covered with new herbs, all nature is reänimated. Trees, bushes, plants, develop their blossoms; a vapory fragrance rises over all. The fruit shoots from the cultivated field, the juicy, bright green of the maize refreshes the eye. Mühlenpfordt, who stayed a long time in these regions, gives this description of the season. Völker's statement that rain and water stand as fructifying principles in the first rank in ancient physics, and that they meet us in innumerable myths, holds doubly good for the tropics. It requires little imagination to understand what a powerful impression transformed nature, with all its beauty and blessings, must produce in the soul of the child of nature. It is on this account that the ancient Tlaloc came to enjoy so high a regard among the Aztecs, nor has Quetzalcoatl disdained to adorn his mantle with the crosses of a rain-god. And so Huitzilopochtli's first feast of the year, the festival of the arrival of the god, of the offering of incense, stands at the beginning of the season of the reïnvigorating of nature by the rain. The pagan Germans used to say that Nerthus, Freya, Hulda, Bertha, Frieg, and other divinities, entered the country at this period. The Aztecs prepared especially for this feast an image of their chief god, made of edible plants and honey, of the same size as the wooden image; and the youths sang the deeds of their god before it, and hymns praying for rain and fertility. Offering of multitudes of quails, incense-burning, and the significant dance of priests and virgins, followed. The virgins, who on this day were called sisters of Huitzilopochtli, wore garlands of dry maize-leaves on their heads, and carried split reeds in their hands; by this representing the dry season. The priests, on the contrary, represented the quickened nature, having their lips smeared with honey.

Now although, according to Max von Wied, there were no bees in America before the arrival of the Europeans, the bees are here represented by humming-birds, also called honey or bee birds, which, hovering and humming like bees, gather their food from the tube-shaped flowers. This food consists of a small insect that lives on honey, and they feed their young by letting them suck at the tongue covered with this honey. The priests bore, further, another symbol of spring: each one held a staff in his hand, on which a flower of feathers was fixed, having another bunch of feathers fixed over it; thus too, Freya's hawk-plumage denoted the advent of the fine season. A prisoner had been selected a year in advance as a victim, and was called 'wise lord of the heaven,' for he personated the god, and had the privilege of choosing the hour of the sacrifice; he did not die, like the other prisoners, on the sacrifice stone, but on the shoulders of the priests. The little children were consecrated to the god of their country, at this festival, by a small incision on the breast.

So also Mars appears as god of spring, he to whom the grass and the sacred spring time of the birth of animals *(ver sacrum)* were dedicated, whose chief festival and whose month are placed at the commencement of spring, at which time the Salii also sang their old religious songs, and a man personated the god. The Tyrian festival of the awaking of Hercules fell also in spring, for the same reason. Thus, in the myth of the birth of Huitzilopochtli, and in his first festival, spring, or the energy that produces spring, is made the basis of his being. His warlike attributes are appendages of the anthropomorphized national and war god.

The second great festival of the deity takes place in the middle of August. The rains which have lasted and refreshed up to this time, become intermittent, and the fine season approaches, during which the azure sky of the tropics pours its splendor and its beneficial warmth upon men, animals, and plants, scattered over a plain situated 8500 feet above the level of the sea. This is the twelfth month there, the month of ripe fruits. The idols in all temples and dwellings are decorated with flowers. It is now no longer the rain which is the blessing, but the blue sky which cherishes the variegated flower-world. For this reason the image of Huitzilopochtli was blue, his head was wound round with an azure ribbon, in his right hand he held an azure staff or club, and he sat on an azure stool, which, according to ancient accounts, represents heaven as his dwelling-place. His arms and legs had also blue stripes, and costly blue stones hung round his neck. The Egyptian god of fertility, Khem, was also represented in blue.

The third festival of Huitzilopochtli takes place during the winter solstice, a period which plays a great rôle in all worships and myths. The best-known festival of this kind is the one held on the 25th of December throughout the Roman Empire, to celebrate the birth of

Mithras, the invincible sun. The Chipewas in North America call December the month of the small spirit, and January that of the great spirit. The Mexican festival of this month represented the character of the entering season, and the new state of nature. The cold sets in, the mountains are covered with snow, the ground dries up, the plants search in vain for their nourishment, many trees lose their foliage—in a word, nature seems dead. And so it happened with their god. The priests prepared his image of various seeds kneaded with the blood of sacrificed children. Numerous religious purifyings and penances, washings with water, blood-lettings, fasts, processions, burning of incense, sacrifices of quails and human beings, inaugurated the festival. One of Quetzalcoatl's priests then shot an arrow at this image of Huitzilopochtli, which penetrated the god who was now considered as dead. His heart was cut out, as with human victims, and eaten by the king, the representative of the god on earth. The body, however, was divided among the various quarters of the city, so that every man received a piece. This was called *teoqualo* 'the god who is eaten.'

The meaning of the death of this god is, on the whole, evident; it corresponds with the death of vegetation; and a comparison of the myth of his birth, with the two other feasts of Huitzilopochtli, leads to the same conclusion. This third feast is, therefore, at the same time, a festival in honor of the brother of this god, Tezcatlipoca, the god of the under-world, of death, of drought, and of hunger, whose rule commences where that of his brother ends. The myth gives a similar form and sense to the death of Osiris, who is killed by Typhon, and the death of Dionysos and Hercules in the Phœnician colonies. Adonis lives with Aphrodite during one half of the year, and with Persephone the other half; the Indian Krishna leaves for the under-world; thus, too, Brahma and the Celtic sun-god, Hu, died yearly, and were yearly born again. The festival of the self-burning of the Tyrian Heracles is also of this kind; it takes place at the time of the dying off of vegetation, even if this should be in the summer.

As regards the custom of eating the god, this also occurs at another feast which is celebrated during this season, in honor of the gods of the mountains and the water. Small idols of seeds and dough were then prepared, their breasts were opened like those of human victims, the heart was cut out, and the body distributed for eating. The time at which this occurs, shows that it stands in necessary connection with the death of the god. When the god dies it must be as a sacrifice in the fashion of his religion, and when the anthropomorphized god dies, it is as a human sacrifice amid all the necessary usages pertaining thereto: he is killed by priests, the heart is torn out, and his body eaten at the sacrifice meal, just as was done with every human sacrifice. Could it be meant that the god, in being eaten, is imparted to, or incorporated with, the person eating him? This is no doubt so, though not in the abstract, metaphysical, Christian or moral sense, but only with regard to his nature-sense, (seiner Naturseite), which is the real essence of the god. He gives his body, in seed, to be eaten by his people, just as nature, dying at the approach of the winter, at this very period, has stored up an abundance of its gifts for the sustenance of man. It gives man its life-fruit, or its fruit of life as a host or holy wafer. As a rule, the god, during the time of sacrifice, regales with the offering those bringing sacrifices; and, the eating of the flesh of the slave, who so often represents the god to whom he is sacrificed, is the same as eating the god. We have heard of the custom among some nations of eating the ashes of their forefathers, to whom they give divine honors, in order to become possessors of their virtues. The Arkansas nation, west of the Mississippi, which worshiped the dog, used to eat dog-flesh at one of its feasts. Many other peoples solemnly slaughter animals, consume their flesh, and moreover pay divine honors to the remains of these animals. Here the eating of the god, in seeds, is made clear—this custom also existed among the Greeks. The division of the year-god by the ancients, in myth and religious system, has, for the rest, no other sense than has this distribution of the body of Huitzilopochtli. This is done with the sun-bull at the festival of the Persian Mithras, as at the feast, and in the myth of the Dionysos-Zagreus, of Osiris and Attys.

The three yearly festivals, as well as the myth of his birth, all tend to show the positive connection of Huitzilopochtli with the yearly life of the plant-world. The first festival is the arrival of the god, as the plant-world is ushered in, with its hymns praying for rain, its virgins representing the sisters of the god and the inimical drought, in the same sense as the brothers and sister, especially the latter, are his enemies in the myth of his birth, and, as Tezcatlipoca, the god of drought is his brother. Brothers and sisters not seldom represent parallel contrasts in mythology and worship. The second celebration presents the god as the botanical kingdom in its splendor, for which reason the Mexicans call the humming-bird the sunbeam, from the form assumed by the god at this time. The humming-bird, moreover, takes also his winter sleep, and thus the god dies in winter with the plants. The Greenlanders asked the younger Egede if the god of heaven and earth ever died, and, when answered in the negative, they were much surprised, and said that he must surely be a great god. This intimate connection with the plant-world is also shown in the birth-myth of Huitzilopochtli, who here appears as the son of the goddess of plants. It now becomes easier to answer the question of Wuttke: has the fable of this birth reference merely to the making a man out of a god already existing, or to the actual birth of the god? The Aztecs, it is true, were undecided on this point, some conceding to him a human existence on earth, others investing him with a conciousness of his nature being. We, however, answer this question simply, from the preceding: the birth of the god is annual, and the myth has therefrom invented one birth, said to have taken place at some period, while the anthropomorphism fables very prettily the transformation into a man. Of the former existence of a born god, the myth knows nothing, for it is only afterward that it raises the god into heaven. It has not, however, come to euhemerism in the case of Huitzilopochtli, though it has with Huitziton. In placing the god in the position of son to the plant-goddess, the myth separates his being from that of the mother, consequently, Huitzilopochtli is not the plant-world himself, however closely he may be related to it. This is made clearer by following up the birth-myth, which makes him out to be not only the son of Coatlicue, but also of the force causing her fructification. The variegated ball of feathers which fell from heaven, is none other than Huitzilopochtli himself, the little humming-bird, which is the means of fructifying the plants, and the virile, fructifying nature-force manifested by and issuing from him in the spring. He is also born with the feather-tuft, and this symbol of the fine season never leaves him in any of his forms, it remains his attribute.

The Tapuas in South America have, after a similar symbolism, the custom, at their yearly seed-sowing festivals, of letting some one hang a bunch of ostrich-feathers on his back, the feathers being spread over like a wheel. This feather-bunch is their symbol of the fructifying power which comes from heaven. Their belief that bread falls from heaven into this tuft of feathers is thus made clear. In this myth we find the natural basis of such a birth-myth. In our northern mythology, Neekris, the ball, is, in the same manner, the father of Nanna, the northern Flora. That this virile power of heaven is made to appear as a ball of feathers, suits the humming-bird god. The Esths also imagined their god of thunder, as the god of warmth, in the form of a bird. In the same sense, doves were consecrated to Zeus, in Dodona and Arcadia, and a flying bird is a symbol of heaven among the Chinese. This force may, however, be symbolized in another form, and give rise to a birth-myth of exactly the same kind. Thus, the daughter of the god Sangarius, in the Phrygian myth, hid in her bosom the fruit of an almond-tree, which had grown out of the seed of the child of the earth, Agdistis: the fruit disappeared, the daughter became pregnant and bore the beautiful boy Attes. According to Arnobius, it was the fruit of a pomegranate-tree, which fructified Nanna. Among the Chinese, a nymph, called Puzza, the nourisher of all living things, became pregnant by eating a lotus-flower, and gave birth to a great lawgiver and conqueror. Danaë, again, becomes pregnant from the golden shower of Zeus—an easily understood symbolism. It is always the virile nature-power, either as seen in the sun, or in the azure sky (for which reason Huitzilopochtli is called the lord of the heaven, Ochibus or Huchilobos), which puts the variegated seed into the womb of the plant-world, 'at the same time bringing himself forth again, and making himself manifest in the plant-world.' This heavenly life-force no sooner finds an earthly mother-womb than its triumph is assured, even before birth, while developing its bud; just as the inner voice, in the myth, consoled the mother, and protected her against all her enemies. It is only after his birth that the myth holds Huitzilopochtli as a personal anthropomorphic god.

This is the natural signification of Huitzilopochtli, which we have accepted as the basis of all other developments of the god, and for this universal reason, namely, that the most ancient heathen gods are nature-gods, mythologic rules being followed, and that the pagan religion is essentially a nature-worship as well as a polytheism. The special investigation and following up of the various virtues have led to the same result. But, as this view has not yet been generally accepted in regard to this god, a few words concerning the union of the anthropomorphic national aspect of Huitzilopochtli, with his natural one may be added. It has been thought necessary to make the martial phase of Huitzilopochtli the basis of the others, as with Mars. War is, from this point of view, a child of spring, because weapons are then resumed after the long winter armistice. This is not at all the case with Huitzilopochtli, because the rainy season, setting in in spring, when the arrival and birth of the god are celebrated, renders the soft roads of Mexico unsuitable for war expeditions. Wars were originally children of autumn, at which time the ripe fruits were objects of robbery. But the idea of a war and national god is easily connected with the basis of a fructifying god of heaven. This chief nature-god may either be god of heaven, as Huitzilopochtli, as the rain-giving Zeus is made the national god by Homer, to whom human sacrifices were brought in Arcadia down to a late period, or he may be a sun-god, like Baal, to whom prayers for rain were addressed in Phœnicia, to further the growth of the fruit, and who also received human sacrifices. The Celtic Hu is also an ethereal war god, properly sun-god, who received human sacrifices in honor of the victory of spring; none the less is Odin's connection with war, battle, and war horrors; he is a fire-god, like Moloch and Shiva, to whom human sacrifices were made for fear of famine and failure of crops. The apparent basis of such a god has not to be considered so much as the point that the people ascribed to him the chief government of the course of the year. In such a case, the chief ruler also becomes the national god, the life of the nation depending immediately on the yearly course of nature. Is the nation warlike, then, the national god naturally becomes a war god as well. As anthropomorphism connects itself with the nature-god only at a later period, so does his worship as war god and national god. In the case of Mars, as well as of Picus and Faunus, the same succession is followed. Mars, for example, is called upon in a prayer which has been preserved by Cato, to protect shepherds and flocks, and to avert bad weather and misgrowth; Virgil refers to him as a god of plants. In the song of the Arvalian brothers, he is called upon as the protector of the flowers. Thus, in his case also, the nature side is the basis. The

Chinese symbolism of the union of the two sides or phases, is expressed in such a manner as to make spears and weapons representations of the germs of plants. This union has already been illustrated among the Aztecs, in the humming-bird, the sunbeam which plays round the flowers, in whose little body the intensest war spirit burns. Among the Egyptians, the beetle was placed upon the ring of the warrior, with whom it signified world and production.

It remains to speak of another attribute of Huitzilopochtli, the snake attribute. Huitzilopochtli is also a snake-god. We have already, when treating of the snake-worship of the Mayas, referred to the numerous snakes with which this god is connected by myth and image, and how this attribute was added to the original humming-bird attribute, in Coatepec, where the snake-goddess Coatlicue gave him birth. If the snake signifies, in one case, time, in another, world, and in another instance, water, or the yearly rejuvenation of germs and blossoms, the eternal circle of nature, domination, soothsaying,—it is quite proper; for all these qualities are found united in the god. Still other qualities, not seemingly possessed by him, we pass over, such as a connection with the earth and with the healing power, to be found in other Mexican gods, or the evil principle, which is entirely wanting. Just as the snake changes its skin every year, and takes its winter sleep, so does Huitzilopochtli, whose mother, Flora, is, therefore, a snake-goddess. Even so the snake represents the seed-corn in the mysteries of Demeter. In the Sabazii it represents the fructifying Zeus and the blessing. It is also the symbol of productive power and heat, or of life, attribute of the life-endowing Shiva; among the Egyptians it represents the yearly rejuvenation of germs and blossoms. The snake Agathodæmon appears with ears of grain and poppies, as the symbol of fertility. If the god exhibits this nature of his, in spring, in the rain, then the snake is a suitable attribute. In India, snakes are genii of seas, and the Punjab, whose fertility is assured by the yearly inundations, has the name of snake lands (Nagakhanda), and claims an ancient worship. The sustaining water-god, Vishnu, also received the snake attribute. Among the Chinese, the water could be represented by a snake. The Peruvians call the boa constrictor the mother of nature.

The idea of the yearly renewal of nature is also connected with that of time forever young, and the Aztecs, therefore, encircle their cycle with a snake as the symbol of time. The more positive signification which the snake, placed by the side of the humming-bird, gives to Huitzilopochtli, is that of a soothsaying god, like the snake Python among the Greeks. The snake signified 'king' among the Egyptians, and this suits Huitzilopochtli also, who may properly enough be considered the real king of his people. If, as connected with Huitzilopochtli, the snake also represents the war god, on account of its spirited mode of attack, I cannot with certainty say, but the myth as well as the worship places it in this relation to the war goddess Athene. Although the idea of a national and a war god is not quite obscured in the snake attribute, yet the nature side is especially denoted by it, as in the southern countries, where snake worship prevailed; the reference to the southern nature of this god is quite evident in the snake attribute. In the north, moisture, represented by the snake, has never attained the cosmological import which it has in the hot countries of the south. There, the snake rather represents an anticosmogonic, or a bad principle.[15]

Mr Tylor, without committing himself to any extent in details, yet agrees, as far as he goes, with Müller. He says: "The very name of Mexico seems derived from Mexitli, the national war-god, identical or identified with the hideous gory Huitzilopochtli. Not to attempt a general solution of the enigmatic nature of this inextricable compound parthenogenetic deity, we may notice the association of his principal festival with the winter-solstice, when his paste idol was shot through with an arrow, and being thus killed, was divided into morsels and eaten, wherefore the ceremony was called the *teoqualo*, or 'god-eating.' This, and other details, tend to show Huitzilopochtli as originally a nature-deity, whose life and death were connected with the year's, while his functions of war-god may be of later addition."[16]

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[15] *Müller*, *Amerikanische Urreligionen*, pp. 591-612.

Of this festival of the winter solstice the date and further particulars are given by the Vatican Codex as follows:—

The name Panquetzaliztli, of the Mexican month that began on the first of December, means, being interpreted, 'the elevation of banners.' For, on the first day of December every person raised over his house a small paper flag in honor of this god of battle; and the captains and soldiers sacrificed those that they had taken prisoners in war, who, before they were sacrificed, being set at liberty, and presented with arms equal to their adversaries, were allowed to defend themselves till they were either vanquished or killed, and thus sacrificed. The Mexicans celebrated in this month the festival of their first captain, Vichilopuchitl. They celebrated at this time the festival of the wafer or cake. They made a a cake of the meal of bledos, which is called *tzoali*, and having made it, they spoke over it in their manner, and broke it into pieces. These the high priest put into certain very clean vessels, and with a thorn of maguey, which resembles a thick needle, he took up with the utmost reverence single morsels, and put them into the mouth of each individual, in the manner of a communion,—and I am willing to believe that these poor people have had the knowledge of our mode of communion or of the preaching of the gospel; or perhaps the devil, most envious of the honor of God, may have led them into this superstition in order that by this ceremony he might be adored and served as Christ our Lord On the twenty-first of December they celebrated the festival of this god,—through whose instrumentality, they say, the earth became again visible after it had been drowned with the waters of the deluge: they therefore kept his festival during the twenty following days, in which they offered sacrifices to him.[17]

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[16] *Tylor's Prim. Cult.*, vol. ii., p 279.

The deity Tlaloc, or Tlalocateuchtli, whom we have several times found mentioned as seated beside Huitzilopochtli in the great temple, was the god of water and rain, and the fertilizer of the earth. He was held to reside where the clouds gather, upon the highest mountain-tops, especially upon those of Tlaloc, Tlascala, and Toluca, and his attributes were the thunderbolt, the flash, and the thunder. It was also believed that in the high hills there resided other gods, subaltern to Tlaloc—all passing under the same name, and revered not only as gods of water but also as gods of mountains. The prominent colors of the image of Tlaloc were azure and green, thereby symbolizing the various shades of water. The decorations of this image varied a good deal according to locality and the several fancies of different worshipers: the description of Gama, founded on the inspection of original works of Mexican religious art, is the most authentic and complete. In the great temple of Mexico, in his own proper chapel, called *epeoatl*, adjoining that of Huitzilopochtli, this god of water stood upon his pedestal. In his left hand was a shield ornamented with feathers; in his right were certain thin, shining, wavy sheets of gold representing his thunderbolts, or sometimes a golden serpent representing either the thunderbolt or the moisture with which this deity was so intimately connected. On his feet were a kind of half-boots, with little bells of gold hanging therefrom. Round his neck was a band or collar set with gold and gems of price; while from his wrists depended strings of costly stones, even such as are the ornaments of kings. His vesture was an azure smock reaching to the middle of the thigh, cross-hatched all over with ribbons of silver forming squares; and in the middle of each square was a circle also of silver, while in the angles thereof were flowers, pearl-colored, with yellow leaves hanging down. And even as the decoration of the vesture so was that of the shield; the ground blue, covered with crossed ribbons of silver and circles of silver: and the feathers of yellow and green and flesh-color and blue, each color forming a distinct band. The body was naked from mid-thigh down, and of a grey tint, as was also the face. This face had only one eye of a somewhat extraordinary character: there was an exterior circle of blue, the interior was white with a black line across it and a little semi-circle below the line. Either round the whole eye or round the mouth was a doubled band, or ribbon of blue; this, although unnoticed by Torquemada, is affirmed by Gama to have been never omitted from any figure of Tlaloc, to have been his most characteristic device, and that which distinguished him specially from the other gods. In his open mouth were to be seen only three grinders; his front teeth were painted red, as was also the pendant, with its button of gold, that hung from his ear. His head-adornment was an open crown, covered in its circumference with white and green feathers, and from behind it over the shoulder depended other plumes of red and white. Sometimes the insignium of the thunderbolt is omitted with this god, and Ixtlilxochitl represents him, in the picture of the month Etzalli, with a cane of maize in the one hand, and in the other a kind of instrument with which he was digging in the ground. In the ground thus dug were put maize leaves filled with a kind of food, like fritters, called *etzalli;* from this the month took its name.[18]

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[17] *Spiegazione delle Tavole del Codice Mexicano (Vaticano)*, tav. lxxi.-ii., in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., pp. 195-6.

A prayer to this god has been preserved by Sahagun, in which it will be noticed that the word Tlaloc is used sometimes in the singular and sometimes in the plural:—

O our Lord, most clement, liberal giver and lord of verdure and coolness, lord of the terrestrial paradise, odorous and flowery, and lord of the incense of copal, woe are we that the gods of water, thy subjects, have hid themselves away in their retreat, who are wont to serve us with the things we need and who are themselves served with *ulli* and *auchtli* and copal. They have left concealed all the things that sustain our lives, and carried away with them their sister the goddess of the necessaries of life, and carried away also the goddess of pepper. O our Lord, take pity on us that live; our food goes to destruction, is lost, is dried up; for lack of water, it is as if turned to dust and mixed with spiders' webs. Woe for the miserable laborers and for the common people; they are wasted with hunger, they go about unrecognizable and disfigured every one. They are blue under the eyes as with death; their mouths are dry as sedge; all the bones of their bodies may be counted as in a skeleton. The children are disfigured and yellow as earth; not only those that begin to walk, but even those in the cradle. There is no one to whom this torment of hunger does not come; the very animals and birds suffer hard want, by the drought that is. It is pitiful to see the birds, some dragging themselves along with drooping wings, others falling down utterly and unable to walk, and others still with their mouths open through this hunger and thirst. The animals, O our Lord, it is a grievous sight to see them stumbling and falling, licking the earth for hunger, and panting with open mouth and hanging tongue. The people lose their senses and die for thirst; they perish, none is like to remain. It is woeful, O our Lord, to see all the face of the earth dry, so that it cannot produce the herbs nor the trees, nor anything to sustain us,—the earth that used to be as a father and mother to us, giving us milk and all nourishment, herbs and fruits that therein grew. Now is all dry, all lost; it is evident that the Tlaloc gods have carried all away with them, and hid in their retreat, which is the terrestrial paradise. The things, O Lord, that thou wert graciously wont to give us, upon which we lived and were joyful, which are the life and joy of all the world, and precious as emeralds or sapphires,—all these things are departed from us. O our Lord, god of nourishment and giver thereof, most humane and most compassionate, what thing hast thou determined to do with us? Hast thou, peradventure altogether forsaken us? Thy wrath and indignation shall it not be appeased? Hast thou determined on the perdition of all thy servants and vassals, and that thy city and kingdom shall be left desolate and uninhabited? Peradventure, this has been determined, and settled in heaven and hades. O our Lord, concede at least this, that the innocent children, who cannot so much as walk, who are still in the cradle, may have something to eat, so that they may live, and not die in this so great famine. What have they done that they should be tormented and should die of hunger? No iniquity have they committed, neither know they what thing it is to sin; they have neither offended the god of heaven nor the god of hell. We, if we have offended in many things, if our sins have reached heaven and hades, and the stink thereof gone out to the ends of the earth, just it is that we be destroyed and made an end of; we have nothing to say thereto, nor to excuse ourselves withal, nor to resist what is determined against us in heaven and in hades. Let it be done; destroy us all, and that swiftly, that we may not suffer from this long weariness which is worse than if we burned in fire. Certainly it is a horrible thing to suffer this hunger; it is like a snake lacking food, it gulps down its saliva, it hisses, it cries out for something to devour. It is a fearful thing to see the anguish of it demanding somewhat to eat; this hunger is intense as burning fire, flinging out sparks. Lord, let the thing happen that many years ago we have heard said by the old men and women that have passed away from us, let the heavens fall on us and the demons of the air come down, the Izitzimites, who are to come to destroy the earth with all that dwell on it; let darkness and obscurity cover the whole world, and the habitation of men be nowhere found therein. This thing was known to the ancients, and they divulged it, and from mouth to mouth it has come down to us, all this that has to happen when the world ends and the earth is weary of producing creatures. Our Lord, such present end would be now dear to us as riches or pleasures once were—miserable that we are! See good, O Lord, that there fall some pestilence to end us quickly. Such plague usually comes from the god of hades; and if it came there would peradventure be provided some allowance of food, so that the dead should not travel to hades without any provision for the way. O that this tribulation were of war, which is originated by the sun, and which breaks from sleep like a strong and valiant one,—for then would the soldiers and the brave, the stout and warlike men, take pleasure therein. In it many die, and much blood is spilt, and the battle-field is filled with dead bodies and with the bones and skulls of the vanquished; strewn also is the face of the earth with the hairs of the head of warriors that rot; but this they fear not, for they know that their souls go to the house of the sun. And there they honor the sun with joyful voices, and suck the various flowers with great delight; there all the stout and valiant ones that died in war are glorified and extolled; there also the little and tender children that die in war are presented to the Sun, very clean and well adorned and shining like precious stones. Thy sister, the goddess of food, provides for those that go thither, supplying them with provision for the way; and this provision of necessary things is the strength and the soul and the staff of all the people of the world, and without it there is no life. But this hunger with which we are afflicted, O our most humane Lord, is so sore and intolerable that the miserable common people are not able to suffer nor support it; being still alive they die many deaths; and not the people alone suffer but also all the animals. O our most compassionate Lord, lord of green things and gums, of herbs odorous and virtuous, I beseech thee to look with eyes of pity on the people of this thy city and kingdom; for the whole world down to the very beasts is in peril of destruction, and disappearance, and irremediable end. Since this is so, I entreat thee to see good to send back to us the food-giving gods, gods of the rain and storm, of the herbs and of the trees; so that they perform again their office here with us on the earth. Scatter the riches and the prosperity of thy treasures, let the timbrels of joy be shaken that are the staves of the gods of water, let them take their sandals of india-rubber that they may walk with swiftness. Give succor, O Lord, to our lord, the god of the earth, at least with one shower of water, for when he has water he creates and sustains us. See good, O Lord, to invigorate the corn and the other foods, much wished for and much needed, now sown and planted; for the ridges of the earth suffer sore need and anguish from lack of water. See good, O Lord, that the people receive this favor and mercy at thine hand, let them see and enjoy of the verdure and coolness that are as precious stones; see good that the fruit and the substance of the Tlalocs be given, which are the clouds that these gods carry with them and that sow the rain about us. See good, O Lord, that the animals and herbs be made glad, and that the fowls and birds of precious feather, such as the *quechotl* and the *caquan*, fly and sing and suck the herbs and flowers. And let not this come about with thunderings and lightnings, symbols of thy wrath; for if our lords the Tlalocs come with thunder and lightning the whole people, being lean and very weak with hunger, would be terrified. If indeed some are already marked out to go to the earthly paradise by the stroke of the thunderbolt, let this death be restricted to them, and let no injury befall any of the other people in mountain or cabin; neither let hurt come near the magueys or the other trees and plants of the earth; for these things are necessary to the life and sustenance of the people, poor, forsaken, and cast-away, who can with difficulty get food enough to live, going about through hunger with the bowels empty and sticking to the ribs. O our Lord, most compassionate, most generous, giver of all nourishment, be pleased to bless the earth and all the things that live on the face thereof. With deep sighing and with anguish of heart I cry upon all those that are gods of water, that are in the four quarters of the world, east and west, north and south, and upon those that dwell in the hollow of the earth, or in the air, or in the high mountains, or in the deep caves, I beseech them to come and console this poor people and to water the earth; for the eyes of all that inhabit the earth, animals as well as men, are turned toward you, and their hope is set upon your persons. O our Lord, be pleased to come.[19]

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[18] *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico,* tom. ii., p. 14; *Leon y Gama, Dos Piedras,* pt i., p. 101, pt ii., pp. 76–9.

This is a prayer to Tlaloc. But it was not with prayers alone that they deprecated his wrath and implored his assistance; here as elsewhere in the Mexican religion sacrifices played an important part. When the rain failed and the land was parched by drought, great processions were made in which a number of hairless dogs, common to the country, and good to eat, were carried on decorated litters to a place devoted to this use. There they were sacrificed to the god of water by cutting out their hearts. Afterwards the carcasses were eaten amid great festivities. All these things the Tlascaltec historian, Camargo, had seen with his own eyes thirty years before writing his book. The sacrifices of men, which were added to these in the days of greatness of the old religion, he describes as he was informed by priests who had officiated thereat. Two festivals in the year were celebrated to Tlaloc, the greater feast and the less. Each of these was terminated by human sacrifices. The side of the victim was opened with a sharp knife; the high priest tore out the heart, and turning toward the east offered it with lifted hands to the sun, crushing it at the same time with all his strength. He repeated this, turning in succession towards the remaining three cardinal points; the other *tlamacaxques*, or priests, not ceasing the while to darken with clouds of incense the faces of the idols. The heart was lastly burned and the body flung down the steps of the temple. A priest, who had afterwards been converted to Christianity, told Camargo that when he tore out the heart of a victim and flung it down, it used to palpitate with such force as to clear itself of the ground several times till it grew cold. Tlaloc was held in exceeding respect and the priests alone had the right to enter his temple. Whoever dared to blaspheme against him was supposed to die suddenly or to be stricken of thunder; the thunderbolt, instrument of his vengeance, flashed from the sky even at the moment it was clearest. The sacrifices offered to him in times of drought were never without answer and result; for, as Camargo craftily insinuates, the priests took good care never to undertake them till they saw indications of coming rain; besides, he adds,—introducing, in defiance of *nec deus intersit*, a surely unneeded personage, if we suppose his last statement true,—the devil, to to confirm these people in their errors, was always sure to send rain.[20]

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[19] *Sahagun*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., pp. 372-6; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, vol. ii , pp. 64-70.

Children were also sacrificed to Tlaloc. Says Motolinia, when four years came together in which there was no rain, and there remained as a consequence hardly any green thing in the fields, the people waited till the maize grew as high as the knee, and then made a general subscription with which four slave children, of five or six years of age, were purchased. These they sacrificed in a cruel manner by closing them up in a cave, which was never opened except on these occasions.[21]

According to Mendieta, again, children were sometimes offered to this god by drowning. The children were put into a canoe which was carried to a certain part of the lake of Mexico where was a whirlpool, which is no longer visible. Here the boat was sunk with its living cargo. These gods had, according to the same author, altars in the neighborhood of pools especially near springs; which altars were furnished with some kind of roof, and at the principal fountains were four in number set over against each other in the shape of a cross—the cross of the rain god.[22]

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[20] *Camargo*, *Hist. de Tlaxcallan*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1843, tom. 99, pp. 133, 135–7. Camargo, being a Tlascaltec, most of his writings have particular reference to his own province, but in this as in other places he seems to be describing general Mexican customs.

[21] The text without saying directly that these unfortunate children were closed there alive appears to infer it: 'Cuando el maiz estaba á la rodilla, para un dia repartian y echaban pecho, con que compraban cuatro niños esclavos de edad de cinco á seis años, y sacrificábanlos á Tlaloc, dios del agua, poniéndolos en una cueva, y cerrábanla hasta otro año que hacian lo mismo. Este cruel sacrificio.' *Motolinia*, in *Icazbalceta*, *Col. de Doc.*, tom. i., p. 45.

The Vatican Codex says, that in April a boy was sacrificed to Tlaloc and his dead body put into the maize granaries or maize fields—it is not clearly apparent which—to preserve the food of the people from spoiling.[23] It is to Sahagun, however, that we must turn for the most complete and authentic account of the festivals of Tlaloc with their attendant sacrifices.

In the first days of the first month of the year, which month is called in some parts of Mexico, Quavitleloa, but generally Atlcaoalo, and begins on the second of our February, a great feast was made in honor of the Tlalocs, gods of rain and water. For this occasion many children at the breast were purchased from their mothers; those being chosen that had two whirls (remolinos) in their hair, and that had been been born under a good sign; it being said that such were the most agreeable sacrifice to the storm gods, and most likely to induce them to send rain in due season. Some of these infants were butchered for this divine holiday on certain mountains, and some were drowned in the lake of Mexico. With the beginning of the festival, in every house, from the hut to the palace, certain poles were set up and to these were attached strips of the paper of the country, daubed over with india-rubber gum, said strips being called *amateteuitl*; this was considered an honor to the water-gods. And the first place where children were killed was Quauhtepetl, a high mountain in the neighborhood of Tlatelulco; all infants, boys or girls, sacrificed there were called by the name of the place, Quauhtepetl, and were decorated with strips of paper dyed red. The second place where children were killed was Yoaltecatl, a high mountain near Guadalupe. The victims were decorated with pieces of black paper, with red lines on it, and were named after the place, Yoaltecatl. The third death-halt was made at Tepetzingo, a a well-known hillock that rose up from the waters of the lake opposite Tlatelulco; there they killed a little girl, decking her with blue paper, and calling her Quetezalxoch, for so was this hillock called by another name. Poiauhtla, on the boundary of Tlascala, was the fourth hill of sacrifice. Here they killed children, named as usual after the locality, and decorated with paper on which were lines of india-rubber oil. The fifth place of sacrifice was the no longer visible whirlpool or sink of the lake of Mexico, Pantitlan. Those drowned here were called Epcoatl, and their adornment *epuepaniuhqui*. The sixth hill of death was Cocotl,[24] near Chalcoatenco; the infant victims were named after it and decorated with strips of paper of which half the number were red and half a tawny color. The mount Yiauhqueme, near Atlacuioaia, was the seventh station; the victims being named after the place and adorned with paper of a tawny color.

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[22] 'Tambien tenian ídolos junto á los aguas, mayormente cerca de las fuentes, á do hacian sus altares con sus gradas cubiertas por encima, y en muchas principales fuentes cuatro altares de estos á manera de cruz unos enfrente de otros, y allí en el agua echaban mucho encienso ofrecido y papel.' *Mendieta*, *Hist. Ecles.*, pp. 87, 102.

[23] 'In questo mese ritornavano ad ornare li tempj, e le immagini come nello passato, ed in fine delli venti dí sacrificavano un putto al Dio dell' acqua, e lo mettevano infra il maiz, a fine che non si guastasse la provisione di tutto l' anno.' *Spiegazione delle Tavole del Codice Mexicano*, tav. lx., in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., p. 191.

All these miserable babes before being carried to their death were bedecked with precious stones and rich feathers and with raiment and sandals wrought curiously; they put upon them paper wings (as if they were angels); they stained their faces with oil of india-rubber, and on the middle of each tiny cheek they painted a round spot of white. Not able yet to walk, the victims were carried in litters shining with jewels and awave with plumes; flutes and trumpets bellowed and shrilled round the little bedizened heads, all so unfortunate in their two whirls of hair, as they passed along; and everywhere as the litters were borne by, all the people wept. When the procession reached the temple near Tepetzinco, on the east, called Tozocan, the priests rested there all night, watching and singing songs, so that the little ones could not sleep. In the morning the march was again resumed; if the children wept copiously those around them were very glad, saying it was a sign that much rain would fall; while if they met any dropsical person on the road it was taken for a bad omen and something that would hinder the rain. If any of the temple ministers, or of the others called *quaquavitli*, or of the old men, broke off from the procession or turned back to their houses before they came to the place where the sacrifice was done, they were held for infamous and unworthy of any public office; thenceforward they were called *mocauhque*, that is to say, 'deserters.'[25]

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[24] 'Whence is derived the name *cocoles*, by which the boys of the choir of the cathedral of Mexico are now known.' *Bustamante*, note to *Sahagan*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., p. 85.

More ludicrous than diabolical are the ceremonies of the next feast of Tlaloc. In the sixth Aztec month, the month Etzalqualixtli, there was held a festival in honor of the gods of water and rain. Before the commencement of this festival the idol priests fasted four days, and before beginning to fast they made a procession to a certain piece of water, near Citlaltepec, to gather tules; for at that place these rushes grew very tall and thick and what part of them was under water was very white. There they pulled them up, rolled them in bundles wrapped about with their blankets, and so carried them back on their shoulders. Both on going out for these rushes and on coming back with them, it was the custom to rob anyone that was met on the road;

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[25] *Kingsborongh's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 37-8; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii.. pp. 84-7.

and as every one knew of this custom the roads were generally pretty clear of stragglers about this time. No one, not even a king's officer returning to his master with tribute, could hope to escape on such an occasion, nor to obtain from any court or magistrate any indemnification for loss or injury so sustained in goods or person; and if he made any resistance to his clerical spoilers they beat and kicked and dragged him over the ground. When they reached the temple with their rushes they spread them out on the ground and plaited them, white with green, into as it were painted mats, sewing them firm with threads of maguey-root; of these mats they made stools, and chairs with backs. The first day of the fast arrived, all the idol ministers and priests retired to their apartments in the temple buildings. There retired all those called *tlamacaztequioaques*, that is to say, 'priests that have done feats in war, that have captured three or four prisoners;' these although they did not reside continually in the temple, resorted thither at set times to fulfil their offices. There retired also those called *tlamacazcayiaque*, that is, 'priests that have taken one prisoner in war;' these also, although not regular inmates of the cues, resorted thither, when called by their duties. There retired also those that are called *tlamacazquecuicanime*, 'priest singers,' who resided permanently in the temple building because they had as yet captured no one in war. Last of all those also retired that were called *tlamacaztezcahoan*, which means 'inferior ministers,' and those boys, like little sacristans, who were called *tlamacatoton*, 'little ministers.'

Next, all the rush mats that had been made which were called *aztapilpetlatl*, 'jaspered mats of rushes, or mats of white and green' were spread round about the hearths (hogares) of the temple, and the priests proceeded to invest themselves for their offices. They put on a kind of jacket that they had, called *xicolli*, of painted cloth; on the left arm they put a kind of scarf, *macataxtli*; in the left hand they took a bag of copal, and in the right a censer, *temaitl*, which is a kind of saucepan or frying-pan of baked clay. Then they entered into the court-yard of the temple, took up their station in the middle of it, put live coals into their censers, added copal, and offered incense toward the four quarters of the world, east, north, west, and south. This done they emptied the coals from their incense-pans into the great brasiers that were always burning at night in the court, brasiers somewhat less in height than the height of a man, and so thick that two men could with difficulty clasp them.

This over, the priests returned to the temple buildings, *calmecac*, and put off their ornaments. Then they offered before the hearth little balls of dough, called *veutelolotli*; each priest offering four, arranging them on the aforementioned rush mats, and putting them down with great care, so that they should not roll nor move; and if the balls of any one stirred, it was the duty of his fellows to call attention to the matter and have him punished therefor. Some offered instead of dough four little pies or four pods of green pepper. A careful scrutiny was also observed to see if any one had any dirt on his blanket, or any bit of thread or hair or feather, and that no one should trip or fall; for in such a case he had to be punished; and as a consequence every man took good heed to all his steps and ways during these four days. At the end of each day's offerings, certain old men, called *quaquacuiltin*, came, their faces dyed black, and their heads shaved, save only the crown of the head, where the hair was allowed to grow long, the reverse of the custom of the Christian priests. These old men daily collected the offerings that had been made, dividing them among themselves. It was further the custom with all the priests and in all the temples, while fasting these four days, to be wakened at midnight by the blast of horns and shells and other instruments; when all rose up and, utterly naked, went to where were certain thorns of maguey, cut for the purpose the day before, and with little lancets of stone they hacked their ears, staining the prepared thorns of maguey and be-smearing their faces with the blood that flowed; each man staining maguey-thorns with his blood in number proportioned to his devotion, some five, others more, others less. This done all the priests went to bathe themselves, how cold soever it might be, attended by the music of marine shells and shrill whistles of baked clay. Every one had a little bag strapped to his shoulders, ornamented with tassels or strips of painted paper; in these bags was carried a sort of herb ground fine and made up with a kind of black dye into little longish pellets.[26] The general body of the priests marched along, each one carrying a leaf of maguey in which the thorns were stuck, as in a pincushion, which he had to use. Before these went a priest with his censer full of live coals and a bag of copal; and in advance of all these walked one carrying a board on his shoulder of about a span broad and two yards long, hollowed apparently in some way, and filled with little rollers of wood that rattled and sounded as the bearer went along shaking them.[27] All the priests took part in this procession, only four remaining behind to take care of the temple-building, or calmecac, which was their monastery. These four during the absence of the others remained seated in the calmecac and occupied themselves in devotion to the gods, in singing and in rattling with a hollow board of the sort mentioned above. At the piece of water where the priests were to bathe there were four houses, called *axaucalli*, 'fog houses,' set each toward one of the four quarters of the compass; in the ablutions of the first night one of these houses was occupied, on the second night another, and so on through all the four nights and four houses of the fog. Here also were four tall poles standing up out of the water. And the unfortunate bathers, naked from the outset as we remember, reached this place trembling and their teeth chattering with cold. One of their number mumbled a few words, which being translated mean: this is the place of snakes, the place of mosquitos, the place of ducks, and the place of rushes. This said, all flung themselves into the water and began to splash with their hands and feet, making a great noise and imitating the cries of various aquatic birds.[28] When the bathing was over, the naked priests took their way back accompanied by the music of pipes and shells. Half dead with cold and weariness they reached the temple, where drawing their mantles over them they flung themselves down in a confused heap on the rush mats, so often mentioned, and slept as best they could. We are told that some talked in their sleep, and some walked about in it, and some snored, and some sighed in a painful manner. There they lay in a tangled weary heap not rising till noon of the next day.

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[26] 'En aquellas talegas llevaban una manera de harina hecha á la manera de estiercol de ratones, que ellos llamaban yyaqualli, que era conficionada con tinta y con polvos de una yerva que ellos llaman yietll; és como veleños de Castilla.' *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., p. 51.

[27] Sahagun gives two diferent accounts of this instrument: 'Una tabla tan larga como dos varas, y ancha como un palmo ó poco mas. Yvan dentro de estas tablas unas sonajas, y el que le llevaba iva sonando con ellas. Llamaban á esta tabla Axochicaoaliztli, ó Nacatlquoavitl.' The second description is: 'Una tabla de anchura de un palmo y de largura de dos brazas; á trechos ivan unos sonajas en esta tabla, unos pedazuelos de madero rollizos y atados á la misma tabla, y dentro de ella ivan sonando los unos con los otros. Esta tabla se llamaba aiauhchicaoaztli.' *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 51 and 53.

The first thing to be done on waking was to array themselves in their canonicals, take their censers, and to follow an old priest called Quaquacuilti to all the chapels and altars of the idols, incensing them. After this they were at liberty to eat; they squatted down in groups, and to each one was given such food as had been sent to him from his own house; and if any one took any of the portion of another, or even exchanged his for that of another, he was punished for it. Punishment also attended the dropping of any morsel while eating, if the fault were not atoned for by a fine. After this meal, they all went to cut down branches of a certain kind called *acxoiatl*, or, where these were not to be found, green canes instead, and to bring them to the temple in sheaves. There they sat down, every man with his sheaf, and waited for an arranged signal. The signal given, every one sprang up to some appointed part of the temple to decorate it with his boughs; and if any one went to a place not his, or wandered from his companions, or lagged behind them, they punished him —a punishment only to be remitted by paying to his accuser, within the four days of which we are now speaking, either a hen or a blanket or a breech-clout, or, if very poor, a ball of dough in a cup.

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[28] 'Comenzaban á vocear y á gritar y a contrahacer las aves del agua, unos á los anades, otros á unas aves zancudas del agua que llama pipititi, otros á los cuervos marinos, otros á las garzotas blancas, otros á las garzas. Aquellas palabras que decia el satrapa parece que eran invocacion del Demonio para hablar aquellos lenguages de aves en al agua.' *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., p. 51.

These four days over, the festival was come, and every man began it by eating *etzalli*, a kind of maize porridge, in his own house. For those that wished it there was general dancing and rejoicing. Many decked themselves out like merry-andrews and went about in parties carrying pots, going from house to house, demanding etzalli. They sang and danced before the door, and said, "If you do not give me some porridge, I will knock a hole in your house;" whereupon the etzalli was given. These revels began at midnight and ceased at dawn. Then indeed did the priests array themselves in all their glory: underneath was a jacket, over that a thin transparent mantle called *aiauhquemitl*, decorated with parrot-feathers set cross-wise. Between the shoulders they fastened a great round paper flower, like a shield. To the nape of the neck they attached other flowers of crumpled paper of a semi-circular shape; these hung down on both sides of the head like ears. The forehead was painted blue and over the paint was dusted powder of marcasite. In the right hand was carried a bag made of tiger-skin, and embroidered with little white shells which clattered as one walked. The bag seems to have been three-cornered; from one angle hung down the tiger's tail, from another his two fore feet, from another his two hind feet. It contained incense made from a certain herb called *yiauhtli*.[29] There went one priest bearing a hollow board filled with wooden rattles, as before described. In advance of this personage there marched a number of others, carrying in their arms images of the gods made of that gum that is black and leaps, called *ulli* (india-rubber), these images were called *ulteteu*, that is to say 'gods of ulli.' Other ministers there were carrying in their arms lumps of copal, shaped like sugar loaves; each pyramid having a rich feather, called quetzal, stuck in the peak of it like a plume. In this manner went the procession with the usual horns and shells, and the purpose of it was to lead to punishment those that had transgressed in any of the points we have already discussed. The culprits were marched along, some held by the hair at the nape of the neck, others by the breech-clout; the boy offenders were held by the hand, or, if very small, were carried. All these were brought to a place called Totecco, where water was. Here certain ceremonies were performed, paper was burned in sacrifice, as were also the pyramids of copal and images of ulli, incense being thrown into the fire and other incense scattered over the rush mats with which the place was adorned. While this was going on those in charge of the culprits had not been idle, but were flinging them into the water. Great was the noise, it is said, made by the splash of one tossed in, and the water leaped high with the shock. As any one came to the surface or tried to scramble out he was pushed in or pushed down again—well was it then for him who could swim, and by long far diving keep out of the reach of his tormentors. For the others they were so roughly handled that they were often left for dead on the water's edge, where their relatives would come and hang them up by the feet to let the water they had swallowed run out of them; a method of cure surely as bad as the malady.

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[29] 'Yauhtlaulli or Yauitl, mayz moreno o negro.' *Molina, Vocabulario*.

The shrill music struck up again and the procession returned by the way it had come; the friends of the punished ones carrying them. The monastery or calmecac reached, there began another four days' fast, called *netlacacaoalizetli*; but in this the sharp religious etiquitte of the first four days' fast was not observed, or at least one was not liable to be informed upon or punished for a breach of such etiquette. The conclusion of this fast was celebrated by feasting. Again the priests decorated themselves in festal array. All the head was painted blue, the face was covered with honey, (miel) mixed with a black dye. Over the shoulders were carried the incense-bags embroidered with little white shells, —bags made of tiger-skins, as before described, for the chief priests, and of paper painted to imitate tiger-skin in the case of the inferior priests. Some of these satchels were fashioned to resemble the bird called *atzitzicuilotl*, others to resemble ducks. The priests marched in procession to the temple, and before all marched the priest of Tlaloc. He had on his head a crown of basket-work, fitting close to the temples below and spreading out above, with many plumes issuing from the middle of it. His face was anointed with melted india-rubber gum, black as ink, and concealed by an ugly mask with a great nose, and a wig attached which fell as low as the waist. All went along mumbling to themselves as if they prayed, till they came to the cu of Tlaloc. There they stopped and spread tule mats on the ground, and dusted them over with powdered tule-leaves mixed with yiauhtli incense. Upon this the acting priest placed four round chalchiuites, like little balls; then he took a small hook painted blue, and touched each ball with it; and as he touched each he made a movement as if drawing back his hand, and turned himself completely round. He scattered more incense on the mats, then he took the board with the rattles inside and sounded with it—perhaps a kind of religious stage thunder in imitation of the thunder of his god. Upon this every one retired to his house or to his monastery and put off his ornaments; and the unfortunates who had been ducked were carried at last to their own dwellings for the rest and recovery that they so sorely needed. That night the festivities burst out with a new glory, the musical instruments of the cu itself were sounded, the great drums and the shrill shells. Well watched that night were the prisoners who were doomed to death on the morrow. When it came they were adorned with the trappings of the Tlaloc gods—for it was said they were the images of these gods—and those that were killed first were said to be the foundation of the others, which seemed to be symbolized by those who had to die last being made to seat themselves on those who had been first killed.[30]

The slaughter over, the hearts of the victims were put into a pot that was painted blue and stained with ulli in four places. Together with this pot offerings were taken of paper and feathers and precious stones and chalchiuites, and a party set out with the whole for that part of the lake where the whirlpool is, called Pantitlan. All who assisted at this offering and sacrifice were provided with a supply of the herb called *iztauhiatl*, which is something like the incense used in Spain, and they puffed it with their mouths over each other's faces and over the faces of their children. This they did to hinder maggots getting into the eyes, and also to protect against a certain disease of the eyes called *exocuillo-o-alixtli*; some also put this herb into their ears, and others for a certain superstition they had held a handful of it clutched in the hand. The party entered a great canoe belonging to the king, furnished with green oars, or paddles, spotted with ulli, and rowed swiftly to the place Pantitlan, where the whirlpool was. This whirlpool was surrounded by logs driven into the bottom of the lake like piles—probably to keep canoes from being drawn into the sink. These logs being reached, the priests, standing in the bows of the royal vessel, began to play on their horns and shells. Conspicuous among them stood their chief holding the pot containing the hearts; he flung them far into the whirling hollow of water, and it is said that when the hearts plunged in, the waters were strangely moved and stirred into waves and foam. The precious stones were also thrown in, and the papers of the offering were fastened to the stakes with a number of the chalchiuites and other stones. A priest took a censer and put four papers called *telhuitl* into it, and burned them, offering them toward the whirlpool; then he threw them, censer and all, still burning into the sink. That done, the canoe was put about and rowed to the landing of Tetamacolco, and every one bathed there.

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[30] 'Comenzaban luego á matar á los captivos; aquellos que primero mataban decian que eran el fundamento de los que eran imagen de los Tlaloques, que ivan aderezados con los ornamentos de los mismos Tlaloques que (ivan aderezados) decian eran sus imagenes, y asi los que morian á la postre ivanse á sentar sobre los que primero habian muerto.' *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., p. 54.

All this took place between midnight and morning, and when the light began to break the whole body of the priests went to bathe in the usual place. They washed the blue paint off their heads, save only on the forehead; and if there were any offences of any priest to be punished he was here ducked and half drowned as described above. Lastly all returned to their monasteries, and the green rush mats spread there were thrown out behind each house.[31]

We have given the description of two great festivals of the Tlalocs,—two being all that are mentioned by many authorities — there still remain, however, two other notable occasions on which they were propitiated and honored.

In the thirteenth month, which was called Tepeilhuitl, and which began, according to Clavigero, on the 24th of October, it was the custom to cut certain sticks into the shape of snakes. Certain images as of children were also cut out of wood, and these dolls, called *hecatotonti*, together with the wooden snakes, were used as a foundation or centre round which to build up little effigies of the mountains; wherein the Tlalocs were honored as gods of the mountains, and wherein memorial was had of those that had been drowned, or killed by thunderbolts, or whose bodies had been buried without cremation—the dolls perhaps representing the bodies of these, and the snakes the thunderbolts. Having then these wooden dolls and snakes as a basis, they were covered with dough mixed from the seeds of the wild amaranth; over each doll certain papers were put; round one snake and one doll, set back to back, there appears next to have been bound a wisp of hay, (which wisp was kept from year to year and washed on the vigil of every feast), till the proper shape of a mountain was arrived at; over the whole was then daubed a layer of dough, of the kind already mentioned. We have now our image of the mountain with two heads looking opposite ways, sticking out from its summit. Round this summit there seem to have been stuck rolls of dough representing the clouds usually formed about the crests of high mountains. The face of the human image that looked out over these dough clouds was daubed with melted ulli; and to both cheeks of it were stuck little tortillas, or cakes of the everywhere-present dough of wild amaranth seeds. On the head of this same image was put a crown with feathers issuing from it.[32] These images were made at night, and in the morning they were carried to their 'oratories,' and laid down on beds of rushes or reeds; then food was offered to them, small pies or tarts, a porridge of maize-flour and sugar, and the stewed flesh of fowls or of dogs. Incense was burned before them, being thrown into a censer shaped like a hand, as it were a great spoon full of burning coals. Those who could afford it sang and drank pulque in honor of their dead ones and of these gods.

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[31] *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 49–55; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., pp. 111–124.

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[32] This passage relating to the making of images of the mountains is such a chaotic jumble in the original that one is forced to use largely any constructive imagination one may possess to reproduce even a comprehensible description. I give the original; if any one can make rhyme or reason out of it by a closer following of the words of Sahagun, he shall not want the opportunity: 'Al trece mes llamaban Tepeilhuitl. En la fiesta que se hacia en este mes cubriah de masa de bledos unos palos que tenian hechos como culebras, y hacian imagenes de montes fundadas sobre unos palos hechos á manera de niños que llamaban Hecatotonti: era la imagen del monte de masa de bledos. Ponianle delante junto unas masas rollizas y larguillas de masa de bledos á manera de bezos, y estos llamaban Yomiio. Hacian estas imagenes á honra de los montes altos donde se juntan las nubes, y en memoria de los que habian muerto en agua ó heridos de rayo, y de los que no se quemaban sus cuerpos sino que los enterraban. Estos montes hacianlos sobre unos rodeos ó roscas hechas de heno atadas con zacate, y guardabanlas de un año para otro. La vigilia de esta fiesta llevaban á lavar estas roscas al rio ó á la fuente, y quando las llevaban ivanlas tañendo. con unos pitos hechos de barro cocido ó con unos caracoles mariscos. Lavabanlas en unas casas ú oratorias que estaban hechos á la orilla del agua que se llama Ayauh calli. Lavabanlas con unas ojas de cañas verdes; algunos con el agua que pasaba por su casa las lavaban. En acabandolas de lavar volvianlas á su casa con la misma musica; luego hacian sobre ellas las imagenes de los montes como está dicho. Algunos hacian estas imagenes de noche antes de amanecer cerca del dia; la cabeza de cada un monte, tenia dos caras, una de persona y otra de culebra, y untaban la cara de persona con ulli derretido, y hacian unas tortillas prequeñuelas de masa de bledos amarillos, y ponianlas en las mexillas de la cara de persona de una parte y de otra; cubrianlos con

In this feast four women and a man were killed in honor of the Tlalocs and of the mountains. The four women were named respectively, Tepoxch, Matlalquac, Xochetecatl, and Mayavel—this last was decorated to appear as the image of the magueyes. The man was called Milnaoatl; he stood for an image of 'the snakes.' These victims, adorned with crowns of paper stained with ulli, were borne to their doom in litters. Being carried to the summit of the cu, they were thrown one by one on the sacrificial stone, their hearts taken out with the flint and offered to Tlaloc, and their bodies allowed to slide slowly down the temple-steps to the earth—a too rapid descent being hindered by the priests. The corpses were carried to a place where the heads were cut off and preserved, spitted on poles thrust through the temples of each skull. The bodies were lastly carried to the wards from which they had set out alive, and there cut in pieces and eaten. At the same time the images of the mountains, which we have attempted to describe, were broken up, the dough with which they were covered was set out to dry in the sun, and was eaten, every day a piece. The papers with which the said images had been adorned were then spread over the wisps of hay, above mentioned, and the whole was fastened up in the rafters of the oratory that every one had in his house; there to remain till required

unos papeles que llamaban Tetcuitli; ponianlos unas coronas en las cabezas con sus penachos. Tambien á los imagenes de los muertos las ponian sobre aquellas roscas de zacate, y luego en amaneciendo ponian estas imagenes en sus oratorios, sobre unos lechos de espadañas ó de juncias ó juncos.' *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 71-2.

for the next year's feast of the same kind; on which occasion, and as a preliminary to the other ceremonies which we have already described in the first part of this feast, the people took down the paper and the wisp from their private oratories, and carried them to the public oratory called the *acaucalli*, left the paper there, and returned with the wisp to make of it anew the image of a mountain.[33]

The fourth and last festival of Tlaloc which we have to describe, fell in our December and in the sixteenth Aztec month, called the month Atemuztli. About this time it began to thunder round the mountain-tops, and the first rains to fall there; the common people said, "Now come the Tlalocs," and for love of the water they made vows to make images of the mountains—not, however, as it would appear, such images as have been described as appertaining to the preceding festival. The priests were very devout at this season and very earnest in prayer, expecting the rain. They took each man his incense-pan or censer, made like a great spoon with a long round hollow handle filled with rattles and terminating in a snake's head, and offered incense to all the idols. Five days before the beginning of the feast the common people bought paper and ulli and flint knives and a kind of coarse cloth called *nequen*, and devoutly prepared themselves with fasting and penance to make their images of the mountains and to cover them with paper. In this holy season, although every one bathed, he washed no higher than the neck, the head was left unwashed; the men, moreover, abstained from their wives. The night preceding the great feast-day was spent wholly, flint knife in hand, cutting out paper into various shapes. These papers called *tetevitl*, were stained with ulli; and every householder got a long pole, covered it with pieces of this paper, and set it up in his courtyard, where it remained all the day of the festival. Those that had vowed to make images of the mountains invited priests to their houses to do it for them. The priests came, bearing their drums and rattles and instruments of music of tortoise-shell. They made the images —apparently like human figures—out of the dough of wild amaranth seed, and covered them with paper. In some houses there were made five of such images, in others ten, in others fifteen; they were figures that stood for such mountains as the clouds gather round, such as the volcano of the Sierra Nevada or that of the Sierra of Tlascala. These images being constructed, they were set in order in the oratory of the house, and before each one was set food—very small pies, on small platters, proportionate to the little image, small boxes holding a little sweet porridge of maize, little calabashes of cacao, and other small green calabashes containing pulque. In one night they presented the figures with food in this manner four times. All the night too they sang before them, and played upon flutes; the regular flutists not being employed on this occasion, but certain small boys who were paid for their trouble with something to eat. When the morning came, the ministers of the idols asked the master of the house for his *tzotzopaztli*, a kind of broad wooden knife used in weaving,[34] and thrust it into the breasts of the images of the mountains, as if they were living men, and cut their throats and drew out the hearts, which they put in a green cup and gave to the owner of the house. This done, they took all the paper with which these images had been adorned, together with certain green mats that had been used for the same purpose, and the utensils in which the offering of food had been put, and burned all in the court-yard of the house. The ashes and the mutilated images seem then to have been carried to a public oratory called Aiauhcalco, on the shore of the lake. Then all who assisted at these ceremonies joined themselves to eat and drink in honor of the mutilated images, which were called *tepieme*. Women were allowed to join in this banquet provided they brought fifteen or twenty heads of maize with them; they received every one his or her share of food and pulque. The pulque was kept in black jars and lifted out to be drunk with black cups. This banquet over, the paper streamers were taken down from the poles set up in the court-yards of the houses and carried to certain places in the water that were marked out by piles driven in—we may remember that our whirlpool of Pantitlan, in the lake of Mexico, was one place so marked—and to to the tops of the mountains, and left there as it would appear.[35]

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[33] *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 71-3; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., pp, 159-162.

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[34] 'Tzotzopaztli, palo ancho como cuchilla con que tupen y aprietan la tela que se texe.' *Molina, Vocabulario.*

In taking leave here of Tlaloc I may draw attention to the prominence in his cult of the number four, the cross, and the snake; and add that as lord of one of the three Aztec divisions of the future world, lord of the terrestrial paradise, we shall meet with him again in our examination of the Mexican ideas of a future life.

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[35] *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 80–1; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., pp. 176–9, 198, 210. Farther notice of Tlaloc and his worship will be found in the *Spiegazione delle Tavole del Codice Mexicano*, tav. xxviii., lvii., lx., lxii., in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., pp. 179, 190–2; *Boturini, Idea*, pp. 12–3, 99, 101; *Amer. Ethnol. Soc., Transact.*, vol. i., p. 305; *Motolinia, Hist. Ind.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. de Doc.*, tom. i., pp. 32, 39, 42, 44–5; *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. i., p. 290, and tom. ii., pp. 45–6, 119, 121, 147, 151, 212, 251–4; *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, dec. ii., lib. vi., cap. xv.; *Gomara, Hist. Conq. Mex.*, fol. 216; *Tylor's Prim. Cult.*, vol. ii., pp. 235, 243; *Müller, Amerikanische Urreligionen*, pp. 500–4 et passim.

CHAPTER IX.

GODS, SUPERNATURAL BEINGS, AND WORSHIP.

The Mother or All-nourishing Goddess under various names and in various aspects—Her Feast in the Eleventh Aztec month Ochpaniztli — Festivals of the Eighth month, Hueytecuilhuitl, and of the Fourth, Hueytozoztli—The deification of women that died in child-birth—The Goddess of Water under various names and in various aspects—Ceremonies of the Baptism or lustration of children—The Goddess of Love, her various names and aspects—Rites of confession and absolution—The God of fire and his various names—His festivals in the tenth month Xocotlveti and in the eighteenth month Yzcali; also his quadriennial festival in the latter month—The great festival of every fifty-two years; lighting the new fire—The God of hades, and Teoyaomique, collector of the souls of the fallen brave—Deification of dead rulers and heroes—Mixcoatl, God of hunting and his feast in the fourteenth month, Quecholli—Various other Mexican deities—Festival in the second month, Tlacaxipehualiztli, with notice of the gladiatorial sacrifices—Complete synopsis of the festivals of the Mexican Calendar, fixed and movable—Temples and Priests.

Centeotl is a goddess, or according to some good authorities a god, who held, under many names and in many characters, a most important place in the divine world of the Aztecs, and of other Mexican and Central American peoples. She was goddess of maize, and consequently, from the importance in America of this grain, of agriculture, and of the producing earth generally. Many of her various names seem dependent on the varying aspects of the maize at different stages of its growth; others seem to have originated in the mother-like nourishing qualities of the grain of which she was the deity. Müller lays much stress on this aspect of her character: "The force which sustains life must also have created it. Centeotl was therefore considered as bringing children to light, and is represented with an infant in her arms. Nebel gives us such a representation, and in our Mexican museum at Basel there are many images in this form, made of burnt clay. Where agriculture rules, there more children are brought to mature age than among the hunting nations, and the land revels in a large population. No part of the world is so well adapted to exhibit this difference as America. Centeotl is consequently the great producer, not of children merely, she is the great goddess, the most ancient goddess."[1]

Centeotl was known, according to Clavigero, by the titles Tonacajohua, 'she who sustains us;' Tzinteotl, 'original goddess;' and by the further names Xilonen, Iztacacenteotl, and Tlatlauhquicenteotl. She was further, according to the same author, identical with Tonantzin, 'our mother,' and, according to Müller and many Spanish authorities, either identical or closely connected with the various deities known as Teteionan, 'the mother of the gods,'[2] Cihuatcoatl, 'the snake-woman,' Tazi or Toci or Tocitzin, 'our grandmother,' and Earth, the universal material mother. Squier says of Tiazolteotl, that "she is Cinteotl the goddess of maize, under another aspect."[3]

She was particularly honored by the Totonacs, with whom she was the chief divinity. They greatly loved her, believing that she did not demand human victims, but was content with flowers and fruits, the fat banana and the yellow maize, and small animals, such as doves, quails, and rabbits. More, they hoped that she would in the end utterly deliver them from the cruel necessity of such sacrifices, even to the other gods.

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[1] *Müller, Amerikanische Urreligionen*, p. 493.

[2] Clavigero, *Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., pp. 16, 22, indeed says that Teteionan and Tocitzin are 'certainly different.'

[3] *Squier's Serpent Symbol*, p. 47. A passage which makes the principal element of the character of Toci or Tocitzin that of Goddess of Discord may be condensed from Acosta, as follows: When the Mexicans, in their wanderings, had settled for a time in the territory of Culhuacan, they were instructed by their god Huitzilopochtli to go forth and make wars, and first to apotheosize, after his directions, a Goddess of Discord. Following these directions, they sent to the king of Culhuacan for his daughter to be their queen. Moved by the honor, the father sent his hapless daughter, gorgeously attired, to be enthroned. But the wiley, superstitious, and ferocious Mexicans slew the girl and flayed her, and clothed a young man in her skin, calling him 'their goddess and mother of their god,' under the name of Toccy, that is 'grand mother.' See also *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, vol. iv., p. 1004.

With very different feelings, as we shall soon see, did the Mexicans proper approach this deity, making her temples horrid with the tortured forms of human sacrifices. It shows how deep the stain of the blood was in the Mexican religious heart, how poisonous far the odor of it had crept through all the senses of the Aztec soul, when it could be believed that the great sustainer, the yellow waving maize, the very mother of all, must be fed upon the flesh of her own children.[4]

To make comprehensible various allusions it seems well here to sum up rapidly the characters given of certain goddesses identical with or resembling in various points this Centeotl. Chicomecoatl[5] was, according to Sahagun, the Ceres of Mexico, and the goddess of provisions, as well of what is drunk as of what is eaten. She was represented with a crown on her head, a vase in her right hand, and on her left arm a shield with a great flower painted thereon; her garments and her sandals were red.

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[4] *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. i., pp. 16–22; *Explicacion del Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, lam. xii., in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., p. 140; *Spiegazione delle Tavole del Codice Mexicano*, tav. xxx., *Ib.*, p. 180; *Humboldt, Essai Politique*, tom. i., p. 217; *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. vi., p. 631. The sacrifices to Centeotl, if she be identical with the earth-mother, are illustrated by the statement of Mendieta, *Hist. Ecles.*, p. 81, that the Mexicans painted the earth-goddess as a frog with a bloody mouth in every joint of her body, (which frog we shall meet again by and by in a Centeotl festival) for they said that the earth devoured all things—a proof also, by the by, among others of a like kind which we shall encounter, that not to the Hindoos alone (as Mr J. G. Müller somewhere affirms), but to the Mexicans also, belonged the idea of multiplying the organs of their deities to express great powers in any given direction. The following note from the *Spiegazione delle Tavole del Codice Mexicano*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., pp. 179–80, illustrates the last point noticed, gives another form or relation of the goddess of sustenance, and also the origin of the name applied to the Mexican priests: 'They feign that Mayaguil was a woman with four hundred breasts, and that the gods, on account of her fruitfulness, changed her into the Maguey, which is the vine of that country, from which they make wine. She presided over these thirteen signs; but whoever chanced to be born on the first sign of the Herb, it proved unlucky to him; for they say that it was applied to the Tlamatzatzguex, who were a race of demons dwelling amongst them, who according to their account wandered through the air, from whom the ministers of their temples took their denomination. When this sign arrived, parents enjoined their children not to leave the house, lest any misfortune or unlucky accident should befall them. They believed that those who were born in Two Canes, which is the second sign, would be long lived, for they say that that sign was applied to heaven. They manufacture so many things from this plant called the Maguey, and it is so very useful in that country, that the devil took occasion to induce them to believe that it was a god, and to worship and offer sacrifices to it.'

The first of the Mexican goddesses was, following the same authority, Cioacoatl, or Civacoatl, the goddess of adverse things, such as poverty, downheartedness, and toil. She appeared often in the guise of a great lady, wearing such apparel as was used in the palace; she was also heard at night in the air shouting and even roaring. Besides her name Cioacoatl, which means 'snake-woman,' she was known as Tonantzin, that is to say, 'our mother.' She was arrayed in white robes, and her hair was arranged in front, over her forehead, in little curls that crossed each other. It was a custom with her to carry a cradle on her shoulders, as one that carries a child in it, and after setting it down in the market-place beside the other women, to disappear. When this cradle was examined, there was found a stone knife in it, and with this the priests slew their sacrificial victims.

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[5] *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. i., pp. 5-6; *Gallatin*, in *Amer. Ethnol. Soc.*, *Transact.*, vol. i., pp. 341, 349-50, condensing from and commenting upon the codices Vaticanus and Tellerianus says: 'Tonacacigua, alias Tuchiquetzal (plucking rose), and Chicomecouatl (seven serpents); wife of Tonacatlecotle; the cause of sterility, famine, and miseries of life.... Amongst Sahagun's superior deities, is found Civacoatl, the 'serpent woman,' also called Tonantzin, 'our mother;' and he, sober as he is in Scriptural allusions, calls her Eve, and ascribes to her, as the interpreters [of the codices] to Tonatacinga, all the miseries and adverse things of the world. This analogy is, if I am not mistaken, the only foundation for all the allusions to Eve and her history, before, during, and after the sin, which the interpreters have tried to extract from paintings which indicate nothing of the kind. They were certainly mistaken in saying that their Tonacacinga was also called Chicomecouatl, seven serpents. They should have said Civacoatl, the serpent woman. Chicomecoatl, instead of being the cause of sterility, famine, etc., is, according to Sahagun, the goddess of abundance, that which supplies both eating and drinking: probably the same as Tzinteotl, or Cinteotl, the goddess of maize (from *centli*, maize), which he does not mention. There is no more foundation for ascribing to Tonacacigua the name of Suchiquetzal.' Gama, *Dos Piedras*, pt i., p. 39, says in effect: Cihuacohuatl, or snake woman, was supposed to have given birth to two children, male and female, whence sprung the human race. It is on this account that twins are called in Mexico *cocohua*, 'snakes,' or in the singular cohuatl or coatl, now vulgarly pronounced coate.

The goddess of Sahagun's description most resembling the Toci of other writers, is the one that he calls 'the mother of the gods, the heart of the earth, and our ancestor or grandmother (abuela).' She is described as the goddess of medicine and of medicinal herbs, as worshiped by doctors, surgeons, blood-letters, of those that gave herbs to produce abortions, and also of the diviners that pronounced upon the fortune of children according to their birth. They worshiped her also that cast lots with grains of maize, those that augured by looking into water in a bowl, those that cast lots with bits of cord tied together, those that drew little worms or maggots from the mouth or eyes, those that extracted little stones from other parts of the body, and those that had sweat-baths, *temazcallis*, in their houses. These last always set the image of this goddess in the baths, calling her Temazcalteci, that is to say, 'the grandmother of the baths.' Her adorers made this goddess a feast every year, buying a woman for a sacrifice, decorating this victim with the ornaments proper to the goddess. Every evening they danced with this unfortunate, and regaled her delicately, praying her to eat as they would a great lady, and amusing her in every way that she might not weep nor be sad at the prospect of death. When the dreadful hour did come, having slain her, together with two others that accompanied her to death, they flayed her; then a man clothed himself in her skin, and went about all the city playing many pranks,—by all of which her identity with Tozi seems sufficiently clear. This goddess was represented with the mouth and chin stained with ulli, and a round patch of the same on her face; on her head she had a kind of turban made of cloth rolled round and knotted behind. In this knot were stuck plumes which issued from it like flames, and the ends of the cloth fell behind over the shoulders. She wore sandals, a shirt with a kind of broad serrated lower border, and white petticoats. In her left hand she held a shield with a round plate of gold in the centre thereof; in her right hand she held a broom.[6]

The festival in which divers of the various manifestations of the mother-goddess were honored, was held in the beginning of the eleventh Aztec month, begining on the 14th of September; Centeotl, or Cinteotl, or Centeutl, or Tzinteutl, is however represented therein as a male and not a female.

Fifteen days before the commencement of the festival those that took part in it began to dance, if dancing it could be called, in which the feet and body were hardly moved, and in which the time was kept by raising and lowering the hands to the beat of the drum. This went on for eight days, beginning in the afternoon and finishing with the set of sun, the dancers being perfectly silent, arranged in four lines, and each having both hands full of flowers, cut branches and all. Some of the youths, indeed, too restless to bear the silence, imitated with their mouths the sound of the drum; but all were forced to keep, as well in motion as in voice, the exactest time and good order. On the expiration of these eight days the medical women, both old and young, divided themselves into two parties, and fought a kind of mock battle before the woman that had to die in this festival, to amuse her and keep tears away; for they held it of bad augury if this miserable creature gave way to her grief, and as a sign that many women had to die in childbirth. This woman who was called for the time being, 'the image of the mother of the gods,' led in person the first attack upon one of the two parties of fighters, being accompanied by three old women that were to her as mothers and never left her side, called respectively Aoa, Tlavitezqui, and Xocuauhtli.[7] The fight consisted in pelting each other with handfuls of red leaves, or leaves of the nopal, or of yellow flowers called *cempoalsuchitl*, the same sort as had been carried by the actors in the preceding dance. These women all wore girdles, to which were suspended little gourds filled with powder of the herb called *yietl*. When the pelting-match was over, the woman that had to die was led back to the house where she was guarded; and all this was repeated during four successive days. Then the victim representing Toci, that is to say, 'our grandmother or ancestor,' for so was called the mother of the gods, was led for the last time through the market-place by the medical woman. This ceremony was called 'the farewell to the market-place;' for never more should she see it who this day passed through, decorated in such mournful frippery, surrounded by the pomp of such hollow mirth. She went sowing maize on every side as she walked, and having passed through the market she was received by the priests who took her to a house near the cu where she had to be killed. There the medical women and midwives consoled her: Daughter, be joyful and not sad, this night thou shalt sleep with the king. Then they adorned her with the ornaments of the goddess Toci, striving all the while to keep the fact of her death in the back-ground, that she might die suddenly and without knowing it. At midnight, in darkness, not so much as a cough breaking the silence, she was led to the holy temple-top, and caught up swiftly on the shoulders of a man. There was hardly a struggle; her bearer felt himself deluged with blood, while she was beheaded with all despatch, and flayed, still warm. The skin of the thighs was first taken off and carried, for a purpose to be presently revealed, to the cu of Centeotl, who was the son of Toci. With the remainder of the skin, next taken off, a priest clothed himself, drawing it on, it would appear from other records, like a glove; this priest who was a young man chosen for his bodily forces and size, thus clothed represented Toci, the goddess herself. The Toci priest, with this horrible jacket sticking to his sinewy bust, then came down from the temple amid the chanting of the singers of the cu. On each side of him went two persons, who had made a vow to help him in this service, and behind came several other priests. In front there ran a number of principal men and soldiers, armed with besoms of blood-stained grass, who looked back from time to time, and struck their shields as if provoking a fight; these he pretended to pursue with great fury, and all that saw this play (which was called *cacacalli*) feared and trembled exceedingly. On reaching the cu of Huitzilopochtli, the Toci priest spread out his arms and stood like a cross before the image of the war god; this he did four times and then went on to the cu of Centeotl, whither, as we remember, the skin of the thighs of the flayed woman had been sent. This skin of the thighs another young priest, representing the god Centeotl, son of Toci, had put on over his face like a mask. In addition to this loathsome veil, he wore a jacket of feathers and a hood of feathers attached to the jacket. This hood ran out into a peak of a spiral form falling behind; and the back-bone or spine of this spiral resembled the comb of a cock; this hood was called *ytztlacoliuhqui*, that is to say 'god of frost.'

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[6] *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 3-4; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. i., pp. 4-7.

[7] Or, according to Bustamante's ed., Aba, Tlavitecqui, and Xoquauchtli.' *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., p. 149.

The Toci priest and the Centeotl priest next went together to the cu of Toci, where the first waited for the morning (for all this already described took place at night) to have certain trappings put on over his horrid under-vest. When the morning broke, amid the chanting of the singers, all the principal men, who had been waiting below, ran with great swiftness up the steps of the temple carrying their offerings. Some of these principal men began to cover the feet and the head of the Toci priest with the white downy inner feathers of the eagle; others painted his face red; others put on him a rather short shirt with the figure of an eagle wrought or woven into the breast of it, and certain painted petticoats; others beheaded quails and offered copal. All this done quickly, these men took their departure.

Then were brought forth and put on the Toci priest all his rich vestures, and a kind of square crown very wide above and ornamented with five little banners, one in each corner, and in the centre one higher than the others. All the captives that had to die were brought out and set in line, and he took four of them one after the other, threw them down on the sacrificial stone and took out their hearts; the rest of the captives he handed over to the other priests to complete the work he had begun. After this he set out with the Centeotl priest for the cu of the latter. In advance of these a little way there walked a party of their devotees, called *ycuexoan*, decorated with papers, girt for breech-clout with twisted paper, carrying at their shoulders a crumpled paper, round like a shield, and tassels of untwisted cotton. On either side also there went those that sold lime[8] in the market, and the medical women, moving to the singing of the priests and the beat of drum. Having come to the place where heads were spitted at the cu of Centeotl, the Toci priest set one foot on the drum and waited there for the Centeotl priest. The two being come together it would seem that he who represented Centeotl now set out alone, with much haste and accompanied by many soldiers, for a place on the enemy's frontier where there was a kind of small hut built. There at last was deposited and left the skin of the thighs of the sacrificed woman which had served such ghastly use. And often, it is said, it happened, this ceremony taking place on the border of a hostile territory, that the enemy sallied out against the procession, and there was fighting and many were slain.

After this the young man who represented the goddess Toci was taken to the house that is called Atempan. The king took his seat on a throne with a mat of eagle-skin and feathers under his feet, and a tiger-skin over the back of his seat, and there was a grand review of the army, and a distribution from the royal treasury of raiment, ornaments, and arms; and it was understood that those who received such arms had to die with them in war. This done, dancing was begun in the court-yard of the temple of Toci; and all who had received presents, as above, repaired thither. This dancing, as in the first part of the festival, consisted for the most part in keeping time to the beat of the drum with hands filled with flowers; so that the whole court looked like a living garden; and there was so much gold, for the king and all the princes were there, that the sun flashed through all as on water. This began at mid-day and went on for two days. On the evening of the second day, the priests of the goddess Chicomecoatl, clothed with the skins of the captives that had died in a former day, ascended a small cu called the table of Huitzilopochtli and sowed maize of all kinds, white and yellow and red, and calabash-seeds, upon the heads of the people that were below. The people tried to gather up these as they fell, and elbowed each other a good deal. The damsels, called *cioatlamacazque*, that served the goddess Chicomecoatl, carried each one on her shoulder, rolled in a rich mantle, seven ears of maize, striped with melted ulli and wrapped in white paper; their legs and arms were decorated with feathers sprinkled over with marcasite. These sang with the priest of their goddess. This done, one of the priests descended from the above-mentioned cu of Huitzilopochtli, carrying in his hand a large basket filled with powdered chalk and feather-down, which he set in a small chamber, or little cave, called *coaxalpan*, between the temple-stairs and the temple itself. This cavity was reached from below by four or five steps, and when the basket was put down there was a general rush of the soldiers to be first to secure some of the contents. Every one, as he got his hands filled, with much elbowing, returned running to the place whence he had set out. All this time the Toci priest had been looking on, and now he pretended to chase those that ran, while they pelted him back with the down and powdered chalk they had in their hands; the king himself running a little way and pelting him like the rest. After this fashion they all ran away from him and left him alone, except some priests, who followed him to a place called

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[8] Lime was much used in the preparation of maize for making various articles of food.

Tocititlan, when he took off the skin of the sacrificed woman and hung it up in a little hut that was there; taking care that its arms were stretched out, and that the head (or, surely, the neck—for have we not read that the head was cut off the woman on the fatal night which terminated her life?), was turned toward the road, or street. And this was the last of the ceremonies of the feast of Ochpaniztli.[9]

The intimate connection of the goddess Xilonen (from *xilotl*, a young or tender ear of maize) with Centeotl is shown by the fact that in the cu of Centeotl was killed the unfortunate woman who was decorated to resemble the goddess Xilonen. The festival of Xilonen commenced on the eleventh day of the eighth Mexican month, which month begins on the 16th of July. The victim was made to resemble the image of the goddess by having her face painted yellow from the nose downward, and her brow red. On her head was put a crown of paper with four corners, from the centre and top of which issued many plumes. Round her neck and over her breasts hung strings of precious stones, and over these was put a round medal of gold. Her garments and sandals were curiously wrought, the latter painted with red stripes. On her left arm was a shield, and in the right hand she held a stick, or baton, painted yellow. The women led her to death dancing round her, and the priests and the principal men danced before them, sowing incense as they went. The priest who was to act as executioner had on his shoulders a bunch of feathers held there in the grip of an eagle's talons, artificial; another of the priests carried the hollow board filled with rattles, so often mentioned. At the foot of the cu of Centeotl, this latter stopped in front of the Xilonen woman, scattered incense before her, and rattled with his board, waving it from side to side. They ascended the cu, and one of the priests caught the victim up, twisting her backwards, her shoulders against his shoulders; on which living altar her heart was cut out through her breast, and put into a cup. After that there was more dancing, in which the women, old and young, took part in a body by themselves, their arms and legs decorated with red macaw feathers, and their faces painted yellow and dusted with marcasite. There was also a banquet of small pies called *xocotamalli*, during which to the old men and women license was given to drink pulque; the young, however, being restrained from the bacchanalian part of this enjoyment by severe and sometimes capital punishment.[10]

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[9] *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 69–70; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., pp. 148–56.

Lastly, the intimate connection or identity of Centeotl with the earth-mother, the all-nourisher, seems clearly symbolized in the feast of the fourth month of the Mexicans, which began on the 27th of April. In it they made a festival to the god of cereals, under the name of Centeotl, and to the goddess of provisions, called Chicomecoatl. First they fasted four days, putting certain rushes or water-flags beside the images of the gods, staining the white part of the bottom of each rush with blood drawn from their ears or legs; branches too, of the kind called *acxoiatl*, and a kind of bed or mattress of hay were put before the altars. A sort of porridge of maize called *mazamorra* was also made and given to the youths. Then all walked out into the country, and through the maize-fields, carrying stalks of maize, and other herbs called *mecoatl*. With these they strewed the image of the god of cereals that every one had in his house, and they put papers on it and food before it of various kinds; five *chiquivites*,[11] or baskets, of tortillas, and on the top of each *chiquivitl* a cooked frog, a basket of *chian*[12] flour, which they call *pinolli*;[13] and a basket of toasted maize mixed with beans. They cut also a joint from a green maize-stalk, stuffed the little tube with morsels of every kind of the above-mentioned food, and set it carefully on the back of the frog.[14] This each one did in his own house, and in the afternoon all this offering of food was carried to the cu of the goddess of provisions, of the goddess Chicomecoatl, and eaten there in a general scramble, take who take could; symbolizing one knows not what, if not the laisser-faire and laisser-aller system of national commisariat much advocated by many political economists, savage and civilized.

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[10] *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 60-1; *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., pp. 135-9; *Clavigero*, *Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 75; *Torquemada*, *Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 269-71.

[11] Chiquiuitl, cesto ó canasta. *Molina*, *Vocabulario*.

[12] Chian, ó Chia, cierta semilla de que sacan azeite. *Id.*

[13] Pinolli, la harina de mayz y chia, antes que la deslian. *Id.*

In this festival the ears of maize that were preserved for seed were carried in procession by virgins to a cu, apparently the one just mentioned, but which is here called the cu of Chicomecoatl *and* of Centeotl. The maidens carried on their shoulders not more than seven ears of corn apiece, sprinkled with drops of oil of ulli, and wrapped first in papers and then in a cloth. The legs and arms of these girls were ornamented with red feathers, and their faces were smeared with the pitch called *chapopotli* and sprinkled with marcasite. As they went along in this bizarre attire, the people crowded to see them pass, but it was forbidden to speak to them. Sometimes indeed an irrepressible youth would break out into words of admiration or love toward some fair pitch-besmeared face, but his answer came sharp and swift from one of the old women that watched the younger, in some such fashion as this: And so thou speakest, raw coward! thou must be speaking, eh? Think first of performing some man's feat, and get rid of that tail of hair at the nape of thy neck that marks the coward and the good-for-nothing. It is not for thee to speak here; thou art as much a woman as I am; thou hast never come out from behind the fire! But the young lovers of Tenochtitlan were not without insolent springalls among them, much given to rude gibes, and retorts like the following: Well said, my lady, I receive this with thanks, I will do what you command me, will take care to show myself a man; but as for you,

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[14] Apparently the earth symbolized as a frog (see this vol. p. 351, note 4.) and bearing the fruits thereof on her back.

I value two cacao-beans more than you and all your lineage; put mud on your body, and scratch yourself; fold one leg over the other and roll in the dust; see! here is a rough stone, knock your face against it; and if you want anything more take a red-hot coal and burn a hole in your throat to spit through; for God's sake, hold your peace.

This the young fellows said, writes Sahagun, to show their courage; and so it went, give and take, till the maize was carried to the cu and blessed. Then the folk returned to their houses and sanctified maize was put in the bottom of every granary, and it was said that it was the heart thereof, and it remained there till taken out for seed. These ceremonies were specially in honor of the goddess Chicomecoatl. She supplied provisions, she it was that had made all kinds of maize and frijoles, and whatsover vegetables could be eaten, and all sorts of chia; and for this they made her that festival with offerings of food, and with songs and dances, and with the blood of quails. All the ornaments of her attire were bright red and curiously wrought, and in her hands they put stalks of maize.[15]

The Mexicans deified, under the name Cioapipilti, all women that died in child-bed. There were oratories raised to their honor in every ward that had two streets. In such oratories, called *cioateucalli* or *ciateupan*, there were kept images of these goddesses adorned with certain papers called *amatetevitl*. The eighth movable feast of the Mexican calendar was dedicated to them, falling in the sign Cequiahuitl, in the first house; in this feast were slain in their honor all lying in the jails under pain of death. These goddesses were said to move through the air at pleasure, and to appear to whom they would of those that lived upon the earth, and sometimes to enter into and possess them. They were accustomed to hurt children with various infirmities, especially paralysis and other sudden diseases. Their favorite haunt on earth was the cross-roads, and, on certain days of the year, people would not go out of their houses for fear of meeting them. They were propitiated in their temples and at the cross-roads by offerings of bread kneaded into various shapes,—into figures of butter-flies and thunder-bolts for example,—by offerings of small tamales, or pies, and of toasted maize. Their images, besides the papers above mentioned, were decorated by having the face, arms, and legs painted very white; their ears were made of gold; their hair was dressed like that of ladies, in little curls; the shirt was painted over with black waves; the petticoats were worked in divers colors; the sandals were white.

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[15] *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 43-4; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., pp. 97-100; *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 67; *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 52-3, 60-1, 134, 152-3, 181, 155-6.

The mother-goddess, under the form of the serpent-woman, Cioacoatl, or Ciuacoatl, or Cihuacoatl, or, lastly, Quilaztli, seems to have been held as the patroness of women in child-bed generally, and, especially, of those that died there. When the delivery of a woman was likely to be tedious and dangerous, the midwife addressed the patient saying: Be strong, my daughter; we can do nothing for thee. Here are present thy mother and thy relations, but thou alone must conduct this business to its termination. See to it, my daughter, my well-beloved, that thou be a strong and valiant and manly woman; be like her who first bore children, like Cioacoatl, like Quilaztli. And if still after a day and a night of labor the woman could not bring forth, the midwife took her away from all other persons and brought her into a closed room and made many prayers, calling upon the goddess Cioacoatl, and upon the goddess Yoalticitl,[16] and upon other goddesses. If, notwithstanding all, however, the woman died, they gave her the title, *mociaquezqui*, that is 'valiant woman,' and they washed all her body, and washed with soap her head and her hair. Her husband lifted her on his shoulders, and, with her long hair flowing loose behind him, carried her to the place of burial. All the old midwives accompanied the body, marching with shields and swords, and shouting as when soldiers close in the attack. They had need of their weapons, for the body that they escorted was a holy relic which many were eager to win; and a party of youths fought with these Amazons to take their treasure from them: this fight was no play but a very bone-breaking earnest. The burial procession set out at the setting of the sun and the corpse was interred in the court-yard of the cu of the goddesses, or celestial women called Cioapipilti. Four nights the husband and his friends guarded the grave and four nights the youths, or rawest and most inexperienced soldiers, prowled like wolves about the little band. If, either from the fighting midwives or from the night-watchers, they succeeded in securing the body, they instantly cut off the middle finger of the left hand and the hair of the head; either of these things being put in one's shield, made one fierce, brave, invincible in war, and blinded the eyes of one's enemies. There prowled also round the sacred tomb certain wizards, called *temamacpalitotique*, seeking to hack off and steal the whole left arm of the dead wife; for they held it to be of mighty potency in their enchantments, and a thing that when they went to a house to work their malice thereon, would wholly take away the courage of the inmates, and dismay them so that they could neither move hand nor foot, though they saw all that passed.

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[16] Yoalticitl, another name of the mother-goddess, of the mother of the gods, of the mother of us all, of our grand-mother or ancestress; more particularly that form of the mother-goddess described, after Sahagun (this vol. p. 353), as being the patroness of medicine and of doctors and of the sweat-baths. Sahagun speaks in another passage of Yoalticitl (*Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., p. 453): La madre de los Dioses, que és la Diosa de las medicinas y medicos, y és madre de todos nosotros, la cual se llama Yoalticitl, la qual tiene poder y autoridad sobre los Temazcales (sweat-baths) que llaman Xuchicalli, en el qual lugar esta Diosa vé las cosas secretas, y adereza

The death of this woman in child-bed was mourned by the midwives, but her parents and relations were joyful thereat; for they said that she did not go to hades, or the under-ground world, but to the western part of

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las cosas desconcertadas en los cuerpos de los hombres, y fortifica las cosas tiernas y blandas.

the House of the Sun. To the eastern part of the House of the Sun, as the ancients said, were taken up all the soldiers that died in war. When the sun rose in the morning these brave men decorated themselves in their panoply of war, and accompanied him towards the mid-heaven, shouting and fighting, apparently in a sham or review battle, until they reached the point of noonday, which was called *nepantlatonatiuh*. At this point the heroines, whose home was in the west of heaven, the *mocioaquezque*, the valiant women, dead in child-bed, who ranked as equal with the heroes fallen in war, met these heroes and relieved them of their duty as guards of honor of the sun. From noon till night, down the western slope of light, while the forenoon escort of warriors were scattered through all the fields and gardens of heaven, sucking flowers till another day should call them anew to their duty, the women, in panoply of war, just as the men had been, and fighting like them with clashing shields and shouts of joy, bore the sun to his setting; carrying him on a litter of *quetzales*, or rich feathers, called the *quetzal-apanecaiutl*. At this setting-place of the sun the women were, in their turn, relieved by those of the under world, who here came out to receive him. For it was reported of old by the ancients that when night began in the upper world the sun began to shine through hades, and that thereupon the dead rose up from their sleep and bore his shining litter through their domain. At this hour too the celestial women, released from their duty in heaven, scattered and poured down through the air upon the earth, where, with a touch of the dear nature that makes the world kin, they are described as looking for spindles to spin with, and shuttles to weave with, and all the old furniture and implements of their house-wifely pride. This thing, says Sahagun, " the devil wrought to deceive withal, for very often, in the form of those women, he appeared to their bereaved husbands, giving them petticoats and shirts."

Very beautiful was the form of address before burial used by the midwife to the dead woman who had taken rank among the *mocioaquezque* or *mocioaquetza:* O woman, strong and warlike, child well-beloved, valiant one, beautiful and tender dove, strong hast thou been and toil-enduring as a hero; thou hast conquered, thou hast done as did thy mother the lady Cioacoatl, or Quilaztli. Very valiantly hast thou fought, stoutly hast thou handled the shield and the spear that the great mother put in thine hand. Up with thee! break from sleep! behold it is already day; already the red of morning shoots through the clouds; already the swallows and all birds are abroad. Rise, my daughter, attire thyself, go to that good land where is the house of thy father and mother the Sun; thither let thy sisters, the celestial women, carry thee, they that are always joyful and merry and filled with delight, because of the Sun with whom they take pleasure. My tender daughter and lady, not without sore travail hast thou gotten the glory of this victory; a great pain and a hard penance hast thou undergone. Well and fortunately hast thou purchased this death. Is this, peradventure, a fruitless death, and without great merit and honor? Nay, verily, but one of much honor and profit. Who receives other such great mercy, other such happy victory as thou? for thou hast gained with thy death eternal life, a life full of joy and delight, with the goddesses called Cioapipilti, the celestial goddesses. Go now, my lady, my well-beloved; little by little advance toward them; be one of them, that they may receive thee and be always with thee, that thou mayest rejoice and be glad in our father and mother the Sun, and accompany him whithersoever he wish to take pleasure. O my lady, my well-beloved daughter, thou hast left us behind, us old people, unworthy of such glory; thou hast torn thyself away from thy father and mother, and departed. Not indeed of thine own will, but thou wast called; thou didst follow a voice that called. We must remain orphans and forlorn, old and luckless and poor; misery will glorify itself in us. O my lady, thou hast left us here that we may go from door to door and through the streets in poverty and sorrow; we pray thee to remember us where thou art, and to provide for the poverty that we here endure. The sun wearies us with his great heat, the air with its coldness, and the frost with its torment. All these things afflict and grieve our miserable earthen bodies; hunger is lord over us, and we can do nothing against it. My well-beloved, I pray thee to visit us since thou art a valorous woman and a lady, since thou art settled forever in the place of delight and blessedness, there to live and be forever with our Lord. Thou seest him with thine eyes, thou speakest to him with thy tongue, pray to him for us, entreat him that he favor us, and therewith we shall be at rest.[17]

Chalchihuitlicue or Chalchiuhcyeje is described by Clavigero as the goddess of water and the mate of Tlaloc. She had other names relating to water in its different states, as Apozonallotl and Acuecuejotl, which mean the swelling and fluctuation of water; Atlacamani, or the storms excited thereon; Ahuic and Aiauh, or its motion, now to one side, now to the other; and Xixiquipilihui, the alternate rising and falling of the waves. The Tlascaltecs called her Matlalcueje, that is 'clothed in a green robe;' and they gave the same name to the highest mountain of Tlascala, on whose summit are found those stormy clouds which generally burst over the city of Puebla. To that summit the Tlascaltecs ascended to perform their sacrifices, and offer up their prayers. This is the very same goddess of water to whom Torquemada gives the name of Hochiquetzal, and Boturini that of Macuilxochiquetzalli.[18]

Of the accuracy of the assertions of this last sentence I am by no means certain; Boturini and Torquemada both describe their goddess of water without giving any support thereto. Boturini says that she was metaphorically called by the Mexicans the goddess of the Petticoat of Precious Stones,—chalchihuites, as it would appear from other authorities, being meant,—and that she was represented with large pools at her feet, and symbolized by certain reeds that grow in moist places. She was particularly honored by fishermen and others whose trade connected them with water, and great ladies were accustomed to dedicate to her their nuptials—probably, as will be seen immediately, because this goddess had much to do with certain lustral ceremonies performed on new-born children.[19]

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[17] *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 5, 35, vol. v., pp. 459-2; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. i., pp. 8-9, lib. ii., pp. 78-9; tom. ii., lib. vi., pp. 185-191.

[18] *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 16.

Many names, writes Torquemada, were given to this goddess, but that of Chalchihuitlicue was the most common and usual; it meant to say, 'petticoat of water, of a shade between green and blue,' that is, of the color of the stones called chalchihuites.[20] She was the companion, not the wife of Tlaloc, for indeed as our author affirms, the Mexicans did not think so grossly of their gods and goddesses as to marry them.[21]

According to Sahagun, Chalchihuitlicue was the sister of the Tlalocs. She was honored because she had power over the waters of the sea and of the rivers to drown those that went down to them, to raise tempests and whirlwinds, and to cause boats to founder. They worshiped her all those that dealt in water, that went about selling it from canoes, or peddled jars of it in the market. They represented this goddess as a woman, painted her face yellow, save the forehead, which was often blue, and hung round her neck a collar of precious stones from which depended a medal of gold. On her head was a crown of light blue paper, with plumes of green feathers, and tassels that fell to the nape of her neck. Her ear-rings were of turquoise wrought in mosaic. Her clothing was a shirt, or upper body-garment, clear blue petticoats with fringes from which hung marine shells, and white sandals. In her left hand she held a shield, and a leaf of the broad round white water-lily, called *atlacuezona*.[22] In her right hand she held as a sceptre a vessel in the shape of a cross, or of a monstrance of the Catholic Church. This goddess, together with Chicomecoatl, goddess of provisions, and Vixtocioatl, goddess of salt, was held in high veneration by kings and lords, for they said that these three supported the common people so that they could live and multiply.[23]

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[19] *Boturini*, *Idea*, pp. 25–6.

[20] 'The stones called *chalchiuites* by the Mexicans (and written variously *chalchibetes*, *chalchihuis*, and *calchihuis*, by the chroniclers) were esteemed of high value by all the Central American and Mexican nations. They were generally of green quartz, jade, or the stone known as *madre de Esmeralda* ....The goddess of water, amongst the Mexicans, bore the name of *Chalchiuilcuye*, the woman of the *Chalchiuites*, and the name of *Chalchiuihapan* was often applied to the city of Tlaxcalla, from a beautiful fountain of water found near it, 'the color of which,' according to Torquemada, 'was between blue and green.'' *Squier* in *Palacio*, *Carta*, p. 110, note 15. In the same work p. 53, we find mention made by Palacio of an idol apparently representing Chalchihuitlicue: 'Very near here, is a little village called Coatan, in the neighborhood of which is a lake [''This lake is distant two leagues to the southward of the present considerable town of *Guatepeque*, from which it takes its name, *Laguna de Guatepue* ''—Guatemala], situated on the flank of the volcano. Its water is bad; it is deep, and full of caymans. In its middle there are two small islands. The Indians regard the lake as an oracle of much authority... I learned that certain negroes and mulattos of an adjacent estate had been there [on the islands], and had found a great idol of stone, in the form of a woman, and some objects which had been offered in sacrifice. Near by were found some stones called *chalchibites*.'

[21] *Torquemada*, *Monarq. Ind*, tom. ii., p. 47.

Chalchihuitlicue was especially connected with certain ceremonies of lustration of children, resembling in many points baptism among Christians. It would seem that two of these lustrations were practiced upon every infant, and the first took place immediately upon its birth. When the midwife had cut the umbilical cord of the child, then she washed it, and while washing it said, varying her address according to its sex: My son, approach now thy mother, Chalchihuitlicue, the goddess of water; may she see good to receive thee, to wash thee, and to put away from thee the filthiness that thou takest from thy father and mother; may she see good to purify thine heart, to make it good and clean, and to instill into thee good habits and manners.

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[22] *Atlacueçonan*, ninfa vel onenufar, flor de yerna de agua. *Molina, Vocabulario*. The Abbé Brasseur adds, on what authority I have not been able to find, that this leaf was ornamented with golden flags. *Hist. des Nat. Civ.*, tom. i., p. 324. He adds in a note to this passage, what is very true, that, 'Suivant Ixtlilxochitl, et après lui Veytia, la déesse des eaux aurait été adorée sous la forme d'une grenouille, faite d'une seule émeraude, et qui, suivant Ixtlilxochitl, existait encore au temps de la conquête de Mexico. La seule déesse adorée sous la forme unique d'une grenouille était la terre.' (See this vol. p. 351, note 4.) Gomara, *Hist. Conq Mex.*, fol. 326, says that the figure of a frog was held to be the goddess of fishes: 'Entre los ídolos....estaua el de la rama. A la cual tenian por diosa del pescado.' Motolinia extends this last statement as follows. The Mexicans had idols he says, in *Icazbalceta*, *Col. de Doc.*, tom. i., p. 34, 'de los pescados grandes y de los lagartos de agua, hasta sapos y ranas, y de otros peces grandes, y estos decian que eran los dioses del pescado. De un pueblo de la laguna de México llevaron unos ídolos de estos peces, que eran unos peces hechos de piedra, grandes; y despues volviendo por allí pidiéronles para comer algunos peces, y respondieron que habian llevado el dios del pescado y que no podian tomar peces.'

[23] *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 5-6, 36; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. i., pp. 9-10, lib. ii., p. 81; *Amer. Ethnol. Soc., transact*, vol. i., pp. 342, 350.

Then the midwife turned to the water itself and spoke: Most compassionate lady, Chalchihuitlicue, here has come into the world this thy servant, sent hither by our father and mother, whose names are Ometecutli and Omecioatl,[24] who live on the ninth heaven, which is the place of the habitation of the gods. We know not what are the gifts that this infant brings with it; we know not what was given to it before the beginning of the world; we know not what it is, nor what mischief and vice it brings with it taken from its father and mother. It is now in thine hands, wash and cleanse it as thou knowest to be necessary; in thine hands we leave it. Purge it from the filthiness it inherits from its father and its mother, all spot and defilement let the water carry away and undo. See good, O our lady, to cleanse and purify its heart and life that it may lead a quiet and peaceable life in this world; for indeed we leave this creature in thine hands, who art mother and lady of the gods, and alone worthy of the gift of cleansing that thou has held from before the beginning of the world; see good to do as we have entreated thee to this child now in thy presence.

Then the midwife spake again; I pray thee to receive this child here brought before thee. This said, the midwife took water and blew her breath upon it, and gave to taste of it to the babe, and touched the babe with it on the breast and on the top of the head. Then she said: My well-beloved son, or daughter, approach here thy mother and father, Chalchihuitlicue and Chalchihuitlatonac; let now this goddess take thee, for she has to bear thee on her shoulders and in her arms through this world. Then the midwife dipped the child into water and said: Enter, my son, into the water that is called *mamatlac* and *tuspalac*; let it wash thee; let him cleanse thee that is in every place, let him see good to put away from thee all the evil that thou hast carried with thee from before the beginning of the world, the evil that thy father and thy mother have joined to thee. Having so washed the creature, the midwife then wrapped it up, addressing it the while as follows: O precious stone, O rich feather, O emerald, O sapphire, thou wert shaped where abide the great god and the great goddess that are above the heavens; created and formed thou wert by thy mother and father, Ometecutli and Omecioatl, the celestial woman and the celestial man. Thou hast come into this world, a place of many toils and troubles, of intemperate heat and intemperate cold and wind, a place of hunger and thirst, of weariness and of tears; of a verity we cannot say that this world is other than a place of weeping, of sadness, of vexation. Behold thy lot, weariness and weeping and tears. Thou hast come, my well-beloved, repose then and take here thy rest; let our Lord that is in every place provide for and support thee. And in saying all these things the midwife spake softly, as one that prays.

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[24] See this vol., p. 58, note 15.

The second lustration or baptism, usually took place on the fifth day after birth, but in every case the astrologers and diviners were consulted, and if the signs were not propitious, the baptism was postponed till a day of good sign came. The ceremony, when the child was a boy, began by bringing to it a little shield, bow, and arrows; of which arrows there were four, one pointing toward each of the four points of the world. There were also brought a little shield, bow, and arrows, made of paste or dough of wild amaranth seeds, and a pottage of beans and toasted maize, and a little breech-clout and blanket or mantle. The poor in such cases had no more than the little shield, bow, and arrows, together with some tamales and toasted maize. When the child was a girl, there were brought to it, instead of mimic weapons, certain woman's implements and tools for spinning and weaving, the spindle and distaff, a little shirt and petticoats. These things being prepared, suiting the sex of the infant, its parents and relatives assembled before sunrise. When the sun rose the midwife asked for a new vessel full of water; and she took the child in her hands. Then the by-standers carried all the implements and utensils already mentioned into the court-yard of the house, where the midwife set the face of the child toward the west, and spake to the child saying: O grandson of mine, O eagle, O tiger, O valiant man, thou hast come into the world, sent by thy father and mother, the great Lord and the great lady; thou wast created and begotten in thy house, which is the place of the supreme gods that are above the nine heavens. Thou art a gift from our son Quetzalcoatl, who is in every place; join thyself now to thy mother, the goddess of water, Chalchihuitlicue.

Then the midwife gave the child to taste of the water, putting her moistened fingers in its mouth, and said: Take this; by this thou hast to live on the earth, to grow and to flourish; through this we get all things that support existence on the earth; receive it. Then with her moistened fingers she touched the breast of the child, and said: Behold the pure water that washes and cleanses thine heart, that removes all filthiness; receive it; may the goddess see good to purify and cleanse thine heart. Then the midwife poured water upon the head of the child saying: O my grandson, my son, take this water of the Lord of the world, which is thy life, invigorating and refreshing, washing and cleansing. I pray that this celestial water, blue and light blue, may enter into thy body and there live; I pray that it may destroy in thee and put away from thee all the things evil and adverse that were given thee before the beginning of the world. Into thine hand, O goddess of water, are all mankind put, because thou art our mother Chalchihuitlicue. Having so washed the body of the child and so spoken, the midwife said: Wheresoever thou art in this child, O thou hurtful thing, begone, leave it, put thyself apart; for now does it live anew, and anew is it born; now again is it purified and cleansed; now again is it shaped and engendered by our mother the goddess of water.

All these things being done and spoken, the midwife lifted the child in both her hands toward heaven and said: O Lord, behold here thy creature that thou hast sent to this place of pain, of affliction, of anguish, to this world. Give it, O Lord, thy gifts and thine inspiration, forasmuch as thou art the great god, and hast with thee the great goddess. Then the midwife stooped again and set the child upon the earth, and raised it the second time toward heaven, saying: O our lady, who art mother of the heavens, who art called Citlalatonac,[25] to thee I direct my voice and my cry; I pray thee to inspire with thy virtue, what virtue soever it may be, to give and to instil it into this creature. Then the midwife stooped again and set the child on the ground, and raised it the third time toward heaven, and said: O our Lord, god and goddess celestial, that are in the heavens, behold this creature; see good to pour into it thy virtue and thy breath, so that it may live upon the earth. Then a fourth and last time the midwife set the babe upon the ground, a fourth time she lifted it toward heaven, and she spake to the sun and said: O our Lord, Sun, Totonametl, Tlaltecutli, that art our mother and our father, behold this creature, which is like a bird of precious plumage, like a *zaquan* or a *quechutl;*[26] thine, O our Lord the Sun, he is; thou who art valiant in war and painted like a tiger in black and gray, he is thy creature and of thine estate and patrimony. For this he was born, to serve thee and to give thee food and drink; he is of the family of warriors and soldiers that fight on the field of battle.

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[25] See note 24. 'Entre los Dioses que estos ciegos Mexicanos fingieron tener, y ser maiores, que otros, fueron dos; vno llamado Ometecuhtli, que quiere decir, dos hidalgos, ò cavalleros; y el otro llamaron Omecihuatl, que quiere decir, dos mugeres: los quales, por otros nombres, fueron llamados, Citlalatonac, que quiere decir, Estrella que resplandece, ò resplandeciente; y el otro, Citlalicue, que quiere decir, Faldellin de la Estrella: ....Estos dos Dioses fingidos de esta Gentilidad, creìan ser el vno Hombre, y el otro Muger; y como à dos naturaleças distintas, y de distintos sexos las nombraban, como por los nombres dichos parece. De estos dos Dioses, (o por mejor decir, Demonios) tuvieron creìdo estos naturales, que residian en vna Ciudad gloriosa, asentada sobre los once Cielos, cuio suelo era mas alto, y supremo de ellos; y que en aquella Ciudad goçaban de todos los deleites imaginables y poseìan todas las riqueças de el Mundo; y decian, que desde alli arriba regian, y governaban toda esta maquina inferior del Mundo, y todo aquello que es visible, è invisible, influiendo en todas las Animas, que criaban todas las inclinaciones naturales, que vemos aver en todas las criaturas racionales, è irracionales; y que cuidaban de todo, como por naturaleça los convenia, atalaindo desde aquel su asiento las cosas criadas....De manera, que segun lo dicho, está mui claro de entender, que tenian opinion, que les que regian, y governaban el Mundo, eran dos (conviene á saber) vn Dios, y vna Diosa, de los quales el vno que era el Dios Hombre, obraba en todo el genero de los Varones; y el otro, que era la Diosa, criaba, y obraba en todo el genero de las Mugeres.' *Torquemada*, *Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., p. 37.

Then the midwife took the shield, and the bow and the dart that were there prepared, and spake to the Sun after this sort: Behold here the instruments of war which thou art served with, which thou delightest in; impart to this babe the gift that thou art wont to give to thy soldiers, enabling them to go to thine house of delights, where, having fallen in battle, they rest and are joyful and are now with thee praising thee. Will this poor little nobody ever be one of them? Have pity upon him, O clement Lord of ours.

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[26] Çaquantototl, paxaro de pluma amarillo y rica. *Molina*, *Vocabulario*. According,to Bustamante however, this bird is not one in any way remarkable for plumage, but is identical with the *tzacua* described by Clavigero, and is here used as an example of a vigilant and active soldier. Bustamante (in a note to *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. vi., pp. 194–5) writes: *Tzacua*, of this bird repeated mention has been made in this history, for the Indians used it for a means of comparison or simile in their speeches. It is an early-rising bird (madrugador), and has nothing notable in its plumage or in its voice, but only in its habits. This bird is one of the last to go to rest at night and one of the first to announce the coming sun. An hour before daybreak a bird of this species, having passed the night with many of his fellows on any branch, begins to call them, with a shrill clear note that he keeps repeating in a glad tone till some of them reply. The *tzacua* is about the size of a sparrow, and very similar in color to the bunting (calandria), but more marvellous in its habits. It is a social bird, each tree is a town of many nests. One *tzacua* plays the part of chief and guards the rest; his post is in the top of the tree, whence, from time to time, he flies from nest to nest uttering his notes; and while he is visiting a nest all within are silent. If he sees any bird of another species approaching the tree he sallies out upon the invader and with beak and wings compels a retreat. But if he sees a man or any large object advancing, he flies screaming to a neighboring tree, and, meeting other birds of his tribe flying homeward, he obliges them to retire by changing the tone of his note. When the danger is over he returns to his tree and begins his rounds as before, from nest to nest. Tzacuas abound in Michoacan, and to their observations regarding them the Indians are doubtless indebted for many hints and comparisons applied to soldiers diligent in duty. The *quechull*, or *tlauhquechol*, is a large aquatic bird with plumage of a beautiful scarlet color, or a reddish white, except that of the neck, which is black. Its home is on the sea-shore and by the river banks, where it feeds on live fish, never touching dead flesh. See *Clavigero*, *Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. i., pp. 87, 91–3.

During all the time of these ceremonies a great torch of candlewood was burning; and when these ceremonies were accomplished, a name was given to the child, that of one of his ancestors, so that he might inherit the fortune or lot of him whose name was so taken. This name was applied to the child by the midwife, or priestess, who performed the baptism. Suppose the name given was Yautl. Then the midwife began to shout and to talk like a man to the child: O Yautl, O valiant man, take this shield and this dart; these are for thy amusement, they are the delight of the sun. Then she tied the little mantle on its shoulders and girt the breech-clout about it. Now all the boys of the ward were assembled, and at this stage of the ceremony they rushed into the house where the baptism had taken place, and representing soldiers and forrayers, they took food that was there prepared for them, which was called 'the navel-string,' or 'navel,' of the child, and set out with it into the streets, shouting and eating. They cried O Yautl, Yautl, get thee to the field of battle, put thyself into the thickest of the fight; O Yautl, Yautl, thine office is to make glad the sun and the earth, to give them to eat and to drink; upon thee has fallen the lot of the soldiers that are eagles and tigers, that die in war, that are now making merry and singing before the sun. And they cried again: O soldiers, O men of war, come hither, come to eat of the navel of Yautl. Then the midwife, or priestess, took the child into the house, and departed, the great torch of candlewood being carried burning before her, and this was the last of the ceremony.[27]

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[27] *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., pp. 479–483, vol. vii., pp. 151–2; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. vi., pp. 215–221. According to some authors, and I think Boturini for one, this baptism was supplemented by passing the child through fire. There was such a ceremony; however, it was not connected with that of baptism, but it took place on the last night of every fourth year, before the five unlucky days. On the last night of every fourth year, parents chose god-parents for their children born during the three preceding years, and these god-fathers and god-mothers passed the children over, or near to, or about the flame of a prepared fire (rodearlos por las llamas del fuego que tenian aparejado para esto, que en el latin se dice *lustrare*). They also bored the children's ears, which caused no small uproar (Habia gran voceria de muchachos y muchachas por el ahugeramiento de las orejas) as may well be imagined. They clasped the children by the temples and lifted them up 'to make them grow;' wherefore they called the feast *izcalli*, 'growing.' They finished by giving the little things pulque in tiny cups, and for this the feast was called the 'drunkenness of children.' *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., pp. 189–192. In the *Spiegazione delle Tavole del Codice Mexicano* (Vaticano), tav. xxxi., in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., p. 181, there is given a description of the water baptism differing somewhat from that given in the text. It runs as follows: 'They took some ficitle; and having a large vessel of water near them, they made the leaves of the ficitle into a bunch, and dipped it into the water, with which they sprinkled the child; and after fumigating it with incense, they gave it a name, taken from the sign on which it was born; and they put into its hand a shield and arrow, if it was a boy, which is what the figure of Xiuatlatl denotes, who here represents the god of war; they also uttered over the child certain prayers in the manner of deprecations, that he might become a brave, intrepid, and courageous man. The offering which his parents carried to the temple the elder priests took and divided with the other children who were in the temple, who ran with it through the whole city.' Mendieta, *Hist. Ecles.*, p. 107, again describes this rite, in substance as follows: 'They had a sort of baptism: thus when the child was a few days old, an old woman was called in, who took the child out into the court of the house where it was born, and washed it a certain number of times with the wine of the country, and as many times again with water; then she put a name on it, and performed certain ceremonies with the umbilical cord. These names were taken from the idols, or from the feasts that fell about that time, or from a beast or bird.' See further *Esplicacion de la Coleccion de Mendoza*, pt iii., in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., pp. 90–1; *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 445, 449–458; *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., pp. 85–9; *Humboldt, Vues des Cordillères*, tom. ii., pp. 311, 318; *Gama, Dos Piedras*, pt ii., pp. 39–41; *Prescott's Mex.*, vol. iii., p. 385; *Brinton's Myths*, pp. 122, 130; *Müller, Amerikanische Urreligionen*, p. 652; *Biart, La Terre Tempéreé*, p. 274. Mr Tylor, speaking of Mexico, in his *Anahuac*, p. 279, says: 'Children were sprinkled with water when their names were given to them. This is certainly true, though the statement that they believed that the process purified them from original sin is probably a monkish fiction.' Farther reading, however, has shown Mr Tylor the injustice of this judgment, and in his masterly latest and greatest work (see *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii., pp. 429–36), he writes as follows: 'The last group of rites whose course through religious history is to be outlined here, takes in the varied dramatic acts of ceremonial purification or Lustration. With all the obscurity and intricacy due to age-long modification, the primitive thought which underlies these ceremonies is still open to view. It is the transition from practical to symbolic cleansing, from removal of bodily impurity to deliverance from invisible, spiritual, and at last moral evil. (See this vol. p.

The goddess (or god, as some have it) connected by the Mexicans with carnal love was variously called Tlazoltecotl, Ixcuina, Tlaclquani, with other names, and, especially it would appear in Tlascala, Xochiquetzal. She had no very prominent or honorable place in the minds of the people and was much more closely allied to the Roman Cloacina than to the Greek Aphrodite. Camargo, the Tlascaltec, gives much the most agreeable and pleasing account of her. Her home was in the ninth heaven, in a pleasant garden, watered by innumerable fountains, where she passed her time spinning and weaving rich stuffs, in the midst of delights, ministered to by the inferior deities. No man was able to approach her, but she had in her service a crowd of dwarfs, buffoons, and hunchbacks, who diverted her with their songs and dances, and acted as messengers to such gods as she took a fancy to. So beautiful was she painted that no woman in the world could equal her; and the place of her habitation was called Iamotamohuanichan, Xochitlycacan, Chitamihuany, Cicuhnauhuepaniuhcan, and Tuhecayan, that is to say 'the place of Tamohuan, the place of the tree of flowers Xochitlihcacan, where the air is purest, beyond the nine heavens.' It was further said, that whoever had been touched by one of the

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119)....In old Mexico, the first act of ceremonial lustration took place at birth. The nurse washed the infant in the name of the water-goddess, to remove the impurity of its birth, to cleanse its heart and give it a good and perfect life; then blowing on water in her right hand she washed it again, warning it of forthcoming trials and miseries and labors, and praying the invisible Deity to descend upon the water, to cleanse the child from sin and foulness, and to deliver it from misfortune. The second act took place some four days later, unless the astrologers postponed it. At a festive gathering, amid fires kept alight from the first ceremony, the nurse undressed the child sent by the gods into this sad and doleful world, bade it to receive the life-giving water, and washed it, driving out evil from each limb and offering to the deities appointed prayers for virtue and blessing. It was then that the toy instruments of war or craft or household labor were placed in the boy's or girl's hand (a custom singularly corresponding with one usual in China), and the other children, instructed by their parents, gave the new-comer its child-name, here again to be replaced by another at manhood or womanhood. There is nothing unlikely in the statement that the child was also passed four times through the fire, but the authority this is given on is not sufficient. The religious character of ablution is well shown in Mexico by its forming part of the daily service of the priests. Aztec life ended as it had begun, with this ceremonial lustration; it was one of the funeral ceremonies to sprinkle the head of the corpse with the lustral water of this life.'

flowers that grow in the beautiful garden of Xochiquetzal should love to the end, should love faithfully.[28]

Boturini gives a legend in which this goddess figures in a very characteristic way. There was a man called Yáppan, who, to win the regard of the gods made himself a hermit, leaving his wife and his relations, and retiring to a desert place, there to lead a chaste and solitary life. In that desert was a great stone or rock, called Tehuehuetl, dedicated to penitential acts, which rock Yáppan ascended and took up his abode upon like a western Simeon Stylites. The gods observed all this with attention, but doubtful of the firmness of purpose of the new recluse, they set a spy upon him in the person of an enemy of his, named Yáotl, the word *yáotl* indeed signifying 'enemy.' Yet not even the sharpened eye of hate and envy could find any spot in the austere continent life of the anchorite, and the many women sent by the gods to tempt him to pleasure were repulsed and baffled. In heaven itself the chaste victories of the lonely saint were applauded, and it began to be thought that he was worthy to be transformed into some higher form of life. Then Tlazolteotl, feeling herself slighted and held for nought, rose up in her evil beauty, wrathful, contemptuous, and said: Think not, ye high and immortal gods, that this hero of yours has the force to preserve his resolution before me, or that he is worthy of any very sublime transformation; I descend to earth, behold now how strong is the vow of your devotee, how unfeigned his continence!

That day the flowers of the gardens of Xochiquetzal were untended by their mistress, her singing dwarfs were silent, her messengers undisturbed by her behests, and away in the desert, by the lonely rock, the crouching spy Yáotl saw a wondrous sight: one shaped like a woman, but fairer than eye can conceive, advancing toward the lean penance-withered man on the sacred height. Ha! thrills not the hermit's mortified flesh with something more than surprise, while the sweet voice speaks: My brother Yáppan, I the goddess Tlazolteotl, amazed at thy constancy, and commiserating thy hardships, come to comfort thee; what way shall I take, or what path, that I may get up to speak with thee? The simple one did not see the ruse, he came down from his place and helped the goddess up. Alas, in such a crisis, what need is there to speak further?—no other victory of Yáppan was destined to be famous in heaven, but in a cloud of shame his chaste light went down for ever. And thou, O shameless one, have thy fierce red lips had their fill of kisses, is thy Paphian soul satisfied withal, as now, flushed with victory, thou passest back to the tinkling fountains, and to the great tree of flowers, and to the far-reaching gardens where thy slaves await thee in the ninth heaven? Do thine eyes lower themselves at all in any heed of the miserable disenchanted victim left crouching, humbled on his desecrated rock, his nights and days of fasting and weariness gone for nought, his dreams, his hopes dissipated, scattered like dust at the trailing of thy robes? And for thee, poor Yáppan, the troubles of this life are soon to end; Yáotl, the enemy, has not seen all these things for nothing; he, at least, has not borne hunger and thirst and weariness, has not watched and waited in vain. O it avails nothing to lift the pleading hands, they are warm but not with clasping in prayer, and weary but not with waving the censer; the flint-edged mace beats down thy feeble guard, the neck that Tlazolteotl clasped is smitten through, the lips she kissed roll in the dust beside a headless trunk.

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[28] *Camargo*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, 1843, tom. xcix., pp. 132–3. 'On célébrait chaque année une fête solennelle en l'honneur de cette déesse Xochiquetzal, et une foule de peuple se réunissait dans son temple. On disait qu'elle était la femme de Tlaloc le dieu des eaux, et que Texcatlipuca la lui avait enlevée et l'avait transportée au neuvième ciel. Metlacueycati était la déesse des magiciennes. Tlaloc l'épousa quand Xochiquetzal lui eut été enlevée.'

The gods transformed the dead man into a scorpion, with the forearms fixed lifted up as when he deprecated the blow of his murderer; and he crawled under the stone upon which he had abode. His wife, whose name was Tlahuitzin, that is to say 'the inflamed,' still lived.

The implacable Yáotl sought her out, led her to the spot stained with her husband's blood, detailed pitilessly the circumstances of the sin and death of the hermit, and then smote off her head. The gods transformed the poor woman into that species of scorpion called the *alacran encendido*, and she crawled under the stone and found her husband. And so it comes that tradition says that all reddish colored scorpions are descended from Tlahuitzin, and all dusky or ash-colored scorpions from Yáppan, while both keep hidden under the stones and flee the light for shame of their disgrace and punishment. Last of all the wrath of the gods fell on Yáotl for his cruelty and presumption in exceeding their commands; he was transformed into a sort of locust that the Mexicans call *ahuacachapullin*.[29]

Sahagun gives a very full description of this goddess and her connection with certain rites of confession, much resembling those already described in speaking of Tezcatlipoca.[30] The goddess had according to our author, three names. The first was Tlazolteotl, that is to say 'the goddess of carnality.' The second name was Yxcuina, which signifies four sisters, called respectively, and in order of age, Tiacapan, Teicu, Tlaco, Xucotsi. The third and last name of this deity was Tlaclquani, which means 'eater of filthy things,' referring it is said to her function of hearing and pardoning the confessions of men and women guilty of unclean and carnal crimes. For this goddess, or these goddesses, had power not only to inspire and provoke to the commission of such sins, and to aid in their accomplishment, but also to pardon them, if they were confessed to certain priests who were also diviners and tellers of fortunes and wizards generally. In this confession, however, Tlazolteotl seems not to have been directly addressed, but only the supreme deity under several of his names. Thus the person whom, by a stretch of courtesy, we may call the penitent, having sought out a confessor from the class above mentioned, addressed that functionary in these words: Sir, I wish to approach the all-powerful god, protector of all, Yoalliehecatl, or Tezcatlipoca; I wish to confess my sins in secret. To this the wizard, or priest, replied: Welcome, my son; the thing thou wouldst do is for thy good and profit. This said he searched the divining book, *tonalamatl*, to see what day would be most opportune for hearing the confession. That day come, the penitent brought a new mat, and white incense called *copalli*, and wood for the fire in which the incense was to be burned. Sometimes when he was a very noble personage, the priest went to his house to confess him, but as a general rule the ceremony took place at the residence of the priest. On entering this house the penitent swept very clean a portion of the floor and spread the new mat there for the confessor to seat himself upon, and kindled the wood. The priest then threw the copal upon the fire and said: 'O Lord, thou that art the father and the mother of the gods and the most ancient god,[31] know that here is come thy vassal and servant, weeping and with great sadness; he is aware that he has wandered from the way, that he has stumbled, that he has slidden, that he is spotted with certain filthy sins and grave crimes worthy of death. Our Lord, very pitiful, since thou art the protector and defender of all, accept the penitence, give ear to the anguish of this thy servant and vassal.

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[29] *Boturini*, *Idèa*, pp. 15, 63–6: 'Pero. no menos indignados los Dioses del pecado de Yàppan, que de la inobediencia, y atrevimiento de *Yàotl*, le convirtieron en Langosta, que llaman los Indios *Ahuacachapùllin*, mandando se llamasse en adelante *Tzontecomàma*, que quiere dicir, *Carga Cabeza*, y en efecto este animal parece que lleva cargo consigo, propriedad de los Malsines, que siempre cargan las honras, que han quitado à sus Proximos.'

[30] See this vol. pp. 220–5.

At this point the confessor turned to the sinner and said: My son, thou art come into the presence of God, favorer and protector of all; thou art come to lay bare thy inner rottenness and unsavoriness; thou art come to publish the secrets of thine heart; see that thou fall into no pit by lying unto our Lord; strip thyself, put away all shame before him who is called Yoalliehecatl and Tezcatlipoca. It is certain that thou art now in his presence, although thou art not worthy to see him, neither will he speak with thee, for he is invisible and impalpable. See then to it how thou comest, and with what heart; fear nothing to publish thy secrets in his presence, give account of thy life, relate thine evil deeds as thou didst perform them; tell all with sadness to our Lord God, who is the favorer of all, and whose arms are open and ready to embrace and set thee on his shoulders. Beware of hiding anything through shame or through weakness.

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[31] See this vol., pp. 212, 226.

Having heard these words the penitent took oath, after the Mexican fashion, to tell the truth. He touched the ground with his hand and licked off the earth that adhered to it;[32] then he threw copal in the fire, which was another way of swearing to tell the truth. Then he set himself down before the priest and, inasmuch as he held him to be the image and vicar of god, he, the penitent, began to speak after this fashion: O our Lord who receivest and shelterest all, give ear to my foul deeds; in thy presence I strip, I put away from myself what shameful things soever I have done. Not from thee, of a verity, are hidden my crimes, for to thee all things are manifest and clear. Having thus said, the penitent proceeded to relate his sins in the order in which they had been committed, clearly and quietly, as in a slow and distinctly pronounced chant, as one that walked along a very straight way turning neither to the right hand nor to the left. When he had done the priest answered him as follows: My son, thou hast spoken before our Lord God, revealing to him thine evil works; and I shall now tell thee what thou hast to do. When the goddesses Civapipilti descend to the earth, or when it is the time of the festival of the four sister goddesses of carnality that are called Yxcuina, thou shalt fast four days afflicting thy stomach and thy mouth; this feast of the Yxcuina being come, at daybreak thou shalt do penance suitable to thy sins.[33] Through a hole pierced by a maguey-thorn through the middle of thy tongue thou shall pass certain osier-twigs called *teucalzacatl* or *tlacotl*, passing them in front of the face and throwing them over the shoulder one by one; or thou mayest fasten them the one to the other and so pull them through thy tongue like a long cord. These twigs were sometimes passed through a hole in the ear; and, wherever they were passed, it would appear by our author that there were sometimes used of them by one penitent to the number of four hundred, or even of eight hundred.

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[32] Other descriptions of this rite are given with additional details: 'Usaban una ceremonia generalmente en toda esta tierra, hombres y mugeres, niños y niñas, que quando entraban en algun lugar donde habia imagenes de los idolos, una ó muchas, luego tocaban en la tierra con el dedo, y luego le llegaban á la boca ó á la lengua: á esto llamaban comer tierra, haciendolo en reverencia de sus Dioses, y todos los que salian de sus casas, aunque no saliesen del pueblo, volviendo á su casa hacian lo mismo, y por los caminos quando pasaban delante algun Cu ú oratorio hacian lo mismo, y en lugar de juramento usaban esto mismo, que para afirmar quien decia verdad hacian esta ceremonia, y los que se querian satisfacer del que hablaba si decia verdad, demandabanle hiciese esta ceremonia, luego le creian como juramento .... Tenian tambien costumbre de hacer juramento de cumplir alguna cosa á que se obligaban, y aquel á quien se obligaban les demandaba que hiciesen juramento para estar seguro de su palabra y el juramento que hacian era en esta forma: Por vida del Sol y de nuestra señora la tierra que no falte en lo que tengo dicho, y para mayor seguridad como esta tierra; y luego tocaba con los dedos en la tierra, llegabalos á la boca y lamialos; y asi comia tierra haciendo juramento.' *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 95-6, 161; *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. i., ap., pp. 212, 226; *Clavigero*, *Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 25.

If the sin seemed too light for such a punishment as the preceding, the priest would say to the penitent: My son, thou shalt fast, thou shall fatigue thy stomach with hunger and thy mouth with thirst, and that for four days, eating only once on each day and that at noon. Or, the priest would say to him: Thou shalt go to offer paper in the usual places, thou shalt make images covered therewith in number proportionate to thy devotion, thou shalt sing and dance before them as custom directs. Or, again, he would say to him: Thou hast offended God, thou hast got drunk; thou must expiate the matter before Totochti, the god of wine; and when thou goest to do penance thou shalt go at night, naked, save only a piece of paper hanging from thy girdle in front and another behind; thou shalt repeat thy prayer and then throw down there before the gods those two pieces of paper, and so take thy departure.

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[33] Quite different versions of this sentence are given by Kingsborough's and Bustamante's editions respectively. That of *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq*, vol. vii., p. 7, reads: 'Quando deciendens á la tierra las Diosas Ixcuiname, luego de mañana ó en amaneciendo, paraque hagas la penitencia convenible por tus pecados.' That of Bustamante, *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. i., p. 13, reads: 'Cuando descienden á la tierra las diosas llamadas *Civapipilti*, ó cuando se hace la fiesta de las diosas de la carnalidad que se llaman *Yxtuiname*, ayunarás cuatro dias afligiendo tu estómago y tu boca, y llegado el dia de la fiesta de estas diosas *Yxtuiname*, luego de mañana ó en amaneciendo para que hagas la penitencia convenible por tus pecados.'

This confession was held not to have been made to a priest, or to a man, but to God; and, inasmuch as it could only be heard once in a man's life, and, as for a relapse into sin after it there was no forgiveness, it was generally put off till old age. The absolution given by the priest was valuable in a double regard; the absolved was held shriven of every crime he had confessed, and clear of all pains and penalties, temporal or spiritual, civil or ecclesiastical, due therefor. Thus was the fiery lash of Nemesis bound up, thus were struck down alike the staff of Minos and the sword of Themis before the awful ægis of religion. It may be imagined with what reluctance this last hope, this unique life-confession was resorted to; it was the one city of refuge, the one Mexican benefit of sanctuary, the sole horn of the altar, of which a man might once take hold and live, but no more again for ever.[34]

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[34] 'De esto bien se arguye que aunque habian hecho muchos pecados en tiempo de su juventud, no se confesaban de ellos hasta la vejez, por no se obligar á cesar de pecar antes de la vejez, por la opinion que tenian, que el que tornaba á reincidir en los pecados, al que se confesaba una vez no tenia remedio.' *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 6–8: *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. i., pp. 10–16. Prescott writes, *Mex.*, vol. i., p. 68: 'It is remarkable that they administered the rites of confession and absolution. The secrets of the confessional were held inviolable, and penances were imposed of much the same kind as those enjoined in the Roman Catholic Church. There were two remarkable peculiarities in the Aztec ceremony. The first was, that, as the repetition of an offence, once atoned for, was deemed inexpiable, confession was made but once in a man's life, and was usually deferred to a late period of it, when the penitent unburdened his conscience, and settled, at once, the long arrears of iniquity. Another peculiarity was, that priestly absolution was received in place of the legal punishment of offences, and authorized an acquital in case of arrest.' Mention of Tlazolteotl will be found in *Gomara, Conq. Mex.*, fol. 309; *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 62, 79; *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., dec. ii., lib. vi., cap. xv.; *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 21. They say that Yxcuina, who was the goddess of shame, protected adulterers. She was the goddess of salt, of dirt, and of immodesty, and the cause of all sins. They painted her with two faces, or with two different colors on the face. She

The Mexican god of fire as we have already noticed was usually called Xiuhtecutli. He had, however, other names such as Ixcozauhqui, that is to say, 'yellow-faced;' and Cuecaltzin, which means 'flame of fire;' and Huehueteotl, or 'the ancient god.'[35] His idol represented a naked man, the chin blackened with ulli, and wearing a lip-jewel of red stone. On his head was a particolored paper crown, with green plumes issuing from the top of it like flames of fire; from the sides hung tassels of feathers down to the ears. The ear-rings of the image were of turquoise wrought in mosaic. On the idol's back was a dragon's head made of yellow feathers and some little marine shells. To the ankles were attached little bells or rattles. On the left arm was a shield, almost entirely covered with a plate of gold, into which were set in the shape of a cross five chalchiuites. In the right hand the god held a round pierced plate of gold, called the 'looking-plate,' (mirador ó miradero); with this he covered his face, looking only through the hole in the golden plate. Xiuhtecutli was held by the people to be their father, and regarded with feelings of mingled love and fear; and they celebrated to him two fixed festivals every year, one in the tenth and another in the eighteenth month, together with a movable feast in which, according to Clavigero, they appointed magistrates and renewed the ceremony of the investiture of the fiefs of the kingdom. The sacrifices of the first of these festivals, the festival of the tenth month, Xocotlveti, were particularly cruel even for the Mexican religion.

The assistants began by cutting down a great tree of five and twenty fathoms long and dressing off the branches, removing all it would seem but a few round the top. This tree was then dragged by ropes into the city, on rollers apparently, with great precaution against

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was the wife of Mizuitlantecutli, the god of hell. She was also the goddess of prostitutes; and she presided over these thirteen signs, which were all unlucky, and thus they held that those who were born in these signs would be rogues or prostitutes. *Spiegazione delle Tavole del Codice Mexicano*, (Vaticano), tav. xxxix., in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., p. 184; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Quatre Lettres*, pp. 291-2, 301.

[35] See this vol., pp. 212, 226.

bruising or spoiling it; and the women met the entering procession giving those that dragged cacao to drink. The tree, which was called *xocotl*, was received into the court of a cu with shouts, and there set up in a hole in in the ground and allowed to remain for twenty days. On the eve of the festival Xocotlvetzi, they let this large tree or pole down gently to the ground, by means of ropes and tressles, or rests, made of beams tied two and two, probably in an X shape; and carpenters dressed it perfectly smooth and straight, and, where the branches had been left, near the top, they fastened with ropes a kind of yard or cross-beam of five fathoms long. Then was prepared, to be set on the very top of the pole or tree, a statue of the god Xiuhtecutli, made like a man out of the dough of wild amaranth seeds, and covered and decorated with innumerable white papers. Into the head of the image were stuck strips of paper instead of hair; sashes of paper crossed the body from each shoulder; on the arms were pieces of paper like wings, painted over with figures of sparrow-hawks; a maxtle of paper covered the loins; and a kind of paper shirt or tabard covered all. Great strips of paper, half a fathom broad and ten fathoms long, floated from the feet of the dough god half way down the tree; and into his head were struck three rods with a tamale or small pie on the top of each. The tree being now prepared with all these things, ten ropes were attached to the middle of it, and by the help of the above-mentioned tressles and a large crowd pulling all together, the whole structure was reared into an upright position and there fixed, with great shouting and stamping of feet.

Then came all those that had captives to sacrifice; they came decorated for dancing, all the body painted yellow (which is the livery color of the god), and the face vermilion. They wore a mass of the red plumage of the parrot, arranged to resemble a butterfly, and carried shields covered with white feathers and as it were the feet of tigers or eagles walking. Each one went dancing side by side with his captive. These captives had the body painted white, and the face vermilion, save the cheeks which were black; they were adorned with papers, much, apparently, as the dough image was, and they had white feathers on the head and lip-ornaments of feathers. At set of sun the dancing ceased; the captives were shut up in the *calpulli*, and watched by their owners, not being even allowed to sleep. About midnight every owner shaved away the hair of the top of the head of his slave, which hair, being fastened with red thread to a little tuft of feathers, he put in a small case of cane, and attached to the rafters of his house, that every one might see that he was a valiant man and had taken a captive. The knife with which this shaving was accomplished was called the claw of the sparrow-hawk. At daybreak the doomed and shorn slaves were arranged in order in front of the place called Tzompantli, where the skulls of the sacrificed were spitted in rows. Here one of the priests went along the row of captives taking from them certain little banners that they carried and all their raiment or adornment, and burning the same in a fire; for raiment or ornament these unfortunates should need no more on earth. While they were standing thus all naked and waiting for death, there came another priest, carrying in his arms the image of the god Paynal and his ornaments; he ran up with this idol to the top of the cu Tlacacouhcan where the victims were to die. Down he came, then up again, and as he went up the second time the owners took their slaves by the hair and led them to the place called Apetlac and there left them. Immediately there descended from the cu those that were to execute the sacrifice, bearing bags of a kind of stupefying incense called *yiauhtli*,[36] which they threw by handfuls into the faces of the victims to deaden somewhat their agonies in the fearful death before them. Each captive was then bound hand and foot and so carried up to the top of the cu where smouldered a huge heap of live coal. The carriers heaved their living burdens in; and the old narrative gives minute details about the great hole made in the sparkling embers by each slave, and how the ashy dust rose in a cloud as he fell. As the dust settled the bound bodies could be seen writhing and jerking themselves about in torment on their soft dull-red bed, and their flesh could be heard crackling and roasting. Now came a part of the ceremony requiring much experience and judgment; the wild-eyed priests stood grappling-hook in hand biding their time. The victims were not to die in the fire, the instant the great blisters began to rise handsomely over their scorched skins it was enough, they were raked out. The poor blackened bodies were then flung on the 'tajon' and the agonized soul dismissed by the sacrificial breast-cut (from nipple to nipple, or a little lower); the heart was then torn out and cast at the feet of Xiuhtecutli, god of fire.

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[36] 'Il Jauhtli è una pianta, il cui fusto e lungo un cubito, le foglie somiglianti a quelle del Salcio, ma dentate, i fiori gialli, e la radice sottile. Così i fiori, come l'altre parti della pianta, hanno lo stesso odore e sapore dell' Anice. E' assai utile per la Medicina, ed i Medici Messicani l'adoperavano contro parecchie malattie; ma servivansi ancora d'essa per alcuni usi superstiziosi.' This is the note given by Clavigero, *Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 77, in describing this festival, and the incense used for stupefying the victims; see a different note however, in this vol., p. 339, in which Molina

This slaughter being over, the statue of Paynal was carried away to its own cu and every man went home to eat. And the young men and boys, all those called *quexpaleque*,[37] because they had a lock of hair at the nape of the neck, came, together with all the people, the women in order among the men, and began at mid-day to dance and to sing in the court-yard of Xiuhtecutli; the place was so crowded that there was hardly room to move. Suddenly there arose a great cry, and a rush was made out of the court toward the place where was raised the tall tree already described at some length. Let us shoulder our way forward, not without risk to

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describes *yiauhtli* as 'black maize.' In some cases, according to Mendieta, *Hist. Ecles.*, p. 100, there was given to the condemned a certain drink that put them beside themselves, so that they went to the sacrifice with a ghastly drunken merriment.

[37] '*Cuexpalli*, cabello largo que dexan a los muchachos en el cogote, quando los tresquilan.' *Molina*, *Vocabulario.*

our ribs, and see what we can see: there stands the tall pole with streamers of paper and the ten ropes by which it was raised dangling from it. On the top stands the dough image of the fire god, with all his ornaments and weapons, and with the three tamales sticking out so oddly above his head. Ware clubs! we press too close; shoulder to shoulder in a thick serried ring round the foot of the pole stand the 'captains of the youths' keeping the youngsters back with cudgels, till the word be given at which all may begin to climb the said pole for the great prize at the top. But the youths are wild for fame; old renowned heroes look on; the eyes of all the women of the city are fixed on the great tree where it shoots above the head of the struggling crowd; glory to him who first gains the cross-beam and the image. Stand back, then, ye captains, let us pass! There is a rush, and a trampling, and despite a rain of blows, all the pole with its hanging ropes is aswarm with climbers, thrusting each other down. The first youth at the top seizes the idol of dough; he takes the shield and the arrows and the darts and the stick *atalt* for throwing the darts; he takes the tamales from the head of the statue, crumbles them up, and throws the crumbs with the plumes of the image down into the crowd; the securing of which crumbs and plumes is a new occasion for shouting and scrambling and fisticuffs among the multitude. When the young hero comes down with the weapons of the god which he has secured, he is received with far-roaring applause and carried up to the cu Tlacacouhcan, there to receive the reward of his activity and endurance, praises and jewels and a rich mantle not lawful for another to wear, and the honor of being carried by the priests to his house, amid the music of horns and shells. The festivity is over now; all the people lay hold on the ropes fastened to the tree, and pull it down with a crash that breaks it to pieces, together, apparently, with all that is left of the wild-amaranth-dough image of Xiuhtecutli.[38]

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[38] *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 8-9, 28, 63-6; *Sahagun*, *Hist.*

Another feast of the god of fire was held in the month Yzcalli, the eighteenth month; it was called *motlaxquiantota*, that is to say 'our father the fire toasts his food.' An image of the god of fire was made, with a frame of hoops and sticks tied together as the basis or model to be covered with his ornaments. On the head of this image was put a shining mask of turquoise mosaic, banded across with rows of green chalchiuites. Upon the mask was put a crown fitting to the head below, wide above, and gorgeous with rich plumage as a flower; a wig of reddish hair was attached to this crown so that the evenly cut locks flowed from below it, behind and around the mask, as if they were natural. A robe of costly feathers covered all the front of the image and fell over the ground before the feet, so light that it shivered and floated with the least breath of air till the variegated feathers glittered and changed color like water. The back of the image seems to have been left unadorned, concealed by a throne on which it was seated, a throne covered with a dried tiger-skin, paws and head complete. Before this statue new fire was produced at midnight by boring rapidly by hand one stick upon another; the spunk or tinder so inflamed was put on the hearth and a fire lit.[39] At break of day came all the boys and youths with game and fish that they had captured on the previous day; walking round the fire, they gave it to certain old men that stood there, who taking it threw it into the flames before the god, giving the youths in return certain tamales that had been made and offered for this purpose by the women. To eat these tamales it was necessary to strip off the maize-leaves in which they had been wrapped and cooked; these leaves were not thrown into the fire,

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Gen., tom. i., lib. i., pp. 16–19, lib. ii., pp. 62–4, 141–8; *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., pp. 16, 76; *Spiegazione delle Tavole del Codice Mexicano*, (Vaticano), tav. lvi., in *Kingsborough s Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., p. 190.

[39] 'Esta estatua asi adornado no lejos de un lugar que estaba delante de ella, á la media noche sacaban fuego nuevo para que ardiese en aquel lugar, y sacabanlo con unos palos, uno puesto abajo, y sobre él barrenaban con otro palo, como torciendole entre las manos con gran prisa, y con aquel movimiento y calor se encendia el fuego, y alli lo tomaban con yesca y encendian en el hogar.' *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., p. 84; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i,, lib. ii., p. 184.

but were all put together and thrown into water. After this all the old men of the ward in which the fire was, drank pulque and sang before the image of Xiuhtecutli till night. This was the tenth day of the month and thus finished that feast, or that part of the feast, which was called *vauquitamalqualiztli.*

On the twentieth and last day of the month was made another statue of the fire god, with a frame of sticks and hoops as already described. They put on the head of it a mask with a ground of mosaic of little bits of the shell called *tapaztli,*[40] composed below the mouth of black stones, banded across the nostrils with black stones of another sort, and the cheeks made of a still different stone called *tezcapuchtli.* As in the previous case there was a crown on this mask, and over all and over the body of the image costly and beautiful decorations of feather-work. Before the throne on which this statue sat there was a fire, and the youths offered game to and received cakes from the old men with various ceremonies; the day being closed with a great drinking of pulque by the old people, though not to the point of intoxication. Thus ended the eighteenth month; and with regard to the two ceremonies just described, Sahagun says, that though not observed in all parts of Mexico, they were observed at least in Tezcuco.

It will be noticed that the festivals of this month have been without human sacrifices; but every fourth year was an exception to this. In such a year on the twentieth and last day of this eighteenth month, being also, according to some, the last day of the year, the five Nemonteni, or unlucky days, being excepted, men and women were slain as images of the god of fire. The women that had to die carried all their apparel and ornaments on their shoulders, and the men did the same. Arrived thus naked where they had to die, men and women alike were decorated to resemble the god of fire; they ascended the cu, walked round the sacrificial stone, and then descended and returned to the place where they were to be kept for the night. Each male victim had a rope tied round the middle of his body which was held by his guards. At midnight the hair of the crown of the head of each was shaven off before the fire and kept for a relic, and the head itself was covered with a mixture of resin and hens' feathers. After this the doomed ones burned or gave away to their keepers their now useless apparel, and as the morning broke they were decorated with papers and led in procession to die, with singing and shouting and dancing. These festivities went on till mid-day, when a priest of the cu, arrayed in the ornaments of the god Paynal, came down, passed before the victims, and then went up again. They were led up after him, captives first and slaves after, in the order they had to die in; they suffered in the usual manner. There was then a grand dance of the lords, led by the king himself; each dancer wearing a high-fronted paper coronet, a kind of false nose of blue paper, ear-rings of turquoise mosaic, or of wood wrought with flowers, a blue curiously flowered jacket, and a mantle. Hanging to the neck of each was the figure of a dog made of paper and painted with flowers; in the right hand was carried a stick shaped like a chopping-knife, the lower half of which was painted red and the upper half white; in the left hand was carried a little paper bag of copal. This dance was begun on the top of the cu and finished by descending and going four times round the court-yard of the cu; after which all entered the palace with the king. This dance took place only once in four years, and none but the king and his lords could take part in it. On this day the ears of all children born during the three preceding years were bored with a bone awl, and the children themselves passed near or through the flames of a fire as already related.[41] There was a further ceremony of taking the children by the head and lifting them up "to make them grow;"

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[40] Or *tapachtli* as Bustamante spells it. '*Tapachtli,* cral, concha o venera.' *Molina, Vocabulario.*

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[41] See this vol., p. 376, note 27.

and from this the month took its name, Yzcalli meaning 'growth.'[42]

There was generally observed in honor of fire a custom called 'the throwing,' which was that no one ate without first flinging into the fire a scrap of the food. Another common ceremony was in drinking pulque to first spill a little on the edge of the hearth. Also when a person began upon a jar of pulque he emptied out a little into a broad pan and put it beside the fire, whence with another vessel he spilt of it four times upon the edge of the hearth; this was 'the libation or the tasting.'[43]

The most solemn and important of all the Mexican festivals was that called Toxilmolpilia or Xiuhmolpilli, the 'the binding up of the years.' Every fifty-two years was called a sheaf of years; and it was held for certain that at the end of some sheaf of fifty-two years the motion of the heavenly bodies should cease and the world itself come to an end. As the possible day of destruction drew near all the people cast their household gods of wood and stone into the water, as also the stones used on the hearth for cook- and bruising pepper. They washed thoroughly their houses, and last of all put out all fires. For the lighting of the new fire there was a place set apart, the summit of a mountain called Vixachtlan, or Huixachtla, on the boundary line between the cities of Itztapalapa and Colhuacan, about six miles from the city of Mexico. In the production of this new fire none but priests had any part, and the task fell specially upon those of the ward Copolco. On the last day of the fifty-two years, after the sun had set, all the priests clothed themselves with the dress and insignia of their gods, so as to themselves appear like very gods, and set out in procession for the mountain, walking very slowly, with much gravity and silence, as befitted the occasion and the garb they wore, "walking," as they phrased it, "like gods." The priest of the ward of Copolco, whose office it was to produce the fire, carried the instruments thereof in his hand, trying them from time to time to see that all was right. Then, a little before midnight, the mountain being gained, and a cu which was there builded for that ceremony, they began to watch the heavens and especially the motion of the Pleiades. Now this night always fell so that at midnight these seven stars were in the middle of the sky with respect to the Mexican horizon; and the priests watched them to see them pass the zenith and so give sign of the endurance of the world, for another fifty and two years. That sign was the signal for the production of the new fire, lit as follows. The bravest and finest of the prisoners taken in war was thrown down alive, and a board of very dry wood was put upon his breast; upon this the acting priest at the critical moment bored with another stick, twirling it rapidly between his palms till fire caught. Then instantly the bowels of the captive were laid open, his heart torn out, and it with all the body thrown upon and consumed by a pile of fire. All this time an awful anxiety and suspense held possession of the people at large; for it was said, that if anything happened to prevent the production at the proper time of the new fire, there would be an end of the human race, the night and the darkness would be perpetual, and those terrible and ugly beings the Tzitzimitles[44] would descend to devour all mankind. As the fateful hour approached, the people gathered on the flat house-tops, no one willingly remaining below. All pregnant women, however, were closed into the granaries, their faces being covered with maize-leaves; for it was said that if the new fire could not be produced, these women would turn into fierce animals and devour men and women. Children also had masks of maize-leaf put on their faces, and they were kept awake by cries and pushes, it being believed that if they were allowed to sleep they would become mice.

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[42] *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 33, 83–7; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., pp. 74–5, 183–92; *Boturini, Idéa*, p. 138; *Spiegazione delle Tavola del Codice Mexicano*, (Vaticano), tav. lxxiv., in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., pp. 196–7; *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 82.

[43] *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., p. 96; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., ap., p. 213.

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[44] Or *Istitimites* as on p. 427 of this vol.

From the crowded house-tops every eye was bent on Vixachtlan. Suddenly a moving speck of light was seen by those nearest, and then a great column of flame shot up against the sky. The new fire! and a great shout of joy went up from all the country round about. The stars moved on in their courses; fifty and two years more at least had the universe to exist. Every one did penance, cutting his ear with a splinter of flint and scattering the blood toward the part where the fire was; even the ears of children in the cradle were so cut. And now from the blazing pile on the mountain, burning brands of pine candle-wood were carried by the swiftest runners toward every quarter of the kingdom. In the city of Mexico, on the temple of Huitzilopochtli, before the altar, there was a fire-place of stone and lime containing much copal; into this a blazing brand was flung by the first runner, and from this place fire was carried to all the houses of the priests, and thence again to all the city. There soon blazed great central fires in every ward, and it was a thing to be seen the multitude of people that came together to get light, and the general rejoicings.

The hearth-fires being thus lit, the inhabitants of every house began to renew their household gods and furniture, and to lay down new mats, and to put on new raiment; they made everything new in sign of the new sheaf of years; they beheaded quails, and burned incense in their court-yard toward the four quarters of the world, and on their hearths. After eating a meal of wild amaranth seed and honey, a fast was ordered, even the drinking of water till noon being forbidden. Then the eating and drinking were renewed, sacrifices of slaves and captives were made, and the great fires renewed. The last solemn festival of the new fire was celebrated in the year 1507, the Spaniards being not then in the land; and through their presence, there was no public ceremony when the next sheaf of years was finished in 1559.[45]

Mictlan, the Mexican hades, or place of the dead, signifies either primarily, or by an acquired meaning, 'northward, or toward the north,' though many authorities have located it underground or below the earth. This region was the seat of the power of a god best known under his title of Mictlantecutli; his female companion was called Mictlancihuatl, made identical by some legends with Tlazolteotl, and by others apparently with the serpent-woman and mother goddess.[46] There has been discovered and there is now to be seen in the city of Mexico a huge compound statue, representing various deities, the most prominent being a certain goddess Teoyaomique, who, it seems to me, is almost identical with or at least

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[45] *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 157, 191-3; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. iv., ap., pp. 346-7, tom. ii., lib. vii., pp. 260-4; *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 292-5; *Boturini, Idéa*, pp. 18-21; *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., pp. 62, 84-5; *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, p. 101; *Acosta, Hist. de las Yndias*, pp. 398-9. Leon y Gama, *Dos Piedras*, pt i., pp. 51-55, differs somewhat from the text; he was unfortunate in never having seen the works of Sahagun.

[46] This vol. p. 59. The interpretations of the codices represent this god as peculiarly honored in their paintings: They place Michitlatecotle opposite to the sun, to see if he can rescue any of those seized upon by the lords of the dead, for Michitla signifies the dead below. These nations painted only two of their gods with the crown called Altoutcatecoatle, viz., the God of heaven and of abundance and this lord of the dead, which kind of crown I have seen upon the captains in the war of Coatle. *Explicacion del Codex Telleriano Remensis*, pt ii., lam. xv., in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., p. 140. Miquitlantecotli signifies the great lord of the dead fellow in hell who alone after Tonacatecotle was painted with a crown, which kind of a crown was used in war even after the arrival of the Christians in those countries, and was seen in the war of Coatlan, as the person who copied these paintings relates, who was a brother of the Order of Saint Dominic. named Pedro de los Rios. They painted this demon near the sun; for in the same way as they believed that the one conducted souls to heaven, so they supposed that the other carried them to hell. He is here represented with his hands open and stretched toward the sun, to seize on any soul which might escape from him. *Spiegazione delle Tavole del Codice Mexicano* (Vaticano), tav. xxxiv., in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., p. 182. The Vatican Codex says further that these were four gods or principal demons in the Mexican hell. Miquitlamtecotl or Zitzimitl; Yzpunteque, the lame demon, who appeared in the streets with the feet of a cock; Nextepelma, scatterer of ashes; and Contemoque, he who descends head-foremost. These four have goddesses, not as wives, but as companions, which was the simple relation in which all the Mexican god and goddesses stood to one another, there having been—according to most authorities—in their olympus neither marrying nor giving in marriage. Picking our way as well as possible across the frightful spelling of the interpreter, the males and females seem paired as follows: To Miquitlamtecotl or Tzitzimitl, was joined as goddess, Miquitecacigua; to Yzpunteque, Nexoxocho; to Nextepelma. Micapetlacoli; and to Contemoque, Chalmecacinatl. *Spiegazione delle Tavole del Codice Mexicano* (Vaticano), tav., iii., iv., in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., pp. 162-3; *Boturini, Idéa*, pp. 30-1; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. iii., ap. pp. 260-3; *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., pp. 116-17, says that this god was known by the further name of Tzontemoc and Acul-

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naoacatl. *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., pp. 6, 17. Gallatin, *Amer. Ethnol. Soc., Transact.*, vol. i., pp. 350–1, says that 'Mictlanteuctli is specially distinguished by the interpreters as one of the crowned gods. His representation is found under the basis of the statue of Teoyaomiqui, and Gama has published the copy. According to him, the name of that god means, the god of the place of the dead. He presided over the funeral of those who died of diseases. The souls of all those killed in battle were led by Teoyaomiqui to the dwelling of the sun. The others fell under the dominion of Mictanteuctli.' *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. i., pp. 77, 148, 447, tom. ii., p. 428. Brasseur de Bourbourg mentions this god and his wife, bringing up several interesting points, for which, however, he must bear the sole responsibility: *S'il Existe des Sources de l'Hist. Prim.*, pp. 98–9. 'Du fond des eaux qui couvraient le monde, ajoute un autre document mexicain (*Cod. Mex. Tell-Rem.*, fol. 4, v.), le dieu des régions d'en bas, *Mictlan-Teuctli* fait surgir un monstre marin nommé *Cipactli* ou *Capactli* (*Motolinia, Hist. Antig. de los Indios*, part. MS. Dans ce document, au lieu de *cipactli* il y a *capactli*, qui n'est peut-être qu'une erreur du copiste, mais qui, peut-être aussi est le souvenir d'une langue perdue et qui se rattacherait au *capac* ou *Manco-Capac* du Pérou.): de ce monstre, qui a la forme d'un caïman, il crée la terre (*Motolinia, Ibid.*). Ne serait-ce pas là le crocodile, image du temps, chez les Égyptiens, et ainsi que l'indique Champollion (Dans *Herapollon*, i., 69 et 70, le crocodile est le symbole du couchant et des ténèbres) symbole également de la *Région du Couchant*, de l'*Amenti*? Dans l'Orcus mexicain, le prince des Morts, *Mictlan-Teuctli*, a pour compagne *Mictecacihuatl*, celle qui étend les morts. On l'appelle *Ixcuina*, ou la déesse au visage peint ou au double visage, parce qu'elle avait le visage de deux couleurs, rouge avec le contour de la bouche et du nez peint en noir (*Cod. Mex. Tell-Rem.*, fol. 18, v.). On lui donnait aussi le nom de *Tlaçolteotl*, la déesse de l'ordure, ou *Tlaçolquani*, la mangeuse d'ordure, parce qu'elle présidait aux amours et aux plaisirs lubriques avec ses trois sœurs. On la trouve personifiée encore avec *Chantico*, quelquefois représentée comme un chien, soit à cause de sa lubricité, soit à cause du nom de *Chiucnauh-Itzcuintli* ou les Neuf-Chiens, qu'on lui donnait également (*Cod. Mex Tell-Rem.*, fol. 21, v.). C'est ainsi que dans l'Italie anté-pélasgique, dans la Sicile et dans l'île de Samothrace, antérieurement aux Thraces et aux Pélasges, on adorait une Zérinthia, une Hécate, déesse Chienne qui nourrissait ses trois fils, ses trois chiens, sur le même autel, dans la demeure souterraine; l'une et l'autre rappelaient ainsi le souvenir de ces hétaires qui veillaient au pied des pyramides, où elles se prostituaient aux marins, aux marchands et aux voyageurs, pour ramasser l'argent nécessaire à l'érection des tombeaux des rois. "Tout un calcul des temps, dit Eckstein (*Sur les sources de la Cosmogonie de Sanchoniathon*, pp. 101, 197), se rattache à l'adoration solaire de cette déesse et de ses fils. Le Chien, le Sirius, règne dans l'astre de ce nom, au zénith de l'année, durant les jours de la canicule. On connaît le cycle ou la période que préside l'astre du chien: on sait qu'il ne se rattache pas seulement aux institutions de la vieille Égypte, mais encore à celles de la haute Asie." En Amérique le nom de la déesse *Ixcuina* se rattache également à la constellation du sud, où on la personnifie encore avec *Ixtlacoliuhqui*, autre divinité des ivrognes et des amours obscènes: les astrologues lui attribuaient un grand pouvoir sur les événements de la guerre, et, dans les derniers temps, on en faisait dépendre le châtiment des adultères et des incestueux (*Cod. Mex. Tell-Rem.*, fol. 16, v.).' See also, *Brinton's Myths*, pp. 130–7; *Leon y Gama, Dos Piedras*, pt i., p. 12, pt ii., pp. 65–6.

a connecting link between the mother goddess and the companion of Mictlantecutli. Mr Gallatin says[47] that the Mexican gods "were painted in different ways according to their various attributes and names: and the priests were also in the habit of connecting with the statue of a god or goddess, symbols of other deities which partook of a similar character. Gama has adduced several instances of both practices, in the part of his dissertation which relates to the statue of the goddess of death found buried in the great Square of Mexico of which he, and lately Mr Nebel, have given copies.[48] Her name is Teoyaomiqui, which means, to die in sacred war, or 'in defense of the gods,' and she is the proper companion of Huitzilopochtli, the god of war. The symbols of her own attributes are found in the upper part of the statue: but those from the waist downwards relate to other deities connected with her or with Huitzilopochtli. The serpents are the symbols of his mother Cohuatlycue, and also of Cihuacohuatl, the serpent woman who begat twins, male and female, from which mankind proceeded: the same serpents and feathers are the symbol of Quezatlcohuatl, the precious stones designate Chalchihuitlycue, the goddess of water; the teeth and claws refer to Tlaloc and to Tlatocaocelocelotl (the tiger king): and together with her own attributes, the whole is a most horrible figure."

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[47] *Amer. Ethnol. Soc., Transact.*, vol. i., pp. 338–9.

[48] Speaking of the great image in the Mexican museum of antiquities supposed by some to be this Mexican goddess of war, or of death, Teoyaomique, Mr Tylor says, *Anahuac*, pp. 222–3: 'The stone known as the statue of the war-goddess is a huge block of basalt covered with sculptures. The antiquaries think that the figures on it stand for different personages, and that it is three gods,—Huitzilopochtli the god of war, Teoyaomiqui his wife, and Mictlanteuctli the god of hell. It has necklaces of alternate hearts and dead men's hands, with death's head for a central ornament. At the bottom of the block is a strange sprawling figure, which one cannot see now, for it is the base which rests on the ground; but there are two shoulders projecting from the idol, which show plainly that it did not stand on the ground, but was supported aloft on the tops of two pillars. The figure carved upon the bottom represents a monster holding a skull in each hand, while others hang from his knees and elbows. His mouth is a mere oval ring, a common feature of Mexican idols, and four tusks project just above it. The new moon laid down like a bridge forms his forehead, and a star is placed on each side of it. This is thought to have been the conventional representation of Mictlanteuctli (Lord of the land of the dead), the god of hell, which was a place of utter and eternal darkness. Probably each victim as he was led to the altar could look up between the two pillars and see the hideous god of hell staring down upon him from above.'

Of this great compound statue of Huitzilopochtli (for the most part under his name of Teoyaotlatohua), Teoyaomique, and Mictlantecutli, and of the three deities separately Leon y Gama treats, in substance as follows, beginning with Mictlantecutli:[49]—

The Chevalier Boturini mentions another of his names, Teoyaotlatohua, and says that as director and chief of sacred war he was always accompanied by Teoyaomique, a goddess whose business it was to collect the souls of those that died in war and of those that were sacrificed afterward as captives. Let these statements be put alongside of what Torquemada says, to wit, that in the great feast of the month Hueimiccailhuitl,[50] divine names were given to dead kings and to all famous persons who had died heroically in war, and in the power of the enemy; idols were made furthermore of these persons, and they were put with the deities; for it was said that they had gone to the place of delights and pleasures there to be with the gods. From all this it would appear that before this image, in which were closely united Teoyaotlatohua and Teoyaomique, there were each year celebrated certain rites in memory and honor of dead kings and lords and captains and soldiers fallen in battle. And not only did the Mexicans venerate in the temple this image of many gods, but the judicial astrologers feigned a constellation answering thereto and influencing persons born under it. In depicting this constellation Teoyaotlatohua Huitzilopochtli was represented with only half his body, as it were seated on a bench, and with his mouth open as if speaking. His head was decorated after a peculiar fashion with feathers, his arms were made like trunks of trees with branches, while from his girdle there issued certain herbs that fell downwards over the bench. Opposite this figure was Teoyaomique, naked save a thin robe,[51] and standing on a pedestal, apparently holding her head in her hands, at any rate with her head cut off, her eyes bandaged, and two snakes issuing from the neck where the head should have been. Between the god and the goddess was a flowering tree divided through the middle, to which was attached a beam with various cross-pieces, and over all was a bird with the head separated from its body. There was to be seen also the head of a bird in a cup, and the head of a serpent, together with a pot turned upside down while the contents—water as it would appear by the hieroglyphics attached—ran out.

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[49] *Leon y Gama*, *Dos Piedras*, pt i., pp. 41-4.

[50] The tenth month, so named by the Tlascaltecs and others. See *Torquemada*, *Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., p. 298: 'Al decimo Mes del Kalendario Indiano llamaban sus Satrapas, Xocotlhuetzi, que quiere decir: Quando se cae, y acaba la Fruta, y debia de ser, por esta raçon, de que por aquel Tiempo se acababa, que cae en nuestro Agosto, è ià en todo este Mes se pasan las Frutas en tierra fria. Pero los Tlaxcaltecas, y otros lo llamaban Hueymiccaihuitl, que quiere decir: La Fiesta maior de los Difuntos; y llamavanla asi, porque este Mes solemniçaban la memoria de los Difuntos, con grandes clamores, y llantos, y doblados lutos, que la primera, y se teñian los cuerpos de color negro, y se tiznaban toda la cara; y asi, las ceremonias, que se hacian de Dia, y de Noche, en todos los Templos, y fuera de ellos, eran de mucha tristeça, segun que cada vno podia hacer su sentimiento; y en este Mes daban nombre de Divinos, à sus Reies difuntos, y à todas aquellas Personas señaladas, que havian muerto haçañosamente en las Guerras, y en poder de sus enemigos, y les hacian sus Idolos, y los colocaban, con sus Dioses, diciendo, que avian ido al lugar de sus deleites, y pasatiempos, en compañia de los otros Dioses.'

In this form were painted these two gods, as one of the twenty celestial signs, sufficiently noticed by Boturini, although as he confesses, he had not arranged them in the proper order. Returning to notice the office attributed to Teoyaomique, that of collecting the souls of the dead, we find that Cristóbal del Castillo says that all born under the sign which, with the god of war, this goddess ruled, were to become at an early age valorous soldiers; but that their career was to be short as it was brilliant, for they were to fall in battle young. These souls were to rise to heaven, to dwell in the house of the sun, where were woods and groves. There they were to exist four years, at the end of which time they were to be converted into birds of rich and beautiful plumage, and to go about sucking flowers both in heaven and on earth.

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[51] As the whole description becomes a little puzzling here, I give the original, *Leon y Gama Dos Piedras*, p. 42: 'Enfrente de esta figura está Teoyaomique desnuda, y cubierta con solo un cendal, parada sobre una basa, ó porcion de pilastra; la cabeza separada del cuerpo, arriba del cuello, con los ojos vendados, y en su lugar dos víboras ó culebras, que nacen del mismo cuello. Entre estas dos figuras está un árbol de flores partido por medio, al cual se junta un madero con varios atravesaños, y encima de él una ave, cuya cabeza está tambien dividida del cuerpo. Se vé tambien otra cabeza de ave dentro de una jícara, otra de sierpe, una olla con la boca para abajo, saliendo de ella la materia que contenia dentro, cuya figura parece ser la que usaban para representar el agua; y finalmente ocupan el resto del cuadro [of the representation of the constellation above mentioned in the text] otros geroglíficos y figuras diferentes.'

To the statue mentioned above there was joined with great propriety the image of another god, feigned to be the god of hell, or of the place of the dead, which latter is the literal signification of his name, Mictlantecutli. This image was engraved in demi-relief on the lower plane of the stone of the great compound statue; but it was also venerated separately in its own proper temple, called Tlalxicco, that is to say, 'in the bowels or navel of the earth.' Among the various offices attributed to this deity was that of burying the corpses of the dead, principally of those that died of natural infirmities; for the souls of these went to hell to present themselves before this Mictlantecutli and before his wife Mictecacihuatl, which name Torquemada interprets as 'she that throws into hell.' Thither indeed it was said that these dead went to offer themselves as vassals carrying offerings, and to have pointed out to them the places that they were to occupy according to the manner of their death. This god of hades was further called Tzontemoc, a term interpreted by Torquemada to mean 'he that lowers his head;' but it would rather appear that it should take its signification from the action indicated by the great statue, where this deity is seen as it were carrying down tied to himself the heads of corpses to bury them in the ground, as Boturini says. The places or habitations supposed to exist in hell, and to which the souls of the dead had to go were nine; in the last of which, called Chicuhnauhmictlan, the said souls were supposed to be annihilated and totally destroyed. There was lastly given to this god a place in heaven, he being joined with one of the planets and accompanied by Teotlamacazqui; at his feet, there was painted a body that was half buried, or covered with earth from the head to the waist, while the rest stuck out uncovered. It only remains to be said that such was the veneration and religious feeling with which were regarded all things relating to the dead, that not only there were invented for them tutelary gods, much honored by frequent feasts and sacrifice; but the Mexicans elevated Death itself, dedicating to it a day of the calendar (the first day of the sixth 'trecena'), joining it to the number of the celestial signs; and erecting to it a sumptuous temple called Tolnahuac, within the circuit of the great temple of Mexico, wherein it was particularly adored with holocausts and victims under the title Ce Miquiztli.[52]

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[52] Boturini, *Idéa*, pp. 27–8, mentions the goddess Teoyaomique; on pp. 30–1, he notices the respect with which Mictlantecutli and the dead were regarded: 'Me resta solo tratar de la decima tercia, y ultima Deidad esto es, el *Dios del Infierno*, Geroglifico, que explica el piadoso acto de sepultar los muertos, y el gran respeto, que estos antiguos Indios tenian à los sepulcros, creyendo, à imitacion de otras Naciones, no solo que alli asistian las almas de los Difuntos,... sino que tambien dichos Parientes eran sus Dioses *Indigetes, ita dicti, quasi inde geniti*, cuyos huessos, y cenizas daban alli indubitables, y ciertas señales de el dominio, que tuvieron en aquella misma tierra, donde se hallaban sepultados, la que havian domado con los sudores de la Agricultura, y aun defendian con los respetos, y eloquencia muda de sus cadaveres.....Nuestros Indios en la segunda Edad dedicaron dos meses de el año llamados *Micaylhuitl*, y *Hueymicaylhuitl* à la Commemoracion de los Difuntos, y en la tercera exercitaron varios actos de piedad en su memoria, prueba constante de que confessaron la immortalidad de el alma.' See further *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 529–30. Of the compound idol discussed above, Humboldt, *Vues des Cordillères*, tom. ii., pp. 153–7, speaks at some length. He says: 'On distingue, à la partie supérieure, les têtes de deux monstres accolés et l'on trouve, à chaque face, deux yeux et une large gueule armée de quatre dents. Ces figures monstrueuses n'indiquent peut-être que des masques: car, chez les Mexicains, on étoit dans l'usage de masquer les idoles à l'époque de la maladie d'un roi, et dans toute autre calamité publique. Les bras et les pieds sont cachés sous une draperie entourée d'énormes serpens, et que les Mexicains designoient sous le nom de *cohuatlicuye, vêtement de serpent*. Tous ces accessoires, surtout les franges en forme de plumes, sont sculptés avec le plus grand soin. M. Gama, dans un mémoire particulier, a rendu tres-probable que cette idole représente le dieu de la guerre, *Huitzilopochtli*, ou *Tlacahuepancuexcotzin*, et sa femme, appelée *Teoyamiqui* (de *miqui*, mourir, et de *teoyao*, guerre divine), parcequ'elle conduisoit les ames des guerriers morts pour la défense des dieux, à la *maison du Soleil*, le paradis des Mexicains, où elle les transformoit en colibris. Les têtes de morts et les mains coupées, dont quatre entourent le sein de la déesse, rappellent les horribles sacrifices *(teoquauhquetzoliztli)* célébrés dans la quinzième période de treize jours, après le solstice d'été, à l'honneur du dieu de la guerre et de sa compagne *Teoyamiqui*. Les mains coupées alternent avec la figure de certains vases dans lesquels on brûloit l'encens. Ces vases étoient appelés *top-xicalli, sacs en forme de calebasse* (de *toptli*, bourse tissue de fil de pite, et de *xicali*, calebasse). Cette idole étant sculptée sur toutes ses faces, même par dessous (fig. 5), où l'on voit représenté *Mictlan-*

Mixcoatl is the god,—or goddess according to some good authorities,—of hunting. The name means 'cloud-serpent' and indeed seems common to a whole class of deities or heroes somewhat resembling the Nibelungs of northern European mythology.[53] He is further supposed to be connected with the thunderstorm: "Mixcoatl, the Cloud-Serpent, or Iztac-Mixcoatl, the White or Gleaming Cloud-Serpent," writes Brinton,[54] "said to have been the only divinity of the ancient Chichimecs, held in high honor by the Nahuas, Nicaraguans, and Otomís, and identical with Taras, supreme god of the Tarascos, and Camaxtli, god of the Teo-Chichimecs, is another personification of the thunder-storm. To this day this is the familiar name of the tropical tornado in the Mexican language. He was represented, like Jove, with a bundle of arrows in his hand, the thunderbolts. Both the Nahuas and Tarascos related legends in which he figured as father of the race of man. Like other lords of the lightning he was worshiped as the dispenser of riches and the patron of traffic; and in Nicaragua his image is described as being 'engraved stones' probably the supposed products of the thunder."

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teuhtli, le seigneur du lieu des morts, on ne sauroit douter qu'elle étoit soutenue en l'air au moyen de deux colonnes sur lesquelles reposoient les parties marquées A et B, dans les figures 1 et 3. D'après cette disposition bizarre, la tète de l'idole se trouvoit vraisemblablement élevée de cinq à six mètres au-dessus du pavé du temple, de manière que les prêtres *(Teopixqui)* traînoient les malheureuses victimes à l'autel, en les faisant passer au-dessous de la figure de *Mictlanteuhtli*.'

[53] According to Brasseur de Bourbourg, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, 1858, tom. clx., pp. 267–8: 'Les héros et demi-deux qui, sous le nom générique de Chichimèques-Mixcohuas, jouent un si grand rôle dans la mythologie mexicaine, et qui du vii^{e} au ix^{e} siècle de notre ère, obtinrent la prépondérance sur le plateau aztèque....Les plus célèbres de ces héros sont Mixcohuatl-Mazatzin (le Serpent Nébuleux et le Daim), fondateur de la royauté à Tollan (aujourd' hui Tula), Tetzcatlipoca, spécialement adoré à Tetzcuco, et son frère Mixcohuatl le jeune, dit Camaxtli, en particulier adoré à Tlaxcallan, l'un et l'autre mentionnés, sous d'autres noms, parmi les rois de Culhuacan et considérés, ainsi que le premier, comme les principaux fondateurs de la monarchie toltèque. On ignore où ils reçurent le jour. Un manuscrit mexicain, [Codex Chimalpopoca], en les donnant pour fils d'Iztac-Mixcohuatl ou le Serpent Blanc Nébuleux et d'Iztac-Chalchiuhlicué ou la Blanche Dame azurée, fait allégoriquement allusion aux pays nébuleux et aquatiques où ils ont pris naissance; le même document ajoute qu'ils vinrent par eau et qu'ils demeurèrent un certain temps en barque. Peut-être que le nom d' Iztac ou Blanc, également donné à Mixcohuatl, désigne aussi une race differente de celle des Indiens et plus en rapport avec la nôtre.'

[54] *Brinton's Myths*, p. 158.

In the fourteenth month, called Quecholli, and beginning, according to Clavigero, on the fourteenth of November, there was made with many obscure ceremonies, a feast to this god. On the sixth day of the month all assembled at the cu of Huitzilopochtli, where during four days they made arrows and darts for use in war and for general practice at a mark, mortifying at the same time their flesh by drawing blood, and by abstaining from women and pulque. This done they made, in honor of the dead, certain little mimic darts of a hand long, of which four seem to have been tied together with four splinters of candle-wood pine; these were put on the graves, and at set of sun, lit and burned, after which the ashes were interred on the spot. There were taken a maize-stalk of nine knots with a paper flag on the top that hung down to the bottom, together with a shield and dart belonging to the dead man, and his maxtle and blanket; the last two being attached to the maize-stalk. The hanging flag was ornamented on either side with red cotton thread, in the figure of an X; a piece of twisted white thread also hung down to which was suspended a dead humming-bird. Handfuls of the white feathers of the heron were tied two and two and fastened to the burdened maize-stalk, while all the cotton threads used were covered with white hen's feathers, stuck on with resin. Lastly all these were burned on a stone block called the *quaulixicalcalico.*

In the court of the cu of Mixcoatl was scattered much dried grass brought from the mountains, upon which the old women-priests, or *cioatlamacazque,* seated themselves, each with a mat before her. All the women that had children came, each bringing her child and five sweet tamales; and the tamales were put on the mats before the old women, who in return took the children, tossed them in their arms and then returned them to their mothers.

About the middle of the month was made a special feast to this god of the Otomís, to Mixcoatl. In the morning all prepared for a great drive-hunt, girding their blankets to their loins, and taking bows and arrows. They wended their way to a mountain-slope, anciently Zapatepec, or Yxillantonan, above the sierra of Atlacuizoayan, or as it is now called, according to Bustamante, Tacubaya. There they drove deer, rabbits, hares, coyotes, and other game together, little by little, every one in the meantime killing what he could; few or no animals escaping. To the most successful hunters blankets were given, and every one brought to his house the heads of the animals he had taken, and hanged them up for tokens of his prowess or activity.

There were human sacrifices in honor of this hunting god with other deities. The manufacturers of pulque bought, apparently two slaves who were decorated with paper and killed in honor of the gods Tlamatzincatl and Yzquitecatl; there were also sacrificed women supposed to represent the wives of these two deities. The *calpixquis* on their part led other two slaves to the death in honor of Mixcoatl and of Cohuatlicue his wife. On the morning of the last day but one of the month, all the doomed were brought out and led round the cu where they had to die; after mid-day they were led up the cu, round the sacrifical block, down again, then back to the *calpulco*, to be at once guarded and forced to keep awake for the night. At midnight their heads were shaven before the fire, and every one of them burned there what goods he had, little paper flags, cane tobacco-pipes[55] and drinking-vessels; the women threw into the flame their raiment, their ornaments, their spindles, little baskets, vessels in which the spindles were twirled, warping-frames, fuller's earth, pieces of cane for pressing a fabric together, cords for fastening it up, maguey-thorns, measuring-rods, and other implements for weaving; and they said that all these things had to be given to them in the other world after their death. At daybreak these captives were carried or assisted up, each having a paper flag borne before him, to the several cues of the gods they were to die in honor of. Four that had to die, probably before Mixcoatl, were, each by four bearers, carried up to a temple, bound hand and foot to represent dead deer; while others were merely assisted up the steps by a youth at each arm, so that they should not faint nor fail; two other youths trailing or letting them down the same steps after they were dead. The preceding relates only to the male captives, the women being slain before the men, in a separate cu called the *coatlan;* it is said that as they were forced up the steps of it some screamed and others wept. In letting the dead bodies of these women down the steps again, it is also specially written, that they were not hurled down roughly, but rolled down little by little. At the place where the skulls of the dead were exposed, waited two old women called *teixamique*, having by them salt water and bread and a mess or gruel of some kind. The carcasses of the victims being brought to them, they dipped cane-leaves into the salt water and sprinkled the faces of them therewith, and into each mouth they put four morsels of bread moistened with the gruel or mess above-mentioned. Then the heads were cut off and spitted on poles; and so the feast ended.[56]

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[55] Cañas de humo: *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., p. 75; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., p. 166.

In connection with the religious honors paid to the dead, it may be here said that the Mexicans had a deity of whom almost all we know is that he was the god of those that died in the houses of the lords or in the palaces of the principal men; he was called Macuilxochitl, 'the chief that gives flowers, or that takes care of the giving of flowers.'[57] The festival of this god fell among the movable feasts and was called Xochilhuitl, or 'the festival of flowers.' There were in it the usual preliminary fasting (that is to say, eating but once a day, at noon, and then only of a restricted diet), blood-letting, and offering of food in the temple; though there did not occur therein anything suggestive either of a god of flowers or of a god of the more noble dead. The image of this deity was in the likeness of an almost naked man, either flayed or painted of a vermilion color; the mouth and chin were of three tints, white, black, and light blue; the face was of a light reddish tinge. It had a crown of light green color, with plumes of the same hue, and tassels that hung down to the shoulders. On the back of the idol was a device wrought in feathers, representing a banner planted on a hill; about the loins of it was a bright reddish blanket, fringed with sea-shells; curiously wrought sandals adorned its feet; on the left arm of it was a white shield, in the midst of which were set four stones, joined two and two; it held a sceptre, shaped like a heart and tipped with green and yellow feathers.[58]

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[56] *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 73–6; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., pp. 162–7; *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 148–9, 151–2, 280–1; *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 79; *Müller, Amerikanische Urreligionen*, pp. 483, 486, and elsewhere. Brasseur, as his custom is, euhemerizes this god, detailing the events of his reign, and theorizing on his policy, as soberly and believingly as if it were a question of the reign of a Louis XIV., or a Napoleon I.; see *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. i., pp. 227–35. Gomara, *Conq. Mex.*, fol. 88, and others, make Camaxtle, the principal god of Tlascala, identical with Mixcoatl. The Chichimecs 'had only one god called Mixcoatl and they kept this image or statue. They held to another god, invisible, without image, called Iooalliehecatl,—that is to say, god invisible and impalpable, favoring, sheltering, all-powerful, by whose power all live, etc.' *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. vi., p. 64.

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[57] This deity must not, it would seem, be confounded with another mentioned by Sahagun, viz., Coatlyace, or Coatlyate, or Coatlantonan, a goddess of whom we know little save the fact, incidentally mentioned, that she was regarded with great devotion by the dealers in flowers. See *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., p. 42, and *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., p. 95.

[58] *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 10–11, 136; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. i., pp. 19–22, lib. iv., p. 305. Boturini, *Idea de una Hist.*, pp. 14–15, speaks of a goddess called Macuilxochiquetzalli; by a comparison of the passage with note 28 of this chapter, it will I think be evident that the chevalier's Macuilxochiquetzalli is identical not with Macuilxochitl, but with Xochiquetzal, the Aztec Venus. See further, on the relations of this goddess, *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. iii., pp. 490–1: 'Matlalcuéyé, qui donnait son nom au versant de la montagne du côté de Tlaxcallan, était regardée comme la protectrice spéciale des magiciennes. La légende disait qu'elle était devenue l'épouse de Tlaloc, après que Xochiquetzal eut été enlevée à ce dieu [see this vol. p. 378]. Celle-ci, dont elle n'était, après tout, qu'une personnification différente, était appelée aussi Chalchiuhlycué, ou le Jupon semé d'émeraudes, en sa qualité de déesse des eaux. Le symbole sous lequel on la représente, comme déesse des amours honnêtes, est celui d'un éventail composé de cinq fleurs, ce que rend encore le nom qu'on lui donnait "Macuil-Xochiquetzalli."' Brasseur, it is to be remembered, distinguishes between Xochiquetzal as the goddess of honest love, and Tlazolteotl as the goddess of lubricity.

Ome Acatl was the god of banquets and of guests; his name signified 'two canes.' When a man made a feast to his friends, he had the image of this deity carried to his house by certain of its priests; and if the host did not do this, the deity appeared to him in a dream, rebuking him in such words as these: Thou bad man, because thou hast withheld from me my due honor, know that I will forsake thee and that thou shalt pay dearly for this insult. When this god was excessively angered, he was accustomed to mix hairs with the food and drink of the guests of the object of his wrath, so that the giver of the feast should be disgraced. As in the case of Huitzilopochtli, there was a kind of communion sacrament in connection with the adoration of this god of feasts: in each ward dough was taken and kneaded by the principal men into the figure of a bone of about a cubit long, called the bone of Ome Acatl. A night seems to have been spent in eating and in drinking pulque; then at break of day an unfortunate person, set up as the living image of the god, had his belly pricked with pins, or some such articles; being hurt thereby, as we are told. This done the bone was divided and each one ate what of it fell to his lot; and when those that had insulted this god ate, they often grew sick, and almost choked, and went stumbling and falling. Ome Acatl was represented as a man seated on a bunch of cyperus-sedges. His face was painted white and black; upon his head was a paper crown surrounded by a long and broad fillet of divers colors, knotted up at the back of the head; and again round and over the fillet, was wound a string of chalchiuite beads. His blanket was made like a net, and had a broad border of flowers woven into it. He bore a shield, from the lower part of which hung a kind of fringe of broad tassels. In the right hand he held a sceptre called the *tlachielonique*, or 'looker,'[59] because it was furnished with a round plate through which a hole was pierced, and the god kept his face covered with the plate and looked through the hole.[60]

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[59] The fire-god Xiuhtecutli used an instrument of this kind; see this vol. p. 385.

Yxtliton, or Ixtlilton,—that is to say 'the little negro,' according to Sahagun, and 'the black-faced,' according to Clavigero—was a god who cured children of various diseases.[61] His 'oratory' was a kind of temporary building made of painted boards; his image was neither graven nor painted; it was a living man decorated with certain vestments. In this temple or oratory were kept many pans and jars, covered with boards, and containing a fluid which was called 'black water.' When a child sickened, it was brought to this temple and one of these jars was uncovered, upon which the child drank of the black water and was healed of its disease—the cure being probably most prompt and complete when the priests as well as the god knew something of physic. When one made a feast to this god—which seems to have been when one made new pulque—the man that was the image of Ixtlilton came to the house of the feast-giver with music and dancing, and preceded by the smoke of copal incense. The representative of the deity having arrived, the first thing he did was to eat and drink; there were more dances and festivities in his honor, in which he took part, and then he entered the cellar of the house, where were many jars of pulque that had been covered for four days with boards or lids of some kind. He opened one or many of these jars, a ceremony called 'the opening of the first, or of the new wine,' and himself with those that were with him drank thereof. This done, he went out into the court-yard of the house, where there were prepared certain jars of the abovementioned black water, which also had been kept covered four days; these he opened, and if there was found therein any dirt, or piece of straw, or hair, or ash, it was taken as a sign that the giver of the feast was a man of evil life, an adulterer, or a thief, or a quarrelsome person, and he was affronted with the charge accordingly. When the representative of the god set out from the house where all this occurred, he was presented with certain blankets called *yxguen*, or *ixquen*, that is to say, 'covering of the face,' because when any fault had been found in the black water, the giver of the feast was put to shame.[62]

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[60] *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 11–12; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. i., pp. 22–3; *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 58, 240–1; *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 22; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. iii., p. 492.

[61] This god, who was also known by the title of Tlaltecuin, is the third Mexican god connected with medicine. There is first that unnamed goddess described on p. 353, of this vol.; and there is then a certain Tzaputlatena, described by Sahagun—*Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., p. 4; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. i., pp. 7–8—as the goddess of turpentine (see *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. iii., p. 494), or of some such substance, used to cure the itch in the head, irruptions on the skin, sore throats, chapped feet or lips, and other such things: 'Tzaputlatena fué una muger, segun su nombre, nacida en el pueblo de Tzaputla, y por esto se llama la Madre de Tzaputla, porque fué la primera que inventó la resina que se llama uxitl, y es un aceyte sacado por artificio de la resina del pino, que aprovecha para sanar muchas enfermedades, y primeramente aprovecha contra una manera de bubas, ó sarna, que nace en la cabeza, que se llama Quaxococivistli; y tambien contra otra enfermedad es provechosa asi mismo, que nace en la cabeza, que es como bubas, que se llama Chaguachicioiztli, y tambien para la sarna de la cabeza. Aprovecha tambien contra la ronguera de la garganta. Aprovecha tambien contra las grietas de las pies y de los labios. Es tambien contra los empeines que nacen en la cara ó en las manos. Es tambien contra el usagre; contra muchas otras enfermedades es bueno. Y como esta muger debió ser la primera que halló este aceyte, contaronla entre las Diosas, y hacianla fiesta y sacrificios aquellos que venden y hacen este aceyte que se llama Uxitl.'

Opuchtli, or Opochtli, 'the left-handed,' was venerated by fishermen as their protector and the inventor of their nets, fish-spears, oars, and other gear. In Cuitlahuac, an island of lake Chalco, there was a god of fishing called Amimitl, who, according to Clavigero, differed from the first-mentioned only in name. Sahagun says that Opuchtli was counted among the number of the Tlaloques, and that the offerings made to him were composed of pulque, stalks of green maize, flowers, the smoking-canes, or pipes called *yietl*, copal incense, the odorous herb *yiauhtli*, and parched maize. These things seem to have been strewed before him as rushes used to be strewed before a procession. There were used in these solemnities certain rattles enclosed in hollow walking-sticks. The image of this god was like a man, almost naked, with the face of that grey tint seen in quails' feathers; on the head was a paper crown of divers colors, made like a rose, as it were, of leaves overlapping each other, topped by green feathers issuing from a yellow tassel; other long tassels hung from this crown to the shoulders of the idol. Crossed over the breast was a green stole resembling that worn by the Christian priest when saying mass; on the feet were white sandals; on the left arm was a red shield, and in the centre of its field a white flower with four leaves disposed like a cross; and in the left hand was a sceptre of a peculiar fashion.[63]

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[62] *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 12–13; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. i., pp. 24–5; *Clavigero, Hist. Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 21.

Xipe, or Totec, or Xipetotec, or Thipetotec, is, according to Clavigero, a god whose name has no meaning,[64] who was the deity of the goldsmiths, and who was much venerated by the Mexicans, they being persuaded that those that neglected his worship would be smitten with diseases; especially the boils, the itch, and pains of the head and eyes. They excelled themselves therefore in cruelty at his festival time, occurring ordinarily in the second month.

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[63] 'Tenia en la mano izquierda una rodela teñida de colorado, y en el medio de este campo una flor blanca con quatro ojas á manera de cruz, y de los espacios de las ojas salian quatro puntas que eran tambien ojas de la misma flor. Tenia un cetro en la mano derecha como un caliz, y de lo alto de él salia como un casquillo de saetas:' *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., p. 13; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. i., pp. 26–7; *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 20; *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 60–1. 'La pêche avait, toutefois, son génie particulier: c'était Opochtli, le Gaucher, personnification de Huitzilopochtli....:' *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. des Nat. Civ.*, tom. iii., p. 494.

[64] *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 22. This is evidently a blunder, however; Boturini explains Totec to mean 'god our lord,' and Xipe (or Oxipe, as he writes it) to signify 'god of the flaying:' '*Tlaxipehualiztli*, Symbolo del primer Mes, quiere decir *Deshollamiento de Gentes*, porque en su primer dia se deshollaban unos Hombres vivos dedicados al Dios *Totéuc*, esto es, *Dios Señor nuestro*, ò al Dios *Oxipe*, *Dios de el Deshollamiento*, syncope de *Tlozipeùca*:' *Boturini, Idea de una Hist.*, p. 51. Sahagun says that the name means 'the flayed one.' 'Xipetotec, que quiere decir desollado:' *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 14; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. i., p. 27. While Torquemada affirms that it means 'the bald,' or 'the blackened one:' 'Tenian los Plateros otro Dios, que se llamaba Xippe, y Totec... Este Demonio Xippe, que quiere decir, Calvo, ó Ateçado:' *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., p. 58. Brasseur, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. iii., p. 503, partially accepts all these derivations: 'Xipe, le chauve ou l'écorché, autrement dit encore Totec ou notre seigneur.' This god was further surnamed, according to the interpreter of the Vatican Codex, 'the mournful combatant,' or, as Gallatin gives it, 'the disconsolate;' see *Spiegazione delle Tavole del Codice Mexicano* (Vaticano), tav. xliii., in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., p. 186; and *Amer. Ethnol. Soc., Transact.*, vol. i., pp. 345, 350.

Sahagun describes this god as specially honored by dwellers on the sea-shore, and as having had his origin at Zapotlan in Jalisco. He was supposed to afflict people with sore eyes and with various skin-diseases, such as small-pox, abscesses, and itch. His image was made like a human form, one side or flank of it being painted yellow, and the other of a tawny color; down each side of the face from the brow to the jaw a thin stripe was wrought; and on the head was a little cap with hanging tassels. The upper part of the body was clothed with the flayed skin of a man; round the loins was girt a kind of green skirt. It had on one arm a yellow shield with a red border, and held in both hands a scepter shaped like the calix of a poppy and tipped with an arrow-head.[65]

On the last day of the second month,—or, according to some authors, of the first,—Tlacaxipehualiztli, there was celebrated a solemn feast in honor at once of Xipetotec and of Huitzilopochtli. It was preceded by a very solemn dance at noon of the day before. As the night of the vigil fell, the captives were shut up and guarded; at midnight—the time when it was usual to draw blood from the ears—the hair of the middle of the head of each was shaven away before a fire. When the dawn appeared they were led by their owners to the foot of the stairs of the temple of Huitzilopochtli,—and if they would not ascend willingly the priests dragged them up by the hair. The priests threw them down one by one on the back on a stone of three quarters of a yard or more high, and square on the top something more than a foot every way. Two assistants held the victim down by the feet, two by the hands, and one by the head—this last according to many accounts putting a yoke over the neck of the man and so pressing it down. Then the priest, holding with both hands a splinter of flint, or a stone resembling flint, like a large lance-head, struck across the breast therewith, and tore out the heart through the gash so made; which, after offering it to the sun and other gods by holding it up toward the four quarters of heaven, he threw into a wooden vessel.[66] The blood was collected also in a vessel and given to the owner of the dead captive, while the body, thrown down the temple steps, was taken to the calpule by certain old men, called *quaquacuiltin*, flayed, cut into pieces, and divided for eating; the king receiving the flesh of the thigh, while the rest of the carcass was eaten at the house of the owner of the captive, though, as will appear by a remark hereafter,[67] it is improbable that the captor or owner himself ate any of it. With the skin of these flayed persons, a party of youths called the *tototecli* clothed themselves, and fought in sham fight with another party of young men; prisoners being taken on both sides, who were not released without a ransom of some kind or other. This sham battle was succeeded by combats of a terribly real sort, the famous so-called gladiatorial fights of Mexico. On a great round stone, like an enormous mill-stone, a captive was tied by a cord, passing round his waist and through the hole of the stone, long enough to permit him freedom of motion everywhere about the block—set near or at a temple called *yopico*, of the god Totec, or Xipe.[68] With various ceremonies, more particularly described in the preceding volume, the bound man furnished with inferior weapons was made to fight with a picked Mexican champion—the latter holding up his sword and shield to the sun before engaging. If, as sometimes happened, the desperate though hampered and ill-armed captive—whose club-sword was, by a refinement of mockery, deprived of its jagged flint edging and set with feathers—slew his opponent, another champion was sent against him, and so on to the number of five, at which point, according to some, the captive was set free; though according to other authorities, he was not allowed so to escape, but champions were sent against him till he fell. Upon which a priest called the *yooallaoa* opened his breast, tore out his heart, offered it to the sun, and threw it into the usual wooden vessel; while the ropes used for binding to the fighting-stone were carried to the four quarters of the world, reverently with weeping and sighing. A second priest thrust a piece of cane into the gash in the victim's breast and held it up stained with blood to the sun. Then the owner of the captive came and received the blood into a vessel bordered with feathers; this vessel he took with a little cane-and-feather broom or aspergillum and went about all the temples and calpules, giving to each of the idols, as it were to taste of the blood of his captive. The slain body was then carried to the calpulco,—where, while alive, it had been confined the night before the sacrifice,—and there skinned. Thence it was brought to the house of its owner, who divided and made presents of it to his superiors, relatives, and friends; not however tasting thereof himself, for, we are told, "he counted it as the flesh of his own body," because from the hour that he took the prisoner "he held him to be his son, and the captive looked up to his captor as to a father."

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[65] *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., p. 14; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. i., pp. 27-8; *Boturini, Idea de Nueva Hist.*, p. 51.

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[66] These human sacrifices were begun, according to Clavigero, *Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. i., pp. 165–7, by the Mexicans, before the foundation of their city, while yet slaves of the Culhuas. These Mexicans had done good service to their rulers in a battle against the Xochimilcas. The masters were expected to furnish their serfs with a thank-offering for the war god. They sent a filthy rag and a rotten fowl. The Mexicans received and were silent. The day of festival came; and with it the Culhua nobles to see the sport—the Helots and their vile sacrifice. But the filth did not appear, only a coarse altar, wreathed with a fragrant herb, bearing a great flake of keen-ground obsidian. The dance began, the frenzy mounted up, the priests advanced to the altar, and with them they dragged four Xochimilca prisoners. There is a quick struggle, and over a prisoner bruised, doubled back supine on the altar-block gleams and falls the itzli, driven with a two-handed blow. The blood spurts like a recoil into the bent face of the high priest, who grabbles, grasps, tears out and flings the heart to the god. Another, another, another, and there are four hearts beating in the lap of the grim image. There are more dances but there is no more sport for the Culhuas: with lips considerably whitened they return to their place. After this there could be no more mastership, nor thought of mastership over such a people; there was too much of the wild beast in them; they had already tasted blood. And the Mexicans were allowed to leave the land of their bondage, and journey north toward the future Tenochtitlan.

[67] See this vol., p. 415.

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[68] Further notice of this stone appears in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., p. 94, or *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., ap., pp. 207–8: 'El sesenta y dos edificio se llamaba Temalacatl. Era una piedra como muela de molino grande, y estaba agujereada en el medio como muela de molino. Sobre esta piedra ponian los esclavos y acuchillabanse con ellos: estaban atados por medio de tal manera que podian llegar hasta la circumferencia de la piedra, y dabanles armas con que peleasen. Era este un espectaculo muy frequente, y donde concurria gente de todas las comarcas á verle. Un satrapa vestido de un pellejo de oso ó Cuetlachtli, era alli el padrino de los captivos que alli mataban, que los llevaba á la piedra y los ataba alli, y los daba las armas, y los lloraba entre tanto que peleaban, y quando caian los entregaba al que les habia de sacar el corazon, que era otro satrapa vestido con otro pellejo que se llamaba Tooallaoan. Esta relacion queda escrita en la fiesta de Tlacaxipeoaliztli.'

The skins of the dead belonged to their captors, who gave them again to others to be worn by them for apparently twenty days, probably as a kind of penance—the persons so clothed collecting alms from everyone in the meantime and bringing all they got, each to the man that had given him the skin. When done with, these skins were hid away in a rotting condition in a certain cave, while the ex-wearers thereof washed themselves with great rejoicings. At the putting away of these skins there assisted numbers of people ill with the itch and such other diseases as Xipe inflicted—hoping thus to be healed of their infirmities, and it is said that many were so cured.[69]

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[69] *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 23, 37–43; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., pp. 51–3, 86–97; *Explicacion del Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, pt. i., lam. iii., in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., p. 133; *Spiegazione delle Tavole del Codice Mexicano* (Vaticano), tav. lxiii., in *Id.*, vol. v., p. 191; *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 154, 252–4; *Leon y Gama, Dos Piedras*, pt ii., pp. 50–4; *Prescott's Mex.*, vol. i., p. 78, note; *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 481. We learn from Clavigero, *Ibid*, tom. i., pp. 281–2, that this great gladiatorial block was sometimes to an extraordinary extent a 'stone of sacrifice' to the executioners as well as to the doomed victim. In the last year of the reign of the last Montezuma, a famous Tlascaltec general, Tlahuicol, was captured by the merest accident. His strength of arm was such that few men could lift his *maquahuil*, or sword of the Mexican type, from the ground. Montezuma, too proud to use such an inglorious triumph, or perhaps moved by a sincere admiration of the terrible and dignified warrior, offered him his liberty, either to return to Tlascala, or to accept high office in Mexico. But the honor of the chief was at stake, as he understood it; and not even a favor would he accept from the hated Mexican; the death, the death! he said, and, if you dare, by battle on the gladiatorial stone. So they tied him, (by the foot says Clavigero), upon the *temalacatl*, armed with a great staff only, and chose out champions to kill him from the most renowned of the warriors; but the grim Tlascaltec dashed out the brains of eight with his club, and hurt twenty more, before he fell, dying like himself. They tore out his heart, as of wont, and a costlier heart to Mexico never smoked before the sun.

The merchants of Mexico—a class of men who hawked their goods from place to place and wandered often far into strange countries to buy or sell—had various deities to whom they did special honor. Among these the chief, and often the only one mentioned, was the god Yiacatecutli, or Jacateuctli, or Iyacatecuhtli, that is 'the lord that guides,' otherwise called Yacacoliuhqui, or Jacacoliuhqui.[70] This chief god of the merchants had, however, according to Sahagun, five brothers and a sister, also reverenced by traders, the sister being called Chalmecacioatl, and the brothers respectively Chiconquiavitl, Xomocuil, Nacxitl, Cochimetl, and Yacapitzaoac. The principal image of this god was a figure representing a man walking along a road with a staff; the face black and white; the hair tied up in a bundle on the middle of the top of the head with two tassels of rich quetzal-feathers; the ear-rings of gold; the mantle blue, bordered with a flowered fringe, and covered with a red net, through whose meshes the blue appeared; round the ankles leather straps from which hung marine shells; curiously wrought sandals on the feet; and on the arm a plain unornamented yellow shield, with a spot of light blue in the centre of its field. Practically, however, every merchant reverenced his own stout staff—generally made of a solid, knotless piece of black cane, called *utatl*—as the representative or symbol of this god Yiacatecutli; keeping it, when not in use, in the oratory or sacred place in his house, and invariably putting food before it preliminary to eating his own meal. When traveling the traders were accustomed nightly to stack up their staves in a convenient position, bind them about, build a fire before them,[71] and then offering blood and copal, pray for preservation and shelter from the many perils to which their wandering life made them especially subject.[73]

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[70] This last name means, Torquemada, *Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., p. 57, being followed, 'the hook-nosed;' and it is curious enough that this type of face, so generally connected with the Hebrew race and through them with particular astuteness in trade, should be the characteristic of the Mexican god of trade: 'Los mercaderes tuvieron Dios particular, al qual llamaron Iyacatecuhtli, y por otro nombre se llamò Yacacoliuhqui, que quiere decir: El que tiene la nariz aguileña, que propriamente representa persona que tiene viveça, ò habilidad, para mofar graciosamente, ò engañar, y es sabio, y sagàz (que es propia condicion de mercaderes.)'

[71] Without laying any particular stress on this lighting a fire before Yiaca-

Napatecutli, that is to say 'four times lord,' was the god of the mat-makers and of all workers in water-flags and rushes. A beneficent and helpful divinity, and one of the Tlalocs, he was known by various names, such as Tepahpaca Teaaltati, 'the purifier or washer;' Quitzetzelohua, or Tlaitlanilililoni, 'he that scatters or winnows down;' Tlanempopoloa, 'he that is large and liberal;' Teatzelhuia, 'he that sprinkles with water; and Amotenenqua, 'he that shows himself grateful.' This god had two temples in Mexico and his festival fell in the thirteenth month, by Clavigero's reckoning. His image resembled a black man, the face being spotted with white and black, with tassels hanging down behind supporting a green plume of three feathers. Round the loins and reaching to the knees was girt a kind of white and black skirt or petticoat, adorned with little sea-shells. The

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tecutli—perhaps here necessary as a camp-fire and probably, at any rate, a thing done before many other gods—it may be noticed that the fire god seems to be particularly connected with the merchant god and indeed with the merchants themselves. Describing a certain coming down or arrival of the gods among men, believed to take place in the twelfth Mexican month, Sahagun—after describing the coming, first of Tezcatlipoca, who, 'being a youth, and light and strong, walked fastest,' and then the coming of all the rest (their arrival being known to the priests by the marks of their feet on a little heap of maize flour, specially prepared for the purpose)—says that a day after all the rest of the gods, came the god of fire and the god of the merchants, together; they being old and unable to walk as fast as their younger divine brethern: 'El dia siguiente llegaba el dios de los Mercaderes llamado Yiaiacapitzaoac, ó Yiacatecutli, y otro Dios llamado Hiscocauzqui (Yxcocauhqui), ó Xivetenctli (Xiuhtecutli), que és el Dios del fuego á quien los mercaderes tienen grande devocion. Estos dos llegaban á la postre un dia despues de los otros, porque decian que eran viejos y no andaban tanto como los otros:' *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., p. 71, or *Suhagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., p. 158. See also, for the connection of the fire god Xiuhtecutli with business, this vol. p. 226; and for the high position of the merchants themselves besides Tezcatlipoca see this vol., p. 228.

[73] *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 14–16; *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. i., pp. 29–33; *Clavigero*, *Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 20. The Nahuihehecatli, or Nauiehecatl, mentioned by the interpreters of the codices, as a god honored by the merchants, is either some air god like Quetzalcoatl, or, as Sahagun gives it, merely the name of a sign: see *Spiegazione delle Tavole Codice Mexicano* (Vaticano), tav. xxvii., in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., p. 179; also, pp. 139–40; *Explicacion del Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, lam. xii.; also, *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib., iv., pp. 304–5, and *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 135–6.

sandals of this idol were white; on its left arm was a shield made like the broad leaf of the water-lily, or nenuphar; while the right hand held a sceptre like a flowering staff, the flowers being of paper; and across the body, passing under the left arm, was a white scarf, painted over with black flowers.[73]

The Mexicans had several gods of wine, or rather of pulque; of these the chief seems to have been Tezcatzoncatl, otherwise known as Tequechmecaniani 'the strangler,' and as Teatlahuiani 'the drowner;' epithets suggested by the effects of drunkenness. The companion deities of this Aztec Dionysus were called as a class by the somewhat extraordinary name of Centzontotochtin or 'the four hundred rabbits'; Yiaulatecatl, Yzquitecatl, Acoloa, Thilhoa, Pantecatl (the Patecatl of the interpreters of the codices), Tultecatl, Papaztac, Tlaltecaiooa, Ometochtli (often referred to as the principal god of wine), Tepuztecatl, Chimapalnecatl, were deities of this class. The principal characteristic of the image of the Mexican god of drunkenness was, according to Mendieta and Motolinia, a kind of vessel carried on the head of the idol, into which vessel wine was ceremoniously poured. The feast of this god, like that of the preceding divinity, fell in the thirteenth month, Tepeilhuitl, and in his temple in the city of Mexico there served four hundred consecrated priests, so great was the service done this everywhere too widely and well known god.[74]

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[73] *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 16–17; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. i., pp. 33–5; *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 59–60; *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 22.

[74] *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 7, 19, 90, 93; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. i., pp. 14, 39–40, lib. ii., pp. 200, 205; *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 58, 152, 184, 416; *Spiegazione delle Tavole del Codice Mexicano* (Vaticano), tav. xxxv., and *Explicacion del Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, lam. xvi., in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., pp. 141, 182; *Gallatin*, in *Amer. Ethno. Soc.*, *Transact.*, vol. i., pp. 344, 350; *Gomara, Conq. Mex.*, fol. 87, 315; *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 21. 'Otros tenian figuras de hombres; tenian estos en la cabeza un mortero en lugar de mitra, y allí les echaban vino, por ser el dios del vino.' *Motolinia, Hist. Indios*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. de Doc.*, tom. i., p. 33. 'Otros con un mortero en la cabeza, y este parece que era el dios del vino, y así le echaban vino en aquel como mortero.' *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, p. 88. '*Papaztla ó Papaztac*....Este era uno de los tres pueblos de donde se sacaban los esclavos para el sacrificio que se hacia de dia, al idolo *Centzentotochtin*, Dios del vino en el mes nombrado *Hueipachtli*, é

The Mexicans had certain household gods called Tepitoton, or Tepictoton, 'the little ones,'—small statues of which kings kept six in their houses, nobles four, and common folks two. Whether these were a particular class of deities or merely miniature images of the already described greater gods it is hard to say. Similar small idols are said to have adorned streets, cross-roads, fountains and other places of public traffic and resort.[75]

With these Tepitoton may be said to finish the list of Mexican gods of any repute or any general notoriety; so that it seems fit to give here a condensed and arranged resumé of all the fixed festivals and celebrations of the Aztec calendar, with its eighteen months of twenty days each, and its five supplementary days at the end of the year. There is some disagreement as to which of the months the year began with; but it will best suit our present purpose to follow the arrangement of Sahagun, the interpreters of the Codices, Torquemada, and Clavigero, in which the month variously called Atlcahualco, or Quahuitlehua, or Cihuailhuitl, or Xilomanalitztli, is the first.[76] The name Atlchualco, or Atlaooalo,

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tepeilhuitl en su templo propio que es el cuadragesimo cuarto edificio de los que se contenian en la area del mayor, como dice el Dr. Hernandez: "Templum erat dicatum vini deo, in cujus honorem tres captivos interdiu tamen, et nonnoctu jugulabant, quorum primum Tepuztecatl nuncupabant secundum toltecatl, tertium vero Papaztac quod fiebat quotanni circa festum Tepeilhuiltl." Apud P. Nieremberg, pag. 144.' *Leon y Gama*, *Dos Piedras*, pt ii., p. 35. 'Les buveurs et les ivrognes avaient cependant, parmi les Aztèques, plusieurs divinités particulières: la principale était Izquitecatl; mais le plus connu devait être Tezcatzoncatl, appelé aussi Tequechmecaniani, ou le Pendeur:' *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. iii., p. 493.

[75] *Torquemada*, *Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., p. 64. *Clavigero*, *Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 23. These were what the Spaniards called 'oratorios' in the houses of the Mexicans. In or before these oratories the people offered cooked food to such images of the gods as they had there. Every morning the good-wife of the house woke up the members of her family and took care that they made the proper offering, as above, to these deities. *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., p. 95; *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., ap. p. 211.

[76] It is obviously of little consequence to mythology whether the Mexicans called the month Atlcahualco the first or the third month (or, as Boturini has it, the eighteenth,) so long as we know, with some accuracy, to what month and day of the month it corresponds in our own Gregorian calendar. For the complete discussion of this question of the calendar we refer readers to the preceding volume of this series. Gama was unfortunately unacquainted with the writings of Sahagun, and Bustamante (who

or Atalcaoplo, means 'the buying or scarcity of water;' Quahuitlehua, or Quavitleloa, 'the sprouting of trees;' and Xilomanalitztli 'the offering of Xilotl (that is heads of maize, which were then presented to the gods to secure their blessing on the seed time).' This first month beginning on the second of February according to Sahagun, the eighteenth according to Gama, and the twenty-sixth according to Clavigero, was consecrated to Tlaloc and the other gods of water, and in it great numbers of children were sacrificed.[77] In further honor of the Tlalocs there were also at this time killed many captives on the gladiatorial stone.

It was the second month, called Tlacaxiphualiztli,[78] or 'the flaying of men,' that was specially famous for its gladiatorial sacrifices, sacrifices already described and performed to the honor of Xipe, or Xipetotec.[79]

The third month called Tozoztontli, 'the lesser fast or penance,' was inaugurated by the sacrifice on the mountains of children to the Tlalocs. Those also that traded in flowers and were called Sochimanque, or Xochimanqui, made a festival to their goddess, Coatlycue, or Coatlantona, offering her the first-fruits of the flowers

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edited the works both of Gama and Sahagun) remarks in a note to the writings of the astronomer: 'Muchas veces he deplorado, que el sábio Sr. D. Antonio Leon y Gama no hubiese tenido á la vista para formar esta preciosa obra los manuscritos del P. Sahagun, que he publicado en los años de 1829 y 30 en la oficina de D. Alejandro Valdés, y solo hubiese leído la obra del P. Torquemada, discípulo de D. Antonio Valeriano, que lo fué de dicho P. Sahagun; pues la lectura del texto de éste, que acaso truncó, ó no entendió bien, podrian haberle dejado dudas en hechos muy interesantes á esta historia.' See *Leon y Gama, Dos Piedras*, pt i, pp. 45-89; *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 20-34, or *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., pp. 49-76; *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 251-86; *Acosta, Hist. de las Ynd.*, p. 397; *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., pp. 58-84; *Explicacion del Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, pt i., and *Spiegazione delle Tavole del Codice Mexicano* (Vaticano), tav. lvii-lxxiv, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., pp. 129-34, 190-7; *Boturini, Idea de una Hist.*, pp. 47-53; *Gomara, Conq. Mex.*, fol. 294; *Müller, Amerikanische Urreligionen*, pp. 646-8; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. iii., pp. 502-37; *Gallatin*, in *Amer. Ethno. Soc., Transact.*, vol. i., pp. 57-114.

[77] See this vol., pp. 332-4.

[78] It is also surnamed Cohuailhuitl, 'feast of the snake:' see above.

[79] There seems to be some confusion with regard to whether or not there were gladiatorial sacrifices in each of the first two months. Sahagun, however, appears to describe sacrifices of this kind, as occurring in both periods; those of the first month being in honor of the Tlalocs and those of the second in honor of Xipe. For a description of these rites see this vol. pp. 414-5.

of the year, of these that had grown in the precincts of the cu *yapico*, a cu as we have seen, consecrated to Tlaloc. Into a cave belonging to this temple there were also at this time cast the now rotten skins of the human beings that had been flayed in the preceding month. Thither, "stinking like dead dogs," as Sahagun phrases it, marched in procession the persons that wore these skins and there they put them off, washing themselves with many ceremonies; and sick folk troubled with certain skin-diseases followed and looked on, hoping by the sight of all these things to be healed of their infirmities. The owners of the captives that had been slain had also been doing penance for twenty days, neither washing nor bathing during that time; and they now, when they had seen the skins deposited in the cave, washed and gave a banquet to all their friends and relatives, performing many ceremonies with the bones of the dead captives. All the twenty days of this month singing exercises, praising the god, were carried on in the houses called Cuicacalli, the performers not dancing but remaining seated.

The fourth month was called, in contradistinction to the third, Veitozoztli, or Hueytozoztli, that is to say, 'the greater penance or letting of blood;' because in it not only the priests but also the populace and nobility did penance, drawing blood from their ears, shins, and other parts of the body, and exposing at their doors leaves of sword-grass stained therewith. After this they performed certain already described ceremonies,[80] and and then made, out of the dough known as *tzoalli*,[81] an image of the goddess Chicomecoatl, in the court-yard of her temple, offering before it all kinds of maize, beans, and chian, because she was the maker and giver of these things and the sustainer of the people. In this month, as well as in the three months preceding, little children were sacrificed, a cruelty which was supposed to please the water gods, and which was kept up till the rains began to fall abundantly.

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[80] See this vol., pp. 360-2.

[81] 'Le *Tzohualli* était un composé de graines légumineuses particulières au Mexique, qu'on mangeait de diverses manières.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., p. 513.

The fifth month, called Toxcatl and sometimes Tepopochuiliztli,[82] was begun by the most solemn and famous feast of the year, in honor of the principal Mexican god, a god known by a multitude of names and epithets, among which were Tezcatlipoca, Titlacaoan, Yautl, Telpuchtli, and Tlamatzincatl. A year before this feast, one of the most distinguished of the captives reserved for sacrifice was chosen out for superior grace and personal appearance from among all his fellows, and given in charge to the priestly functionaries called calpixques. These instructed him with great diligence in all the arts pertaining to good breeding, according to the Mexican idea: such as playing on the flute, walking, speaking, saluting those he happened to meet, the use and carrying about of straight cane tobacco-pipes and of flowers, with the dexterous smoking of the one, and the graceful inhalation of the odor of the other. He was attended upon by eight pages, who were clad in the livery of of the palace, and had perfect liberty to go where he pleased night and day; while his food was so rich that to guard against his growing too fat, it was at times necessary to vary the diet by a purge of salt and water. Everywhere honored and adored as the living image and accredited representative of Tezcatlipoca, he went about playing on a small shrill clay flute, or fife, and adorned with rich and curious raiment furnished by the king, while all he met did him reverence kissing the earth. All his body and face was painted—black, it would appear; his long hair flowed to the waist; his head was covered with white hens' feathers stuck on with resin, and covered with a garland of the flowers called *yzquisuchitl*; while two strings of the same flowers crossed his body in the fashion of cross-belts. Earrings of gold, a necklace of precious stones with a great dependent gem hanging to the breast, a lip-ornament (barbote) of sea-shell, bracelets of gold above the elbow on each arm, and strings of gems called *macuextli* winding from wrist almost to elbow, glittered and flashed back the light as the doomed man-god moved. He was covered with a rich beautifully fringed mantle of netting, and bore on his shoulders something like a purse made of white cloth of a span square, ornamented with tassels and fringe. A white maxtle of a span broad went about his loins, the two ends, curiously wrought, falling in front almost to the knee. Little bells of gold kept time with every motion of his feet, which were shod with painted sandals called *ocelunacace*.

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[82] The name 'Tepopochuiliztli' signifies 'smoke or vapor.' As to the meaning of 'Toxcatl' writers are divided, Boturini interpreting it to mean 'effort,' and Torquemada 'a slippery place.' Acosta, Sahagun, and Gama agree, however, in accepting it as an epithet applied to a string of parched or or toasted maize used in ceremonies to be immediately described, and Acosta further gives as its root signification 'a dried thing.' Consult, in addition to the references given in the note at the beginning of these descriptions of the feasts, *Acosta, Hist. de las Ynd.*, p. 383; *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., pp. 45–9; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. iii., pp. 100–11.

All this was the attire he wore from the beginning of his year of preparation; but twenty days before the coming of the festival, they changed his vestments, washed away the paint or dye from his skin, and cut down his long hair to the length, and arranged it after the fashion, of the hair of the captains, tying it up on the crown of the head with feathers and fringe and two gold-buttoned tassels. At the same time they married to him four damsels, who had been pampered and educated for this purpose, and who were surnamed respectively after the four goddesses, Xochiquetzal, Xilonen, Atlatonan, and Vixtocioatl.[83] Five days before the great day of the feast,[84] the day of the feast being counted one, all the people, high and low, the king it would appear being alone excepted, went out to celebrate with the man-god a solemn banquet and dance, in the ward called Tecanman; the fourth day before the feast, the same was done in the ward in which was guarded the statue of Tezcatlipoca. The little hill, or island, called Tepetzinco, rising out of the waters of the lake of Mexico, was the scene of the next day's solemnities; solemnities renewed for the last time on the next day, or that immediately preceding the great day, on another like island called Tepelpulco, or Tepepulco. There, with the four women that had been given him for his consolation, the honored victim was put into a covered canoe usually reserved for the sole use of the king; and he was carried across the lake to a place called Tlapitzaoayan, near the road that goes from Yztapalapan to Chalco, at a

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[83] With three of these goddess we are tolerably familiar, knowing them to be intimately connected with each other and concerned in the production, preservation, or support of life and of life-giving food. Of Atlatonan little is known, but she seems to belong to the same class, being generally mentioned in connection with Cinteotl. Her name means, according to Torquemada, 'she that shines in the water.' 'Otra Capilla, ò Templo avia, que se llamaba Xiuhcalco, dedicado al Dios Cinteutl, en cuia fiesta sacrificaban dos Varones Esclavos, y una Muger, à los quales ponian el nombre de su Dios. Al vno llamaban Iztaccinteutl, Dios Tlatlauhquicinteutl, Dios de las Mieses encendidas, ò coloradas; y à la Muger Atlantona, que quiere decir, que resplandece en el Agua, à la qual desollaban, cuio pellejo, y cuero, se vestia vn Sacerdote, luego que acababa el Sacrificio, que era de noche.' *Torquemada*,

Monarq. Ind.. tom. ii., p. 155; see also, *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vii., p. 94; or *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., ap., p. 209.

[84] Acosta, *Hist. de las Ynd.*, pp. 382–3, gives an account of various other ceremonies which took place ten days before the great feast day, which account has been followed by Torquemada, Clavigero, and later writers, and which we reproduce from the quaint but in this case at least full and accurate translation of E.G.,—a translation which, however, makes this chapter the 29th of the fifth book instead of the 28th as in the original: 'Then came forth one of the chiefe of the temple, attired like to the idoll, carrying flowers in his hand, and a flute of earth, having a very sharpe sound, and turning towards the east, he sounded it, and then looking to the west, north and south he did the like. And after he had thus sounded towards the foure parts of the world (shewing that both they that were present and absent did heare him) hee put his finger into the aire, and then gathered vp earth, which he put in his mouth, and did eate it in signe of adoration. The like did all they that were present, and weeping, they fell flat to the ground, invocating the darknesse of the night, and the windes, intreating them not to leave them, nor to forget them, or else to take away their lives, and free them from the labors they indured therein. Theeves, adulterers, and murtherers, and all others offendors had great feare and heavinesse, whilest this flute sounded; so as some could not dissemble nor hide their offences. By this meanes they all demanded no other thing of their god, but to have their offences concealed, powring foorth many teares, with great repentaunce and sorrow, offering great store of incense to appease their gods. The couragious and valiant men, and all the olde souldiers, that followed the Arte of Warre, hearing this flute, demaunded with great devotion of God the Creator, of the Lorde for whome wee live, of the sunne, and of other their gods, that they would give them victorie against their ennemies, and strength to take many captives, therewith so honour their sacrifices. This ceremonie was doone ten dayes before the feast: During which tenne dayes the Priest did sound this flute, to the end that all might do this worship in eating of earth, and demaund of their idol what they pleased: they every day made their praiers, with their eyes lift vp to heaven, and with sighs and groanings, as men that were grieved for their sinnes and offences.'

place where was a little hill called Acacuilpan, or Cabaltepec. Here left him the four beautiful girls, whose society for twenty days he had enjoyed, they returning to the capital with all the people; there accompanying the hero of this terrible tragedy only those eight attendants that had been with him all the year. Almost alone, done with the joys of beauty, banquet, and dance, bearing a bundle of his flutes, he walked to a little ill-built cu, some distance from the road mentioned above, and about a league removed from the city. He marched up the temple steps, not dragged, not bound, not carried like a common slave or captive; and as he ascended he dashed down and broke on every step one of the flutes that he had been accustomed to play on in the days of his prosperity. He reached the top;—by sickening repetition we have learned to know the rest; one thing only, from the sacrificial stone his body was not hurled down the steps, but was carried by four men down to the Tzompantli, to the place of the spitting of heads.

And the chroniclers say that all this signified that those who enjoyed riches, delights in this life, should at the end come to poverty and sorrow—so determined are these same chroniclers to let nothing escape without its moral.

In this feast of Toxcatl, in the cu called Huitznahuac, where the image of Huitzilopochtli was always kept, the priests made a bust of this god out of *tzoalli* dough, with pieces of mizquitl-wood inserted by way of bones. They decorated it with his ornaments; putting on a jacket wrought over with human bones, a mantle of very thin *nequen*, and another mantle called the *tlaquaquallo*, covered with rich feathers, fitting the head below and widening out above; in the middle of this stood up a little rod, also decorated with feathers and sticking into the top of the rod was a flint knife half covered with blood. The image was set on a platform made of pieces of wood resembling snakes and so arranged that heads and tails alternated all the way round; the whole borne by many captains and men of war. Before this image and platform a number of strong youths carried an enormous sheet of paper resembling pasteboard, twenty fathoms long, one fathom broad, and a little less than an inch thick; it was supported by spear-shafts arranged in pairs of one shaft above and one below the paper, while persons on either side of the paper held each one of these pairs in one hand. When the procession, with dancing and singing, reached the cu to be ascended, the snaky platform was carefully and cautiously hoisted up by cords attached to its four corners, the image was set on a seat, and those that carried the paper rolled it up and set down the roll before the bust of the god. It was sunset when the image was so set up; and the following morning every one offered food in his own house before the image of Huitzilopochtli there, incensing also such images of other gods as he had, and then went to offer quails' blood before the bust set up on the cu. The king began, wringing off the heads of four quails; the priests offered next, then all the people; the whole multitude carrying clay fire-pans and burning copal incense of every kind, after which every one threw his live coals upon a great hearth in the temple-yard. The virgins painted their faces, put on their heads garlands of parched maize with strings of the same across their breasts, decorated their arms and legs with red feathers, and carried black paper flags stuck into split canes. The flags of the daughters of nobles were not of paper but of a thin cloth called *canaoac*, painted with vertical black stripes. These girls joining hands danced round the great hearth, upon or over which on an elevated place of some kind there danced, giving the time and step, two men, having each a kind of pine cage covered with paper flags on his shoulders, the strap supporting which passed, not across the forehead,—the usual way for men to carry a burden,—but across the chest as was the fashion with women. The priests of the temple, dancing on this occasion with the women, bore shields of paper, crumpled up like great flowers; their heads were adorned with white feathers, their lips and part of the face were smeared with sugar-cane juice which produced a peculiar effect over the black with which their faces were always painted. They carried in their hands pieces of paper called *amasmaxtli*, and sceptres of palm-wood tipped with a black flower and having in the lower part a ball of black feathers. In dancing they used this sceptre like a staff, and the part by which they grasped it was wrapped round with a paper painted with black lines. The music for the dancers was supplied by a party of unseen musicians, who occupied one of the temple buildings, where they sat, he that played on the drum in the centre, and the performers on the other instruments about him. The men and women danced on till night, but the strictest order and decency were preserved, and any lewd word or look brought down swift punishment from the appointed overseers.

This feast was closed by the death of a youth who had been during the past year dedicated to and taken care of for Huitzilopochtli, resembling in this the victim of Tezcatlipoca, whose companion he had indeed been, but without receiving such high honors. This Huitzilopochtli youth was entitled Yxteucalli, or Tlacabepan, or Teicauhtzin, and was held to be the image and representative of the god. When the day of his death came, the priests decorated him with papers painted over with black circles, and put a mitre of eagles' feathers on his head, in the midst of whose plumes was stuck a flint knife, stained half way up with blood and adorned with red feathers. Tied to his shoulders, by strings passing across the breast, was a piece of very thin cloth about a span square, and over it hung a little bag. Over one of his arms was thrown a wild beast's skin, arranged somewhat like a maniple; bells of gold jingled at his legs as he walked or danced. There were two peculiar things connected with the death of this youth; first he had absolute liberty of choice regarding the hour in which he was to die; and second, he was not extended upon any block or altar, but when he wished he threw himself into the arms of the priests, and had his heart so cut out. His head was then hacked off and spitted alongside of that of the Tezcatlipoca youth, of whom we have spoken already. In this same day the priests made little marks on children, cutting them, with thin stone knives, in the breast, stomach, wrists, and fleshy part of the arms; marks, as the Spanish priests considered, by which the devil should know his own sheep.[85] The ceremonies of the ensuing monthly festivals have already been described at length.[86]

There were, besides, a number of movable feasts in honor of the higher gods, the celestial bodies, and the patron deities of the various trades and professions. Sahagun gives an account of sixteen movable feasts, many of which, however, contained no religious element.[87] The first was dedicated to the sun, to whom a ghostly deputation of eighteen souls was sent to make known the wants of the people, and implore future favors. The selected victims were ranged in order at the place of sacrifice, and addressed by the priest, who exhorted them to bear in mind the sacred nature of their mission, and the glory which would be theirs upon its proper fulfillment. The music now strikes up; amid the crash and din the victims one after another are stretched upon the altar; a few flashes of the iztli-knife in the practiced hand of the slayer, and the embassy has set out for the presence of the sun.[88]

The sixth, seventh, and eleventh festivals were celebrated to Quetzalcoatl, Tezcatlipoca, and Huitzilopochtli respectively. The public and household idols of these gods were at such seasons decorated, and presented with offerings of food, quails, and incense. During the festival of the god of fire, the thirteenth of the movable feasts, various public officials were elected, and a great many grand banquets given. The *atamalqualiztli*, or 'fast of bread and water,' seems to have been one of the most important of the movable feasts. The people prepared for its celebration, which took place every eight years, by a rigid fast, broken only by a midday meal of water and unsalted bread. Those who offended the gods by neglecting to observe this fast were thought to expose themselves to an attack of leprosy. The people indulged in all sorts of amusements during the holiday season which succeeded the fast. The most interesting feature of the festivities was a bal masqué, which was supposed to be attended by all the gods. The chief honors of the day were, however, rendered to the Tlalocs, and round their effigy, which stood in the midst of a pond alive with frogs and snakes, the dancers whirled continually. It was a part of the ceremonies for a number of men called *maxatecaz* to devour the reptiles in the pond; this they did by each seizing a snake or a frog in his teeth, and swallowing it gradually as he joined in the dance; the one who first bolted his titbit cried out triumphantly, 'Papa, papa!'

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[85] *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., pp. 100–11; *Torquemada*, *Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 263–6; *Clavigero*, *Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., pp. 70–3.

[86] For the month Etzalqualiztli. see this volume, pp. 334–43; for the months Tecuilhuitzintli, Hueytecuilhuitl, and Tlaxochimaco. see vol. ii. of this work, pp. 225–8; for Xocotlhuetzin and Ochpaniztli, this volume, pp. 385–9, 354–9; for Teotleco, vol. ii., pp. 332–4; for Tepeilhuitl, Quecholli, Panquetzaliztli, and Atemoztli, this volume, pp. 343–6, 404–6, 297–300, 323–4, 316–8; for Tititl, vol. ii., pp. 337–8; for Itzcalli, this volume, pp. 390–3.

[87] *Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., pp. 194–7, 216. There are other scattered notices of these movable feasts, which will be referred to as they appear.

[88] *Las Casas*, *Hist. Apologética*, MS., cap. clxxvi.

Every fourth year, called *teoxihuitl*, or 'divine year,' and at the beginning of every period of thirteen years, the feasts were more numerous and on a larger scale, the fasts more severe, and the sacrifices far greater in number than upon ordinary occasions.[89] The entire series of festivals may be said to have closed with the solemn Toxilmolpilia, or 'binding up of the years,' which took place every fifty-two years, and marked the expiration and renewal of the world's lease of existence.[90]

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[89] *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 84; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., pp. 77–8, 195–218. The last five days of the year were, according to Gomara, *Conq. Mex.*, fol. 331, devoted to religious ceremonies, as drawing of blood, sacrifices, and dances, but most other authors state that they were passed in quiet retirement.

[90] See this volume, pp. 393–6.

CHAPTER X.

GODS, SUPERNATURAL BEINGS, AND WORSHIP.

Revenues of the Mexican Temples—Vast number of the Priests—Mexican Sacerdotal System—Priestesses—The Orders of Tlamaxcicayotl and Telpochtiliztli—Religious Devotees—Baptism—Circumcision—Communion—Fasts and Penance—Blood-drawing—Human Sacrifices—The Gods of the Tarascos—Priests and Temple Service of Michoacan—Worship in Jalisco and Oajaca—Votan and Quetzalcoatl—Travels of Votan—The Apostle Wixepecocha—Cave near Xustlahuaca—The Princess Pinopiaa—Worship of Costahuntox—Tree Worship.

We have seen in the preceding volume that the number of religious edifices was very great; that in addition to the temples in the cities—and Mexico alone is said to have contained two thousand sacred buildings—there were "on every isolated hill, along the roads, and in the fields, substantial structures consecrated to some deity." Torquemada estimates the whole number at eighty thousand.

The vast revenues needed for the support and repair of the temples, and for the maintenance of the immense army of priests that officiated in them, were derived from various sources. The greatest part was supplied from large tracts of land which were the property of the church, and were held by vassals under certain conditions, or worked by slaves. Besides this, taxes of wine and grain, especially first fruits, were levied upon communities, and stored in granaries attached to the temples. The voluntary contributions, from a cake, feather, or robe to slaves or priceless gems, given in performance of a vow, or at the numerous festivals, formed no unimportant item. Quantities of food were provided by the parents of the children attending the schools, and there were never wanting devout women eager to prepare it. In the kingdom of Tezcuco, thirty towns were required to provide firewood for the temples and palaces;[1] in Meztitlan, says Chaves, every man gave four pieces of wood every five days; it is easy to believe that the supply of fuel must have been immense, when we consider that six hundred fires were kept continually blazing in the great temple of Mexico alone.[2] Whatever surplus remained of the revenues after all expenses had been defrayed, is said to have been devoted to the support of charitable institutions and the relief of the poor;[3] in this respect, at least the Holy Mother Church of contemporary Europe might have taken a lesson from her pagan sister in the New World.

Each temple had its complement of ministers to conduct and take part in the daily services, and of servants to attend to the cleansing, firing, and other menial offices. In the great temple at Mexico there were five thousand priests and attendants,[4] the total number of the ecclesiastical host must therefore have been immense; Clavigero places it at a million, which does not appear improbable if we accept Torquemada's statement that there were forty thousand temples as a basis for the computation. It should be remembered, however, that the sacerdotal body was not composed entirely of permanent members; some were merely engaged for a certain number of years, in fulfillment of a vow made by themselves or their parents; others were obliged to attend at intervals only, or at certain festivals, the rest of their time being passed in the pursuit of some profession, usually that of arms.[5]

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[1] 'Los Pneblos, que à los Templos de la Ciudad de Tetzcuco servian, con Leña, Carbon, y corteça de Roble, eran quince....y otros quince Pueblos ....servian los otros seis meses del Año, con lo mismo, à las Casas Reales, y Templo Maior.' *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., p. 164.

[2] *Rapport*, in *Ternaux-Compans*, *Voy.*, série ii., tom. v., p. 305.

[3] *Torquemada*, *Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 164-6; *Las Casas*, *Hist. Apologética*, MS., cap. cxxxix., cxli. 'E' da credersi, che quel tratto di paese, che avea il nome di *Teotlalpan*, (Terra degli Dei,) fosse così appellata, per esservi delle possesioni de' Tempj.' *Clavigero*, *Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 35.

[4] *Gomara*, *Conq. Mex.*, fol. 120.

The vast number of the priests, their enormous wealth, and the blind zeal of the people, all combined to render the sacerdotal power extremely formidable. The king himself performed the functions of high-priest on certain occasions, and frequently held some sacred office before succeeding to the throne. The heads of Church and State seem to have worked amicably together, and to have united their power to keep the masses in subjection. The sovereign took no step of importance without first consulting the high-priests to learn whether the gods were favorable to the project. The people were guided in the same manner by the inferior ministers, and this influence was not likely to decrease, for the priests as the possessors of all learning, the historians and poets of the nation, were intrusted with the education of the youth, whom they took care to mold to their purposes.

At the head of the Mexican priesthood were two supreme ministers; the Teotecuhtli or 'divine lord,' who seems to have attended more particularly to secular matters, and the Hueiteopixqui, who chiefly superintended religious affairs. These ministers were elected, ostensibly from among the priests most distinguished in point of birth, piety, and learning; but as the king and principal nobles were the electors, the preference was doubtless given to those who were most devoted to their interests, or to members of the royal family.[6] They were distinguished by a tuft of cotton, falling down upon the breast. Their robes of ceremony varied with the nature of the god whose festival they celebrated. In Tezcuco and Tlacopan, the pontifical dignity was always conferred upon the second son of the king. The Totonacs elected their pontiff from among the six chief priests, who seem to have risen from the ranks of the Centeotl monks; the ointment used at his consecration was composed partly of children's blood. High as was the high-priest's rank, he was not by any means exempt from punishment; in Ichatlan, for instance, where he was elected by his fellow-priests, if he violated his vow of celibacy he was cut in pieces, and the bloody limbs were given as a warning to his successor.[7]

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[5] *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., p. 112; *Clavigero*, *Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., pp. 36–7.

[6] *Torquemada*, *Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 175–7; *Clavigero*, *Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 37. Sahagun calls them Quetzalcoatl Teotextlamacazqui, who was also high-priest of Huitzilopochtli, and Tlaloctlamacazqui, who was Tlaloc's chief priest; they were equals, and elected from the most perfect, without reference to birth. *Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. iii., pp. 276–7. There are two inconsistencies in this, the only strong contradiction of the statement of the above, as well as several other authors, who form the au-

Next in rank to the two Mexican high-priests was the Mexicatlteohuatzin, who was appointed by them, and seems to have been a kind of Vicar General. His duties were to see that the worship of the gods was properly observed throughout the kingdom, and to supervise the priesthood, monasteries, and schools. His badge of office was a bag of incense of peculiar shape. Two coadjutors assisted him in the discharge of his duties; the Huitzuahuacteohuatzin, who acted in his place when necessary, and the Tepanteohuatzin, who attended chiefly to the schools.[8] Conquered provinces retained

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thority of my text: first, Sahagun calls the first high-priest Quetzalcoatl Teotectlamacazqui, a name which scarcely accords with the title of Huitzilopochtli's high-priest; secondly, he ignores the almost unanimous evidence of old writers, who state that the latter office was hereditary in a certain district. 'Al Summo Pontifice llamaban en la lengua mexicana Tehuatecolt.' *Las Casas*, *Hist. Apologética*, MS., cap. cxxxiii. 'El mayor de todos que es superlado, Achcauhtli.' *Gomara*, *Conq. Mex.*, fol. 323. But this was the title of the Tlascaltec high-priest. 'A los supremos Sacerdotes....llamauan en su antigua lengua Papas.' *Acosta*, *Hist. de las Ynd.*, p. 336. See also *Chaves*, *Rapport*, in *Ternaux-Compans*, *Voy.*, série ii., tom. v., pp. 303-4.

[7] *Torquemada*, *Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 177, 180; *Clavigero*, *Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 41; *Herrera*, *Hist. Gen.*, dec. iii., lib. iii., cap. xv.; *Las Casas*, *Hist. Apologética*, MS., cap. cxxxiii.

[8] *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., pp. 218-19. Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. iii., pp. 549-51, whose chief authority is Hernandez, and who is not very clear in his description, holds that the Mexicatlteohuatzin was the supreme priest, and that he also bore the title of Teotecuhtli, the rank of chief priest of Huitzilopochtli, and was the right hand minister of the king. Quetzalcoatl's high-priest he places next in rank, but outside of the political sphere. On one page he states that the high-priest was elected by the two chief men in the hierarchy, and on an-

control over their own religious affairs.[9] Among other dignitaries of the church may be mentioned the Topiltzin, who held the hereditary office of sacrificer, in which he was aided by five assistants;[10] the Tlalquimiloltecuhtli, keeper of relics and ornaments; the Ometochtli, composer of hymns; the Tlapixcatzin, musical director; the Epcoaquacuiltzin, master of ceremonies; the treasurer; the master of temple properties; and a number of leaders of special celebrations. Besides these, every ward, or parish, had its rector, who performed divine service in the temple, assisted by a number of inferior priests and school-children. The nobles kept private chaplains to attend to the worship of the household gods, which everyone was required to have in his dwelling.[11] The statement of some writers indicate that the body of priests attached to the service of each god, was to a certain extent independent, and governed by its own rules. Thus in some wards the service of Huitzilopochtli was hereditary, and held in higher estimation than any other.

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other he distinctly implies that the king made the higher appointments in order to control the church. The sacrificing priest, whom he evidently holds to be the same as the high-priest, he invests with the rank of generalissimo, and heir to the throne.

[9] Carbajal states that a temple bearing the name of the people, or their chief town, was erected in the metropolis, and attended by a body of priests brought from the province. *Discurso*, p. 110. This may, however, be a misinterpretation of Torquemada, who gives a description of a building attached to the chief temple at Mexico, in which the idols of subjugated people were kept imprisoned, to prevent them from aiding their worshipers to regain their liberty.

[10] Some authors seem to associate this office with that of the pontiff, but it appears that the high-priest merely inaugurated the sacrifices on special occasions. 'Era esta vna dignidad suprema, y entre ellos tenida en mucho, la qual se heredaua como cosa de mayorazgo. El ministro que tenia oficio de matar ...era tenido y reuerenciado como supreme Sacerdote, o Pontifice.' *Acosta, Hist. de las Ynd.*, p. 352. 'Era como decir, el Sumo Sacerdote, al qual, y no à otro, era dado este oficio de abrir los Hombres por los pechos, ...siendo comunmente los herederos, de este Patrimonio, y suerte Eclesiastica, los primogenitos.' *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., p. 117. It is difficult to decide upon the interpretation of these sentences. The expression of his being 'held or reverenced as pontiff' certainly indicates that another priest held the office, so does the sentence, 'it was inherited by the first-born' of certain families. But the phrase, 'el Sumo Sacerdote, al qual y no à otro, era dado este oficio,' points very directly to the high-priest as the holder of the post.

[11] *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 178–9; *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., pp. 37–9; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., pp. 21-26; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. iii., p. 551.

The distinguishing dress of the ordinary priests was a black cotton cloth, from five to six feet square, which hung from the back of the head like a veil. Their hair, which was never cut and frequently reached to the knees, was painted black and braided with cord; during many of their long fasts it was left unwashed, and it was a rule with some of the more ascetic orders never to cleanse their heads.[12] Reed sandals protected their feet. They frequently dyed their bodies with a black mixture made of ocotl-root, and painted themselves with ochre and cinnabar. They bathed every night in ponds set apart for the purpose within the temple enclosure. When they went out into the mountains to sacrifice, or do penance, they anointed their bodies with a mixture called *teopatli*, which consisted of the ashes of poisonous insects, snakes, and worms, mixed with ocotl-soot, tobacco, ololiuhqui, and sacred water. This filthy compound was supposed to be a safeguard against snake-bites, and the attack of wild beasts.[13]

Sacred offices were not occupied by males only; females held positions in the temples, though they were excluded from the sacrifical and higher offices. The manner in which they were dedicated to the temple school has been already described.[14] Like the Roman vestals, their chief duty seems to have been to tend the sacred fires, though they were also required to place the meat offerings upon the altar, and to make sacerdotal vestments. The punishment inflicted upon those who violated their vow of chastity was death. They were divided into watches, and during the performance of their duties were required to keep at a proper distance from the male assistants, at whom they did not even dare to glance.[15]

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[12] *Gomara, Conq. Mex.*, fol. 323-4. He describes the dress as 'vna ropa de algodon blanca estrecha, y larga, y encima vna manta por capa añudada al hombro....Tiznaunse los dios festiuales, y quando su regla mandaua de negro las piernas,' etc.

[13] *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., pp. 39–40; *Acosta, Hist. de las Ynd.*, pp. 369–71. Brasseur de Bourbourg thinks that the teopatli was the ointment used at the consecration of the high-priest, but it is not likely that a preparation which served monks and invalids as body paint, would be applied to the heads and of high-priests and kings. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. iii., p. 558. Every priestly adornment had, doubtless, its mystic meaning. The custom of painting the body black was first done in honor of the god of Hades. *Boturini, Idea*, p. 117.

[14] See vol. ii., pp. 242, et seq.

Of the several religious orders the most renowned for its sanctity was the Tlamaxcacayotl, which was consecrated to the service of Quetzalcoatl. The superior of this order, who was named after the god, never deigned to issue from his seclusion except to confer with the king. Its members, called *tlamacaxqui*, led a very ascetic life, living on coarse fare, dressing in simple black robes,[16] and performing all manner of hard work. They bathed at midnight, and kept watch until an hour or two before dawn, singing hymns to Quetzalcoatl; on occasions some of them would retire into the desert to lead a life of prayer and penance in solitude. Children dedicated to this order were distinguished by a collar called *yanuati*, which they wore till their fourth year, the earliest age at which they were admitted as novices. The females who joined these orders were not necessarily virgins, for it seems that married women were admitted.[17]

The order of Telpochtiliztli, 'congregation of young men,' was composed of youths who lived with their parents, but met at sunset in a house set apart for them, to dance and chant hymns in honor of their patron god, Tezcatlipoca. Females also attended these meetings, and, according to report, strict decorum was maintained, at least while the services lasted.[18]

Acosta makes mention of certain ascetics who dedicated themselves for a year to the most austere life;

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[15] *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 189-91; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. vi., pp. 223-31; *Motolinia, Hist. Indios*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. de Doc.*, tom. i., pp. 53-4. 'Sustentábanse del trabajo de sus manos ó por sus padres y parientes.' *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, p. 107.

[16] 'Trahian en las cabeças coronas como frayles, poco cabello, aunque crezido hasta media oreja, y mas largo por el colodrillo hasta las espaldas, y a manera de trençado le atauan.' *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, dec. iii., lib. ii., cap. xvi.

[17] Clavigero asserts that at the age of two the boy was consecrated to the order of *tlamacazcayotl* by a cut in the breast, and at seven he was admitted. *Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 44; *Motolinia, Hist. Indios*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. de Doc.*, tom. i., p. 53.

[18] *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 220-4. Whether this decorum was preserved after the adjournment of the meeting, is a point which some writers are inclined to doubt.

they assisted the priests at the hours of incensing, and drew much blood from their bodies in sacrifice. They dressed in white robes and lived by begging.[19] Camargo refers to a similar class of penitents in Tlascala, who called themselves *tlamaceuhque*, and sought to obtain divine favor by passing from temple to temple at night, carrying pans of fire upon their heads; this they kept up for a year or two, during which time they led a very strict life.[20] The Totonacs had a very strict sect, limited in number, devoted to Centeotl, to which none were admitted but widowers of irreproachable character, who had passed the age of sixty. It was they who made the historical and other paintings from which the high-priest drew his discourses. They were much respected by the people, and were applied to by all classes for advice, which they gave gravely, squatted upon their haunches and with lowered eyes. They dressed in skins, and ate no meat.[21]

The children, who were all required, says Las Casas, to attend school between the ages of six and nine, rendered valuable assistance to the priests by performing the minor duties about the temple. Those of the lower school performed much of the outside labor, such as carrying wood and drawing water, while the sons of the nobility were assigned higher tasks in the interior of the building.[22]

The daily routine of temple duties was performed by bodies of priests, who relieved each other at intervals of a few hours or days. The service, which chiefly consisted of hymn-chanting and incense-burning, was performed four times each day, at dawn, noon, sunset, and midnight. At the midnight service the priests drew blood from their bodies and bathed themselves. The sun received offerings of quails four times during the day, and five times during the night.[23] The priests of Quetzalcoatl sounded the hours of these watches with shell-trumpets and drums. Thrice every morning the Totonac pontiff wafted incense toward the sun; after which the elder priests, who followed him in a file, according to rank, waved their censers three times before the principal idols, and once before the others: finally, incense was burned in honor of the pontiff himself. The copal that remained was distributed in heaps upon the various altars. Later in the day, the high-priest delivered a lecture before the priests and and nobles.[24] Their prayers were standard compositions, learned by rote at school;[25] while reciting them, they assumed a squatting posture,[26] usually with the face toward the east; on occasions of great solemnity they prostrated themselves. A test was sometimes applied to ascertain whether the deity was disposed to respond to the prayers of the nation, when offered for a particular purpose. This was done by sprinkling snuff upon the altar, and if, shortly afterwards, the foot-print of an animal, particularly that of an eagle, was found impressed in the snuff, it was regarded as a mark of divine favor, and great was the shouting when the priest announced the augury.[27]

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[19] *Hist. de las Ynd.*, pp. 341-2.

[20] *Hist. Tlax.*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1843, tom. xcix., pp. 134-5.

[21] *Las Casas, Hist. Apologética*, MS., cap. cxxxii.; *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, p. 90.

[22] *Las Casas, Hist. Apologética*, MS., cap. cxxxix.; *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 185-6.

Many rites and ceremonies were found to exist among the civilized nations of America that were very similar to certain others observed by Jews and Christians in the old world. The innumerable speculators on the origin of the aboriginal inhabitants of the new world, or at least on the origin of their civilization, have not neglected to bring forward these coincidences —there is no good reason to suppose them anything else—in support of their various theories.

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[23] *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 39. According to Torquemada, the night service was partly devoted to the god of night. *Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., p. 227.

[24] *Hist. Apologética*, MS., cap. clxxv.; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., pp. 224-5, 275; *Acosta, Hist. de las Ynd.*, pp. 336. 343; *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, dec. iii., lib. ii., cap. xv.

[25] This was the answer given by Juan de Tovar, in his *Hist. Ind.*, MS., to the doubts expressed by Acosta as to the authenticity of the long-winded prayers of the Mexicans, whose imperfect writing was not well adapted to reproduce orations. *Helps' Span. Conq.*, vol. i., p. 282.

[26] *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, p. 93. Clavigero, *Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 24, certainly says: 'Taceano le loro preghiere comunemente inginocchione,' but we are told by Sahagun and others, that when they approached the deity with most humility, namely, at the confession, a squatting position was assumed; the same was done when they delivered orations. The greatest sign of adoration, according to Camargo, was to take a handful of earth and grass and eat it; very similar to the manner of taking an oath or greeting a superior, which consisted in touching the hand to the ground and then putting it to the lips. *Hist. Tlax.*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1843, tom. xcix., p. 168.

[27] *Ib.*

The cleansing virtue of water would naturally suggest its adaptability to the purification of spiritual stains; the priests and ascetics, plunging at midnight, with their self-inflicted wounds unclosed, into the icy pool within the temple inclosure, had this end in view; there is therefore no cause to wonder that baptism developed into an established rite. The fact that infants were baptized immediately after birth, proves that these people believed, with the Christians and Jews, that sin is inherited; but this, to my thinking at least, does not necessarily show that any communication or connection of any kind ever took place or existed between the inhabitants of the old world and those of the new. They saw that life was not all happiness; they saw that a man's suffering begins at his birth; they were peculiarly apt to regard every misfortune as a direct visitation of the offended gods, whose anger they continually deprecated by prayer and sacrifice; how, then, could they help but believe in the inherency of sin—in the visiting of the sins of the fathers upon the children—while the suffering entailed upon irresponsible infancy was continually before them?

The rite of circumcision has been the main-stay of the numerous theorists who have attempted to prove that the native Americans are descended from the Jews; but with the same evidence they may be proved to be descended from the Caffirs, the South Sea Islanders, the Ethiopians, the Egyptians, or from any Mohammedan people, who all either have practiced, or do now practice circumcision.[28] Brinton thinks that the rite was probably a symbolic renunciation of the lusts of the flesh;[29] but, as it would be difficult to find a more licentious race than the American, this supposition is unsatisfactory. After all, why need we grope among the recesses of an obscure cult for the meaning and origin of a custom which may have had no religious ideas connected with it? We know that several of the nations of the old world practiced circumcision merely for purposes of cleanliness and convenience, why not also the Americans?

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[28] At the present day the rite of circumcision may be traced almost in an unbroken line from China to the Cape of Good Hope.

A rite, analogous in some aspects to the Christian communion, was observed on certain occasions. Thus, in the fifteenth month, a dough statue of Huitzilopochtli was broken up and distributed among the men; this ceremony was called *teoqualo*, meaning 'the god is eaten.' At other times, sacred cakes of amaranth-seeds and honey, were stuck upon maguey-thorns and distributed. Mendieta states that tobacco was eaten in honor of Cihuacoatl. The Totonacs made a dough of first-fruits from the temple garden, *ulli*, and the blood of three infants sacrificed at a certain festival; of this the men above twenty-five years of age, and the women above sixteen, partook every six months; as the dough became stale, it was moistened with the heart's blood of ordinary victims.[30] The rite of confession has been already described.[31]

Fasting was observed as an atonement for sin, as well as a preparation for solemn festivals. An ordinary fast consisted in abstaining from meat for a period of from one to ten days, and taking but one meal a day, at noon; at no other hour might so much as a drop of water be touched. In the 'divine year' a fast of eighty days was observed. Some of the fasts held by the priests lasted one hundred and sixty days, and, owing to the insufficient food allowed and terrible mutilations practiced, these long feasts not unfrequently resulted fatally to the devotees. The high-priest sometimes set a shining example to his subordinates by going into the mountains and there passing several months, in perfect solitude, praying, burning incense, drawing blood from his body, and supporting life upon uncooked maize.[32]

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[29] *Myths*, p. 147.

[30] *Torquemada*, *Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., p. 83; *Mendieta*, *Hist. Ecles.*, pp. 108-9; *Las Casas*, *Hist. Apologética*, MS., cap. clxxv.; *Explicacion del Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. v., p. 133.

[31] See this volume, pp. 380-4.

In Teotihuacan, four priests undertook a four years' penance, which, if strictly observed, entitled them to be regarded as saints forever after. A thin mantle and a breech-clout were all the dress allowed them, no matter what the weather might be; the bare ground was their only bread, a stone their softest pillow; their noonday and only meal was a two-ounce cake, and a small bowl of porridge made of meal and honey, except on the first of each month, when they were allowed to take part in the general banquets. Two of them watched every alternate night, drawing blood and praying. Every twentieth day they passed twenty sticks through the upper part of the ear; and these, Gomara solemnly assures us, were allowed to accumulate from month to month, so that at the end of the four years, the ear held four thousand three hundred and twenty sticks, which were burned in honor of the gods at the expiration of the time of penance.[33]

Blood-drawing was the favorite and most common mode of expiating sin and showing devotion. Chaves says that the people of Meztitlan drew blood every five days, staining pieces of paper with it, and offering them to the god.[34] The instruments used in ordinary scarification were maguey-thorns, which were offered to the idol, and afterwards burned, but for more severe discipline iztli knives were used, and cords or sticks were passed through the tongue, ears, or genitals.

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[32] *Torquemada*, *Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 212–13; *Acosta*, *Hist. de las Ynd.*, p. 343; *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. iii., pp. 275–6.

[33] *Conq. Mex.*, fol. 336. Some of these sticks were thicker than a finger, 'y largos, como el tamaño de vn braço.' 'Eran en numero de quatrocientas.' *Torquemada*, *Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 102–3; *Motolinia*, *Hist. Indios*, in *Icazbalceta*, *Col. de Doc.*, tom. i., pp. 51–2.

[34] *Rapport*, in *Ternaux-Compans*, *Voy.*, série ii., tom. v., p. 305. The Mexican priests performed this sacrifice every five days. *Explanation of the Codex Vaticanus*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vi., p. 225, 'De la sangre que sacaban de las partes del Cuerpo en cada provincia tenian diferente costumbre.' *Las Casas*, *Hist. Apologética*, MS., cap. clxx.

The offering most acceptable to the Nahua divinities was human life, and without this no festival of any importance was complete. The origin of the rite of human sacrifice, as connected with sun-worship at least, dates back to the earliest times. It is mentioned in the story of the first appearance of the sun to the Mexicans, which relates how that luminary refused to proceed upon its daily circuit until appeased by the sacrifice of certain heroes who had offended it.[35] Some affirm that human sacrifice was first introduced by Tezcatlipoca; others again say that it was practiced before Quetzalcoatl's time, which is likely enough, if, as we are told, that prophet not only preached against it as an abomination, but shut his ears with both hands when it was even mentioned. Written, or painted, records show its existence in 1091, though some native writers assert that it was not practiced until after this date. The nations that encompass the Aztecs ascribe the introduction of human sacrifice to the latter people; a statement accepted by most of the early historians, who relate that the first human victims were four Xochimilcos, with whose blood the newly erected altar of Huitzilopochtli was consecrated.[36]

The number of human victims sacrificed annually in Mexico is not exactly known. Las Casas, the champion of the natives, places it at an insignificantly low figure. while Zumárraga states that twenty thousand were sacrificed in the capital alone every year. That the number was immense we can readily believe, when we read in Torquemada, Ixtlilxochitl, Boturini, and Acosta, that from seventy to eighty thousand human beings were slaughtered at the inauguration of the temple of Huitzilopochtli, and a proportionately large number at the other celebrations of the kind.[37]

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[35] See this volume, p. 61.

[36] *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. i., pp. 165-7. Torquemada, however, mentions one earlier sacrifice of some refractory Mexicans, who desired to leave their wandering countrymen and settle at Tula, contrary to the command of the god. *Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 115-16, 50. 'On prétend que cet usage vint de la province de Chalco dans celle de Tlaxcallan.' *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1843, tom. xcviii., p. 199; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Quatre Lettres*, p. 343. 'Quetzalcoatle was the first inventor of sacrifices of human blood.' *Explanation of Codex Vaticanus*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vi., p. 201. It is conceded, however, by other writers, that Quetzalcoatl was opposed to all bloodshed. See this volume, p. 278. Müller, *Amerikanische Urreligionen*, p. 628, thinks that the Aztecs introduced certain rites of human sacrifice, which they connected with others already existing in Mexico.

The victims were mostly captives of war, and for the sole purpose of obtaining these wars were often made; a large proportion of the sacrificed, however, were of slaves and children, either bought or presented for the purpose, and condemned criminals. Moreover, instances are not wanting of devout people offering themselves voluntarily for the good of the people and the honor of the god.[38] The greater part of the victims died under the knife, in the manner so often described;[39] some, however, were, as we have seen in the preceding volume, burned alive; children were often buried, or immured alive, or drowned; in some cases criminals were crushed between stones. The Tlascaltecs frequently bound the doomed one to a pole and made his body a target for their spears and arrows.

It is difficult to determine what religious ideas were connected with the almost universal practice of anthropophagy. We have seen that several of the savage tribes ate portions of slain heroes, thinking thereby to inherit a portion of the dead man's good qualities; the same reason might be assigned for the cannibalism of the Aztecs, were it not for the fact that they ate the flesh of sacrificed slaves and children as well as that of warriors and notable persons. Whatever may have been the original significance of the rite, it is most probable that finally the body, the essence of which served to regale the god, was regarded merely as the remains of a divine feast, and, therefore, as sacred food. It is quite possible, however, that religious anthropophagy gradually degenerated into an unnatural appetite for human flesh and nothing more.

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[37] *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. i., p. 186. 'Eran cada año estos Niños sacrificados mas de veinte mil por cuenta.' *Id.*, tom. ii., p. 120. A misconstruction of Zumárraga, who does not specify them as children. *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 49, tom. i., p. 257; *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. ix., p. 268; *Boturini, Idea*, p. 28. 'Afirman que auia vez que passauan de cinco mil, y dia vuo que en diuersas partes fueron assi sacrificados mas de veynta mil.' *Acosta, Hist. de las Ynd.*, p. 356. Gomara states that the conquerors counted 136,000 skulls in one skull-yard alone. *Conq. Mex.*, fol. 122.

[38] 'Non furono mai veduti i Messicani sacrificare i propj lor Nazionali, se non coloro, che per li loro delitti erano rei di morte.' *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. iv., p. 299. A rather hasty assertion.

[39] See vol. ii., p. 307.

I here close the review of the Aztec gods. Like most of its branches, this great centre of North American mythology rests on natural phenomena and anthopomorphic creations, with an occasional euemeristic development or apotheosis, but is attended by a worship so sanguinary and monstrous that it stands out an isolated spectacle of the extreme to which fanatical zeal and blind superstition can go. A glance at the Greek and Roman mythology is sufficient to show how much purer was the Nahua conception of divine character. The Nahua gods did not, like those of Greece, play with vice, but rather abhorred it. Tezcatlipoca is the only deity that can be fairly compared with the fitful Zeus of Homer,—now moved with extreme passion, now governed by a noble impulse, now swayed by brutal lust, now drawn on by a vein of humor. But the polished Greek, poetic, refined, full of ideas, exulting in his strong, beautiful, immoral gods, and making his art immortal by his sublime representations of them, presents a picture very different from the Aztec, phlegmatic, bloody-minded, ferocious, broken in body and in spirit by the excesses of his worship, overshadowed by countless terrors of the imagination, quaking continually before gods who feast on his flesh and blood. Nevertheless there was one bright spot, set afar off on the horizon, upon which the Aztec might look and hope. Like the Brahmans, the Buddhists, and the Jews, he looked forward to a new era under a great leader, even Quetzalcoatl, who had promised to return from the glowing east, bringing with him all the prosperity, peace, and happiness of his former reign. The Totonacs, also, knew of one in heaven who pleaded unceasingly for them with the great god, and who was ultimately to bring about a gentler era.

Worship in Michoacan, though on a smaller scale, was very similar to that in Mexico. The misty form of a Supreme Being that hovers through the latter, here assumes a more distinct outline, however. A First Cause, a Creator of All, a Ruler of the World, who bestows existence, and regulates the seasons, is recognized in the god Tućapacha; an invisible being whose abode is in the heaven above, an inconceivable being whom no image can represent, a merciful being to whom the people may hopefully pray.[40] But the very beauty and simplicity of the conception of this god seem to have operated against the popularity of his worship. The people needed a less shadowy personification of their ideas, and this they found in Curicaneri, originally the patron divinity of the Chichimec rulers of the country, and by them exalted over Xaratanga, the former head god of the Tarascos. Brasseur de Bourbourg thinks Curicaneri to be identical with the sun, and gives as his reason that the Chichimecs presented their offerings first to that luminary and then to the inferior deities. There is another point that seems to favor this view. The insignia of Curicaneri and Xaratanga were carried by the priests in the van of the army to inspire courage and confidence of victory. Before setting out on the march a fire was lighted before the idol, and as the incense rose to heaven, the priest addressed the god of fire, imploring him to accept the offering and favor the expedition.[41] The image of Curicaneri was profusely adorned with jewels, each one of which represented a human sacrifice made in honor of the god.

[40] *Salazar y Olarte, Hist. Conq. Mex.*, p. 71; *Herrera. Hist. Gen.*, dec. iii., lib. iii., cap. x.

[41] *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. iii., pp. 79–82. This author gives the name as Curicaweri.

The goddess Xaratanga, though second in rank, seems to have occupied the first place in the affections of the Tarascos, in spite of the myth which associates her name with the downfall of the native dynasty, saying that she transformed their princes into snakes, because they appeared drunk at her festivals, and thus afforded the Chichimecs an opportunity to seize the sceptre. The priests did their utmost, besides, to maintain her prestige, and they were successful, as we have seen from the position of the goddess by the side of Curicaneri, in the van of the army.

Among the inferior gods were Manovapa, son of Xaratanga, and Taras, from whom, says Sahagun, the Tarascos took their name, and who corresponded to the Mexican Mixcoatl. The Matlaltzincas worshiped Coltzin, suffocating before his image the few human beings offered to him. They reverenced very highly, also, a great reformer, Surites, a high-priest, who preached morality, and, inspired by a prophetic spirit, is said to have prepared the people for a better faith, which was to come from the direction of the rising sun. The festivals of the Peranscuaro, which corresponded to our Christmas, and the Zitacuarencuaro, or 'resurrection,' were instituted by Surites. These ideas, however, bear traces of having been 'improved' by the padres.

The priests of Michoacan exercised even a greater influence over the people than those of Mexico. In order to retain this power they appealed to the religious side of the people's character by thundering sermons and solemn rites, and to their affections by practicing charity at every opportunity. The king himself, when he paid his annual visit to the high-priest to inaugurate the offering of first-fruits, set an example of humility by kneeling before the pontiff and reverently kissing his hand. The priests of Michoacan formed a distinct class, composed of three orders, at the head of which stood the high priest of Curicaneri.[42] Those who served the goddess Xaratanga were called *watarecha*, and were distinguished by their shaven crowns, long black hair, and tunics bordered with red fringe.[43] Marriage was one of their privileges.

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[42] 'El Sumo Sacerdote Curinacanery.' *Beaumont, Crón. Mechoacan*, MS., p. 52.

The temple-service of Michoacan was much the same as in Mexico. Human sacrifices, which seem to have been introduced at a late period, were probably very numerous, since hundreds of human victims were immolated at the funeral of a monarch. The hearts of the sacrificed were eaten by the priests, says Beaumont, and this is not unlikely since the Otomí population of Michoacan sold flesh in the public market. During seasons of drought the Otomís sought to propitiate the rain gods by sacrificing a virgin on the top of a hill.[44]

In Jalisco, several forms of worship appear, each with its special divinities. These were mostly genii of natural features. Thus, the towns about Chapala paid divine honors to the spirit of the lake, who was represented by a mis-shapen image with a miniature lake before it. The people of other places had idols mounted on rocks, or represented in the act of fighting with a wild animal or monster. In Zentipac and Acaponeta the stars were honored with offerings of the choicest fruit and flowers. Equally innocent were the offerings brought to Piltzinteolli, the 'child god,' whose youthful form was reared in several places. An instance of apotheosis occurred in Nayarit, where the skeleton of a king, enthroned in a cave, received divine honors.

Among the temples consecrated to the various idols, may be mentioned one in Jalisco, which was a square pyramid, decorated with breast-work and turrets, to which access was had by a staircase sixty feet in height. At each of the four corners was a hearth so arranged that the smoke from the sacred fire spread in a dense cloud over the temple. Another, at Teul, consisted of a stone building, five fathoms in length, by three in breadth, and gradually widening towards the top. Two entrances, one at the north corner, the other at the south, each with five steps, gave admission to the interior; close by were several piles, formed of the bones of the sacrificed.

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[43] 'Guirnaldas de fluecos colorados,' says Herrera, *Hist. Gen.*, dec. iii., lib. iii., cap. x.

[44] *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, dec. iii., lib. iii., cap. x.; *Beaumont, Crón Mechoacan*, MS., pp. 52-3, 75; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. de Jesus*, tom. i., pp. 91-2; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. iii., pp. 59, 64-5, 79-82; *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., p. 525; Carbajal Espinosa, *Hist. Mex.*, tom. i., pp. 291-2, thinks that the sacrifices were introduced by surrounding tribes, and that cannibalism was unknown to the Taruscos. 'Sacrificaban culebras, aves y conejos, y no los hombres, aunque fuesen cautivos, porque se servian de ellos, como de esclavos.' *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. iii., lib. x., p. 133. See also vol. ii., pp. 620-1, of this work.

The festivals which took place seem to have been disgraced not only by excesses of the most infamous character, but by the most horrible cruelties, if we are to believe Oviedo, who writes of furnaces filled with charred human remains. These sacrifices, however, if sacrifices they were, which were common in the north-eastern parts, where intercourse with Mexico had produced many changes, do not appear as we advance southward. Not only do they entirely vanish, but the chroniclers state that in Colima, which was reputed to have been at one time governed by a very wise prince, no outward worship of any kind could be found; moreover, they hint at an atheism having existed there, restricted only by moral precepts. But the reality of an oasis of this character, in the midst of the most degraded superstitions and the wildest fanaticism, is at the least, doubtful, and the work of the Fathers seems to be once more apparent.[45]

The worship of Oajaca bore even a stronger resemblance to that of Mexico than did that of Michoacan, and the assertion of some modern writers that both nations have a common origin seems fully borne out by the records of the old chroniclers. The array of gods was, if possible, greater, for almost every feature of the grand, wild scenery, every want, every virtue, even every vice,

[45] Beaumont, *Crón. Mechoacan*, MS., p. 232, tells of a Supreme Being in heaven, and with him an ever young virgin from whom all men descend; a belief which the child-god is said to have promulgated; but the account seems somewhat confused both as to place and authority. Alegre, *Hist. Comp. de Jesus*, tom. iii., p. 197, and Padilla, *Conq. N. Galicia*, MS., p. 8, mention additional gods, but give no description. *Villa-Señor y Sanchez*, *Theatro*, tom. ii., pp. 269–70; *Alcedo*, *Diccionario*, tom. iii., p. 299; *Tello*, in *Icazbalceta*, *Col. de Doc.*, tom. ii., p. 363; *Oviedo*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. iii., p. 566; *Gil*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, *Boletin*, tom. viii., pp. 496–8.

says Burgoa, had one or more patron deities, to whom offerings were made on the household altars. This was especially the case in the upper district of Mizteca and Zapoteca, where the rugged, cloud-capped peaks, dense forests, boiling cataracts, and stealthy streams, all tended to fill the crude mind of the native with a superstitious awe that must have vent. Through all this may be discerned the vague shape of a Supreme Being, bearing many titles, such as Piyetao Piyexoo, 'one without being,' Pitao Cozaana, 'creator of beings,' Wichaana, 'creator of men and fishes,' Coquiza-Chibataya Cozaanatao, 'the sustainer and governor of all,' and a multitude of other titles, which merely serve to show how indefinite was the position this Invisible One occupied in the minds of a people unable to rise to a definite conception of his eminence, and groveling before the hideous gnomes bred of their own imagination.[46]

When the disciples of Quetzalcoatl, the Toltec god and lawgiver, went forth at the command of their master to preach his doctrines, some are said to have wended their way to Oajaca, where they founded several centres of worship,[47] and among them Achiuhtla, the headquarters of the Miztec religion, situated in the most rugged part of the mountains. Here, in a cave the interior of which was filled with idols, set up in niches upon stones dyed with human blood and smoke of incense, was a large transparent chalchiuite,[48] entwined by a snake whose head pointed toward a little bird perched on the apex. This relic, worshiped since time immemorial under the name of the 'heart of the people,' has all the chief attributes of Quetzalcoatl; the stone, the emblem of the air god, the snake and the bird; yet how mutilated the original myth, how much of its beautiful significance gone! Burgoa invests the relic with another attribute in making it the supporter of the earth, another Atlas in fact, whose movements produce earthquakes. This also accords with the character of Quetzalcoatl, who, under the name of Huemac, was supposed to produce earthquakes. The Zapotecs, besides, prayed to it for victory and wealth, and Quetzalcoatl as the 'peace god,' could doubtless influence the former, while the latter gift was always in his power.[49] In several other places were idols with the same name, as at Yangüistlan, Chalcatongo, and Coatlan, where the temples were caves, a fact worthy of note when we consider that Quetzalcoatl is stated by the myth to have erected temples to Mictlantecutli, the Mexican Pluto.[50]

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[46] 'Les dieux, de quelque nature qu'ils fussent, avaient dans la langue zapotèque le nom de "Pitao," qui correspond à l'idée du grand-esprit, d'un esprit étendu.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. iii., pp. 26-7.

[47] Torquemada, *Monarq. Ind.*, tom. i., pp. 255-6, also refers to emigration of Toltec chiefs to found new states.

[48] 'Vna esmeralda tan grande como vn gruesso pimiento de esta tierra, tenia labrado encima vna auesita, ò pajarillo con grandissimo primor, y de arriba à baxo enroscada vna culebrilla con el mesmo arte, la piedra era tan transparente, que brillaba desde el fondo.' *Burgoa, Geog. Descrip.*, tom. ii., pt i., fol. 156.

The few authors, however, who have referred to this relic, nearly all hold it to represent Votan; the old writers doubtless because the name signifies 'heart'[51] in the Tzendal dialect of Chiapas, where he was the most prominent deity, the modern, because its attributes accord with those of this god. But Votan has so much in common with Quetzalcoatl that some writers are inclined to consider them identical, or at least related. Müller, however, declares him to be an original Maya snake-god, one of the thirteen chief snakes, to whom the bird attribute was given at a late period, borrowed, perhaps, from Quetzalcoatl. He is gradually anthropomorphized into one of the many leaders whose names have been given to the days of the month, Votan taking the third of the four names that designated days as well as years. Yet Professor Müller concedes that the god was brought from Cholula, and that certain special attributes of Quetzalcoatl may be recognized in the figures on the Palenque ruins, which probably refer to Votan; and further, that a phase of the myth seems to point to him as the grandson of Quetzalcoatl.[52] Brasseur de Bourbourg, while accepting his identity with the 'heart of the people,' considers that the double aspect of the tradition allows us to suppose that there were several Votans, or that this name was accorded to deserving men who came after him. At times he seems to be a mythic creation, the mediator between man and God, the representation of wisdom and power; at times a prince and legislator who introduced a higher culture among his people. The analogy presented by traditions between Votan, Gucumatz, Cukulcan, and Quetzalcoatl, would lead us to believe that one individual united in his person all these appellations. Nevertheless, a comparison of the different traditions admits of two, Votan and Quetzalcoatl, the other names having the same signification as the latter.

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[49] Burgoa gives the relic in this instance a title which varies somewhat in the wording, although the former sense remains: 'El Alma, y coraçon del Reyno.' *Geog. Descrip.*, tom. ii., pt ii., fol. 396. Dávila Padilla, *Hist. Fund. Mex.*, p. 630, mentions an idol among the Zapotecs in shape of a hand, which may have represented Huemac.

[50] The Zapotecs had other temples also, fashioned like those of Mexico in superimposed terraces of stone-cased earth. Burgoa describes one which measured 2000 paces in circumference, and rose to a height of 88-90 feet; on each terrace stood an adobe chapel with a well attached for the storage of water. On the occasion of a great victory another terrace was added to the pile. *Geog. Descrip.*, tom. i., pt ii., fol. 198.

[51] *Cabrera, Teatro*, in *Rio's Description*, p. 37.

It is certain, however, that from them, whether heroes, priests, rulers, or warriors, Central America received the culture which their successors brought to such perfection. The knowledge of one supreme being appears to have been among the first dogmas instilled into the minds of their people; but in the tradition presented to us, the hero's name is often confounded with that of the divinities.[53] Like Quetzalcoatl, Votan was the first historian of his people, and wrote a book on the origin of the race, in which he declares himself a snake, a descendant of Imos, of the line of Chan, of the race of Chivim.[54]

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[52] He also calls him the Miztec Cultur god. *Amerikanische Urreligionen*, pp. 486–90.

[53] *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. i., pp. 44–5.

[54] Chan, 'snake,' was the name of a tribe of Lacandones, near Palenque, known also as Colhuas, Chanes, or Quinames. *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, *Popol Vuh*, p. 109. The book referred to or a copy of it, written in the Tzendal or Quiché language, was in the possession of Nuñez de la Vega, Bishop of Chiapas, who published short extracts of it in his *Constitut. Diœces.* but seems to have had it burned, together with other native relics, in 1691, at Huehuetan. Previous to this, however, Ordoñez y Aguiar had obtained a copy of it, written in Latin characters, and gave a résumé of the contents in his *Hist. del Cielo*, MS. This author contradicts himself by stating, in one part of his MS., that the original was written by a descendant

One of his titles was 'lord of the hollow tree,' the tepahuaste, or teponaztli.[55]

From the confused tradition of the Tzendals, as rendered by Nuñez de la Vega and Ordoñez y Aguiar, it seems that Votan, proceeded by divine command to America and there portioned out the land.[56] He accordingly departed from Valum Chivim, passed by the 'dwelling of the thirteen snakes,' and arrived in Valum Votan,[57] where he took with him several of his family to form the nucleus of the settlement. With them he passed through the island-strewn Laguna de Terminos, ascended the Usumacinta, and here, on one of its tributaries founded Nachan,[58] or Palenque, the future metropolis of a mighty kingdom, and one of the reputed cradles of American civilization. The Tzendal inhabitants bestowed upon the strange-looking new-comers the name Tzequiles, 'men with petticoats,' on account of their long

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of Votan. *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Popol Vuh*, pp. lxxxvii., cviii.; *Tschudi's Peruvian Antiq.*, p. 12; *Cabrera, Teatro*, in *Rio's Descrip.*, pp. 33–4. Cabrera, who bases his account of the myth on Ordoñez' rendering, which he at times seems to have misunderstood and mutilated, thinks that Chivim refers to Tripoli, and it is the same as Hivim or Givim, the Phœnician word for snake, which, again, refers to Hivites, the descendants of Heth, son of Canaan. Votan's expression, as given in his book, 'I am a snake, a Chivim,' signifies 'I am a Hivite from Tripoli.' *Teatro*, in *Rio's Descrip.*, p. 34, et seq.

[55] *Boturini, Idea*, p. 115. It may be of interest to compare his name with Odon in the Michoacan calendar, and Oton, the Otomí god and chief. Humboldt was particularly struck with its resemblance to Odin, the Scandinavian god-hero. *Vues*, tom. i., p. 208; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Popol Vuh*, p. lxxvi.

[56] Equivalent to laying the foundation for civilization. According to Ordoñez he was sent to people the continent; a view also taken by Clavigero, *Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. i., pp. 150–1. Torquemada's account of the spreading of the Toltecs southward, may throw some light on this subject. *Monarq. Ind.*, tom. i., p. 256, et seq.

[57] Valum Chivim, Valum Votan, land of Chivim and Votan. See note 15. Cabrera considers two marble columns found at Tangier, with Phœnician inscriptions, a trace of his route; the dwellings of the thirteen snakes are thirteen islands of the Canary group, and Valum Votan, the Island of Santo Domingo. *Teatro*, in *Rio's Descrip.*, p. 34, et seq. Müller, *Amerikanische Urreligionen*, p. 489, hints significantly at the worship of the snake-god Votan, on Santo Domingo Island, under the name of Vaudoux. Brasseur de Bourbourg's ideas on this point have already been made pretty evident in the account of Quetzalcoatl's myth. The thirteen snakes may mean thirteen chiefs of Xibalba. There is a ruin bearing the name of Valum Votan about nine leagues from Ciudad Real, Chiapas. *Popol Vuh*, p. lxxxviii. Ordoñez holds Valum Votan to be Cuba, whence he takes seven families with him. *Cabrera*, ubi sup.

[58] Ordoñez says the original Na-chan means 'place of snakes.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. i., p. 69.

robes, but soon exchanged ideas and customs with them, submitted to their rule, and gave them their daughters in marriage. This event is laid a thousand years before Christ.[59]

Ordoñez proceeds to say that Votan, after the establishment of his government, made four or more visits to his former home. On his first voyage he came to a great city, wherein a magnificent temple was in course of erection; this city Ordoñez supposed to be Jerusalem; he next visited an edifice which had been originally intended to reach heaven, an object defeated by a confusion of tongues; finally he was allowed to penetrate by a subterranean passage to the root of heaven.[60] On returning to Palenque, Votan found that several more of his nations had arrived; these he recognized as snakes, and showed them many favors, in return for which his supremacy was made secure, and he was at last apotheosized.[61] Among the monuments left by the hero was a temple on the Huehuetan River, called 'house of darkness,' from its subterranean chambers, where the records of the nation were deposited under the charge of a fixed number of old men, termed *tlapianes*, or guardians, and an order of priestesses, whose superior was likewise the head of the male members. Here were also kept a number of tapirs, a sacred animal among the people.[62]

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[59] A date which is confirmed by the Chimalpopoca MS. *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Popol Vuh*, p. lxxxviii. One tradition makes the Tzequiles speak a Nahua dialect, but it is possible that Ordoñez confounds two epocs. *Id., Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. i., p. 70.

[60] In the traditions presented on pp. 67–8, 50, of this volume, will be found reference to Cholula as the place where the tower of Babel was built, and to the confusion of tongues, which tends to connect this myth with those of the neighboring country. Ordoñez' orthodox ideas have probably added much to the native MS. from which he took his account, yet Nuñez de la Vega agrees with him in most respects. Cabrera, *Teatro*, in *Rio's Descrip.*, p. 84, considers the great city to be Rome, but agrees with his authorities that the latter edifice is the tower of Babel. A Tzendal legend relates that a subterranean passage, leading from Palenque to Tulhá, near Ococingo, was constructed in commemoration of the celestial passage, or 'serpent hole,' into which Votan in his quality of snake, was admitted. *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. i., pp. 72–3.

[61] Cabrera has it that the new-comers are seven Tzequiles, or shipwrecked countrymen of Votan. The voyages and other incidents he considers confirmed by the sculptures on the Palenque ruins, which shows Votan surrounded by symbols of travel, indications of the places visited in the old and new world; he recognizes the attributes of Osiris in the idol brought over by Votan, with the intention of establishing its worship in the new world. Lastly, Votan and his families are Carthaginians. *Teatro*, in *Rio's Description*, pp. 95, 34.

The claims of Votan to be considered as the 'heart of the people,' are supported, according to the above accounts, chiefly by his name, which means 'heart,' and by the fact that a chalchiuite, of which stone the relic was made, was placed by the Mexicans and other peoples between the lips of deceased. The other attributes accord more with the character of Quetzalcoatl, as we have seen, and the tradition is very similar; its confusion goes to show that it is a mutilated version of the Toltec myth. If we accept Votan as a grandson of Quetzalcoatl we may also suppose that he was one of the disciples sent out by the prophet to spread his doctrines, and that his own name has been substituted for that of his master. This view is favored by the fact that Quetzalcoatl is identified with the snake-heroes of Yucatan and Guatemala, countries that lie beside and beyond Chiapas. Then, again, we find that Votan's worship was known in Cholula, and that he landed in the very region where the former hero disappeared. However doubtful the preceding tradition may be, there is one among the Oajacans, which to me has all the appearance of a mutilated version of the myth of Quetzalcoatl, deformed still more by the orthodox Fathers. In very remote times, about the era of the apostles, according to the padres, an old white man, with long hair and beard, appeared suddenly at Huatulco, coming from the south-west by sea, and preached to the natives in their own tongue, but of things beyond their understanding. He lived a strict life, passing the greater part of the night in a kneeling posture, and eating but little. He disappeared shortly after as mysteriously as he had come, but left as a memento of his visit a cross, which he planted with his own hand, and admonished the people to preserve it sacredly, for one day they would be taught its significance.[63] Some authors describe a personage of the same appearance and character, coming from the same quarter, and appearing in the country shortly after, but it is doubtless the same old man, who, on leaving Huatulco, may have turned his steps to the interior. His voice is next heard in Mictlan,[64] inveighing in gentle but firm accents against the pleasures of this world, and enjoining repentance and expiation. His life was in strict accordance with his doctrines, and never, except at confession, did he approach a woman. But the lot of Wixepecocha, as the Zapotecs call him, was that of most reformers. Persecuted by those whose vice and superstitions he attacked, he was driven from one province to another, and at last took refuge on Mount Cempoaltepec. Even here his pursuers followed him, climbing its craggy sides to lay hands upon the prophet. Just as they reached the summit, he vanished like a shadow, leaving only the print of his feet upon the rock.[65]

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[62] The ruins of Huehuetan, 'city of old men,' are still to be seen. *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. i., pp. 73–4; *Tschudi's Peruvian Antiq.*, pp. 11–15; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. i., pp. 10–21. Vega mentions that at Teopixca in Chiapas he found several families who bore the hero's name and claimed to be descendants of his. This has little value, however, for we know that priests assumed the name of their god, and nearly all mythical heroes have had descendants, as Zeus, Herakles, and others. *Boturini, Idea*, p. 115.

Among the points in this myth that correspond to the character of Quetzalcoatl may be noticed the appearance of the prophet from the south-west, which agrees with the direction of the moisture-bearing winds, the chief attribute of the Toltec god; the cross, which indicates not only the four winds, but the rain of which they are the bearers, attributes recognized by the Mexicans who decorated the mantle of the god with crosses; the long beard, the white face, and the dress, which all accord with the Toltec Quetzalcoatl. Like him Wixepecocha taught gentle doctrines of reform, like him he was persecuted and forced to wander from place to place, and at last disappeared, leaving his followers the hope of a better future. The doctrine of Wixepecocha, took root and flourished in the land he had consecrated with his toils and prayers, and, according to Brasseur de Bourbourg, Wiyatao, the pontiff of Zapotecapan, was vicar and successor of the 'prophet of Monapostiac.'[66]

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[63] A portion of this relic was sent to Pope Paul V., in 1613; the remainder was deposited in the cathedral for safe keeping. *Burgoa, Geog. Descrip.*, tom. ii., pt ii., fol. 350-2.

[64] The place of the dead, or hades, also called Yopaa, land of tombs. *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. iii., p. 9.

[65] Fray Juan de Ojedo saw and felt the indentation of two feet upon the rock, the muscles and toes as distinctly marked as if they had been pressed upon soft wax. The Mijes had this tradition written in characters on skin. *Burgoa, Geog. Descrip.*, tom. i., pt ii., fol. 299.

The early padres saw in this personage none other than St. Thomas, the apostle, who had walked across to plant the cross and prepare the way for christianity. There is, or was until recently, a statue of him in the village of Magdalena, four leagues from Tehuantepec, which represented him with long white beard, and mufled up in a long robe with a hood, secured by a cord round the waist; he was seated in a reflective attitude, listening to the confession of a woman kneeling by his side.[67] A similar statue is mentioned by Burgoa, as having existed in a cave not far from Xustlahuaca. in Mistecapan,[68] where it stood near the entrance, on a marble monolith eleven feet in height. The approach to the cavern appears to have formerly led through a beautiful garden; within were masses of stalactite of the most fantastic and varied forms, many of which the people had fashioned into images of different kinds, and of the most artistic execution, says the padre, whose fancy was doubtless aided by the twilight within. Here lay the embalmed bodies of kings and pontiffs, surrounded by treasures, for this was a supposed entrance to the flowered fields of heaven. The temple cave at Mictlan bore a similar reputation, and served as a sepulchre for the Zapotec grandees. It consisted of four chief divisions, the largest forming the sanctuary proper, the second and third the tombs of kings and pontiffs, and the fourth a vestibule to an immense labyrinthine grotto, in which brave warriors were occasionally buried.' Into this, the very ante-room of paradise, frenzied devotees would at times enter, and seek in its dark mazes for the abode of the gods; none ever returned from this dread quest, for the entrance was closed with a great stone, and doubtless many a poor wretch as he touched in his last feeble gropings the bones of those who had preceded him, felt the light come in upon his soul in spite of the thick darkness, and knew he had been deluded; but the mighty stone at the mouth of the cave told no secrets.[69]

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[66] A name given to Wixepecocha by the tradition, which adds that he was seen on the island of Monapostiac, near Tehuantepec, previous to his final disappearance. *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. iii., p. 411. Quetzalcoatl also disappeared seaward.

[67] He debarked near Tehuantepec, bearing a cross in his hand; *Gondra, Rasgos y señales de la primera predicacion en el Nuevo-Mundo*, MS.; *Carriedo, Estudios, Hist. del Estado Oaxaqueño*, tom. i., cap. i.; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. iii., pp. 9-10.

[68] Brasseur de Bourbourg seems to place it at Chalcatongo. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. iii., p. 19; *Bourgoa, Geog. Descrip.*, tom. ii., pt i., fol. 170.

The prominence of the Plutonic element in the worship of Oajaca is shown by the fact that Pezelao, whose character corresponded to that of the Mexican Mictlantecutli, received high honors. The other conspicuous gods, as enumerated by Brasseur de Bourbourg, were Pitao-Cocobi, god of abundance, or of the harvest; Cociyo, the rain god; Cozaana, patron of hunters and fishermen; and Pitao-Xoo, god of earthquakes. Other deities controlled riches, misfortunes, auguries, poetic inspiration —even the hens had their patron divinity. As might be expected of a people who regarded even living kings and priests with adoration, apotheosis was common. Thus, Petela, an ancient Zapotec cacique whose name signified dog, was worshiped in the cavern of Coatlan. At one end of this subterranean temple a yawning abyss received the foaming waters of a mountain torrent, and into this slaves and captives, gaily dressed and adorned with flowers, were cast on certain occasions.[70]

At another place was a white stone shaped like a ninepin, supposed to be the embodiment of Pinopiaa, a saintly princess of Zapotecapan, whose corpse had been miraculously conveyed to heaven and returned in this form for the benefit of the devout.[71]

[69] *Escalera and Llana*, *Mej. Hist. Descrip.*, p. 330.

[70] 'Le tenian enterrado, seco, y embalsamado en su proporcion.' The cave was supposed to connect with the city of Chiapas, 200 leagues distant. *Herrera*, *Hist. Gen.*, dec. iii., lib. iii., cap. xiv.

[71] 'Piedra blanca, labrada al modo de vn acho de bolos ...vn gruesso taladro.' *Burgoa*, *Geog. Descrip.*, tom. ii., pt ii., fol. 362.

In Chiapas they worshiped Costahuntox, who was represented with ram's horns on his head, and sat on a throne surrounded by thirteen grandees. In the district of Llanos, Yabalan, or Yahalan, and Canamlum were the chief gods. Even living beings held the position of deities, according to Diaz, who states that a fat old woman, dressed in richly decorated robes, whom the natives venerated as a goddess, led them against the Spanish invaders, but was killed.[72] Among the Mijes a green flat stone, with blood-red, lustrous rays, was held in much veneration. Although this is the only reference made by the chroniclers that may be connected with sun worship,—which, by the way, could scarcely have claimed a very high position here, since the founder of the Miztec royal family is stated to have been victorious in a contest with the sun,—it is worthy of note that the Zapotec word *ñuhu*, fire, also denotes divinity, idol, everything sacred, the earth itself.[73] The household idols had their names, history, and worship depicted on bark, and smoked or painted hides, in order to keep them always before the people, and insure to the youth a knowledge of their god. How firmly rooted idolatry was, and how slow the work of eradicating it must have been, to the padres, notwithstanding they destroyed every idol they could lay hands on, is shown by the fact that among the Guechecoros a statue of Cortés served as an object of worship.[74] Nagualism is one of the ancient forms of worship which still flourish, and consists in choosing an animal as the tulelary divinity of child, whose existence will be so closely connected with it, that the life of one depends on that of the other. Burgoa states that the priest selected the animal by divination; when the boy grew up he was directed to proceed to a mountain to offer sacrifice, and there the animal would appear to him. Others say that at the hour of the mother's confinement, the father and friends drew on the floor of the hut the outline of various animals, effacing each figure as soon as they began the next, and the figure that remained at the moment of delivery represented the guardian of the infant; or, that the bird or beast first seen by the watchers after the confinement was accepted as the nagual. The bestowal of the sign of the day upon the infant as its name may perhaps be considered as a species of nagualism, since the name of animals often formed these signs.[75]

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[72] *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Conq.*, fol. 179; *Salazar y Olarte, Hist. Conq. Mex.*, p. 137. There were many among the padres who held Yabalan to have been an immediate descendant of Noah's son Ham, because the name signified 'chief black man, or negro.' *Piñeda*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, *Boletin*, tom. iii., p. 419.

[73] *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. iii., p. 17; *Dávila Padilla, Hist. Fund. Mex.*, pp. 638–9. In Chiapas are found a number of representations of heavenly bodies, sculptured, or drawn and at Palenque a sun temple is supposed to have existed. *Piñeda*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, *Boletin*, tom. iii., p. 419.

[74] They 'worship his image in their own peculiar way, sometimes by cutting off a turkey's head.' 'The natives are about as far advanced in christianity as they were at the time of the conquest.' *Hutching's Cal. Mag.*, vol. ii., p. 542.

A form of worship particularly marked in this country was the veneration accorded to trees, as may be judged from the myth which attributes the origin of the Miztec, as well as a portion at least of the Zapotec people to two trees. This cult existed also in other parts of Mexico and Central America, where cypresses and palms growing near the temples, generally in groups of three, were tended with great care, and often received offerings of incense and other gifts. They do not, however, seem to have been dedicated to any particular god, as among the Romans, where Pluto claimed the cypress, and Victory the palm. One of the most sacred of these relics is a cypress standing at Santa María de Tule, the venerable trunk of which measures ninety feet in circumference, at a height of six feet from the ground.[76]

One of the chief offerings of the Zapotecs was the blood of the, to them sacred, turkey; straws and feathers smeared with blood from the back of the ear, and from beneath the tongue of persons, also constituted a large portion of the sacred offerings, and were presented in special grass vessels. Human sacrifices were not common with the Oajacan people, but in case of emergency, captives and slaves were generally the victims. The usual mode of offering them was to tear out the heart, but in some places, as at Coatlan, they were cast into an abyss. Herrera states that men were offered to the gods, women to goddesses, and children to inferior deities, and that their bodies were eaten, but the latter statement is doubtful.[77]

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[75] *Burgoa*, *Geog. Descrip.*, tom. ii., pt ii., fol. 395; *Ferry*, *Costal L'Indien*, pp. 6–7.

[76] Some consider it to be composed of three trunks which have grown together, and the deep indentations certainly give it that appearance; but trees of this species generally present irregular forms. *Escalera* and *Llana*, *Méj. Hist. Descrip.*, pp. 221–5; *Charnay*, *Ruines Amér.*, phot. xviii.

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[77] *Hist. Gen.*, dec. iii., lib. iii., cap. xiv.; *Burgoa, Geog. Descrip.*, tom. ii., pt ii., fol. 282; *Mühlenpfordt, Mejico*, tom. ii., p. 194. Pontelli, who claims to have paid a visit to the forbidden retreats of the mountain Lacandones, a few years ago, mentions, among other peculiarities, a stone of sacrifice, interlaced by serpents, and covered with hieroglyphics, on which the heart of human beings were torn out. *Correo de Ultramar*, Paris 1860; *Cal. Farmer*, Nov. 7. 1862.

CHAPTER XI.

GODS, SUPERNATURAL BEINGS, AND WORSHIP.

Maya Pantheon—Zamná—Cukulcan—The Gods of Yucatan—The Symbol of the Cross in America—Human Sacrifices in Yucatan—Priests of Yucatan—Guatemalan Pantheon—Tepeu and Hurakan—Avilix and Hacavitz—The Heroes of the Sacred Book—Quiché Gods—Worship of the Choles, Manches, Itzas, Lacandones, and others—Tradition of Comizahual—Fasts—Priests of Guatemala—Gods, Worship, and Priests of Nicaragua—Worship on the Mosquito Coast—Gods and Worship of the Isthmians—Phallic Worship in America.

The religion of the Mayas was fundamentally the same as that of the Nahuas, though it differed somewhat in outward forms. Most of the gods were deified heroes, brought more or less prominently to the front by their importance. Occasionally we find very distinct traces of an older sun-worship, which has succumbed to later forms, introduced, according to vague tradition, from Anáhuac. The generality of this cult is testified to by the numerous representations of sun-plates and sun-pillars found among the ruins of Central America.[1]

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[1] 'Toda esta Tierra, con estotra, .. tenia vna misma manera de religion, y ritos, y si en algo diferenciaba, era, en mui poco.' 'Lo mismo fue de las Provincias de Quatimala, Nicaragua, y Honduras.' *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 54, 191. Tylor thinks that 'the civilizations of Mexico and Central America were originally independent, but that they came much in contact, and thus modified one another to no small extent.' *Anahuac*, p. 191. 'On reconnaît facilement que le culte y était partout basé sur le rituel toltèque, et que les formes mêmes ne différaient guère les unes des autres.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., p. 559.

In Yucatan, Hunab Ku, 'the only god', called also Kinehahau, 'the mouth or eyes of the sun',[2] is represented as the Supreme Being, the Creator, the Invisible one, whom no image can represent.[3] His spouse Ixazaluoh was honored as the inventor of weaving, and their sun Zamná, or Yaxcocahmut, one of the culture-heroes of the people, is supposed to have been the inventor of the art of writing.[4] The inquiries instituted by Las Casas revealed the existence of a trinity, the first person of which was Izona, the Great Father; the second was the Son of the Great Father, Bacab, born of the virgin Chibirias,[5] scourged and crucified, he descended into the realms of the dead, rose again the third day, and ascended into heaven; the third person of the trinity was Echuah, or Ekchuah, the Holy Ghost.[6] Now, to accuse the reverend Fathers of deliberately concocting this and other statements of a similar character is to accuse them of acts of charlatanism which no religious zeal could justify. On the other hand, that this mysterious trinity, this Maya Christ-myth, had any real existence in the original belief of the natives, is so improbable as to be almost impossible. It may be, however, that the natives, when questioned concerning their religion, endeavored to make it conform as nearly as possible to that of their conquerors, hoping by this means to gain the good will of their masters, and to lull suspicions of lurking idolatry.

Bacab, stated above to mean the Son of the Great Father, was in reality the name of four spirits who supported the firmament; while Echuah, or the Holy Ghost, was the patron god of merchants and travelers.

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[2] Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., p. 42, calls him the sun.

[3] Representations of the sun, with whom he seems to be identified, are not impossible to these peoples if we may judge from the sun-plates with lapping tongues and other representations found on the ruins in Mexico and Central America.

[4] 'Porque à este le llamaban tambien Ytzamnà.' *Cogolludo*, *Hist. Yuc.*, pp. 196, 192.

[5] The daughter of Ixchel, the Yucatec medicine goddess. *Brasseur de Bourborg*, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., p. 43. He writes the virgin's name as Chiribias. Ixchel seems to be the same as the Guatemalan Xmucané, mother of the gods.' *Id.*, *Quatre Lettres*, p. 243.

[6] *Las Casas*, *Hist. Apologética*, MS., cap. cxxiii.; *Cogolludo*, *Hist. Yuc.*, p. 190; *Remesal*, *Hist. Chyapa*, p. 246; *Torquemada*, *Monarq. Ind.*, tom. iii., p. 133.

The goddess Ixcanleox was held to be the mother of the gods, but as Cogolludo states that she had several names, she may possibly be identical with Ixazaluoh, the wife of Hunab Ku, whose name implies generation.[7] The Mayas were not behind their neighbors in the number of their lesser and special divinities, so that there was scarcely an animal or imaginary creature which they did not represent by sacred images. These idols, or *zemes*,[8] as they were called, were generally made of terra cotta, though sometimes they were of stone, gold, or wood. In the front rank of the circle of gods, known by the name of *ku*, were the deified kings and heroes, whom we often find credited with attributes so closely connected as to imply identity, or representation of varied phases of the same element.[9] The most popular names were Zamná and Cukulcan, both culture-heroes, and considered by some to be identical; a very probable supposition when we consider that Quetzalcoatl, who is admitted to be the same as Cukulcan, had the attribute of the strong hand, as well as Zamná. The tradition relates that some time after the fall of the Quinamean Empire, Zamná appeared in Yucatan, coming from the west, and was received with great respect wherever he stayed. Besides being the inventor of the alphabet, he is said to have named all points and places in the country. Over his grave rose a city called Izamal or Itzamat Ul, which soon became one of the chief centres of pilgrimage in the peninsula, especially for the afflicted, who sincerely believed that their prayers when accompanied by suitable presents would not fail to obtain a hearing. This class of devotees generally resorted to the temple where he was represented in the form of a hand, Kab Ul, or working hand, whose touch was sufficient to restore health.[10]

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[7] 'Celle de l'eau matrice d'embryon, *ix-a-zal-uoh*.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, MS. *Troano*, tom. ii., p. 258.

[8] 'Idolo, ò Zemi.' *Villagutierre, Hist Conq. Itza*, p. 33. 'Zemes which are the Images of their familiar and domesticall spirites.' *Peter Martyr*, dec. iv., lib. vi.

[9] 'Les dieux de l'Yucatan, disent Lizana et Cogolludo, étaient presque tous des rois plus ou moins bons que la gratitude ou la terreur avait fait placer au rang des divinités.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii , p. 20; *Landa, Relacion*, p. 158; *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, p. 198.

Professor Müller thinks it very uncertain whether the creating or working hand referred to the sun, as was the case among the northern tribes, but the account given of the following idol seems to me to make this not improbable. In the same city was an image of Kinich Kakmo, 'face or eye of the sun', whom Landa represents to be the offspring of the sun, but who subsequently became identified with that luminary and received divine honors in the very temple that he had erected to his father. He is represented in the act of sacrifice, pointing the finger toward a ray from the midday sun, as if to draw a spark wherewith to kindle the sacred fire. To this idol the people resorted in times of calamity and sickness, bringing offerings to induce oracular advice.[11] There are many things which seem to me to identify this personage with Zamná, although other writers hold them to be distinct. Cogolludo, for instance, implies that Zamná was the only son of the sun, or Supreme Being, while Landa and others declare Kinich Kakmo to be the son of that luminary; both are placed on or about the same level and considered as healers, and the uplifted hand of the latter reminds us strongly of the Kab Ul. Another form in which we may recognize

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[10] *Lizana*, in *Landa, Relacion*, p. 356; *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, p. 197; Brinton, *Myths*, p. 188, speaks of 'Zamna, or Cukulcan, lord of the dawn and four winds,' and connects him with Votan also. 'Il y a toute apparence qu'il était de la même race (as Votan) et que son arrivée eut lieu peu d'années après la fondation de la monarchie palenquéenne.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. i., p. 76, et seq. The hand in picture-writing signifies strength, power, mastery, and is frequently met with on Central American ruins, impressed in red color. Among the North American savages it was the symbol of supplication. Their doctors sometimes smeared the hand with paint and daubed it over the patient. *Schoolcraft*, in *Stephens' Yucatan*, vol. ii., pp. 476-8.

[11] Lizana, in *Landa, Relacion*, p. 360, translates the name as 'Sol con rostro que sus rayos eran de fuego,' *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, pp. 198, 178; *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, MS. *Troano*, p. 270; *Id., Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., pp. 5-6; *Müller, Amerikanische Urreligionen*, p. 475. In the syllable *mo* of the hero's name is found another reference to the sun, for *moo* is the Maya term for the bird *ara*, the symbol of the sun.

Zamná is the image of Itzamat Ul, or 'the dew of heaven', who is said to have been a great ruler, the son of god, and who cured diseases, raised the dead, and pronounced oracles. When asked his name, he replied, *ytzencaan, ytzenmuyal.*[12]

The other culture-hero, Cukulcan, appeared in Yucatan from the west, with nineteen followers, two of whom were gods of fishes, two gods of farms, and one of thunder, all wearing full beard, long robes, and sandals, but no head-covering. This event is supposed to have occurred at the very time that Quetzalcoatl disappeared in the neighboring province of Goazacoalco, a conjecture which, in addition to the similarity of the names, character, and work of the heroes, forms the basis for their almost generally accepted identity. Cukulcan stopped at several places in Yucatan, but at last settled in Chichen Itza, where he governed for ten years, and framed laws. At the expiration of this period, he left without apparent reason to return to the country whence he had come. A grateful people erected temples at Mayapan and Chichen, to which pilgrims resorted from all quarters to worship him as a god, and to drink of the waters in which he had bathed. His worship, although pretty general throughout Yucatan at one time, was later on confined chiefly to the immediate scenes of his labors.[13]

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[12] 'El que recibe, y possee la gracia, ò rozio del Cielo.' 'No conocian otro Dios Autor de la vida, sino à este.' *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, p. 179. 'Celui qui demande ou obtient la rosée ou la glace, ou rempli de l'eau en bras de glace, *itz-m-a-tul.*' *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, MS. *Troano*, tom. ii., p. 257; *Landa, Relacion*, pp. 284–5.

[13] After staying a short time at Potonchan, he embarked and nothing more was heard of him. The *Codex Chimalpopoca* states, however, that he died in Tlapallan, four days after his return. *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., p. 18. In another place this writer refers to three brothers, *itzaob*, 'saintly man,' who were probably sent by Quetzalcoatl to spread his doctrines, but who ultimately founded a monarchy. They also seem to throw a doubt on the identity of Cukulcan with Quetzalcoatl. 'Il n'y a pas à douter, toutefois, que, s'il est le même que Quetzalcohuatl, la doctrine aura été la même.' *Id.*, pp. 10–1, 43. Torquemada, *Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., p. 52, states that the Cocomes were his descendants, but as the hero never married, his disciples must rather be accepted as their ancestors. *Landa, Relacion*, pp. 35–9; 300–1: *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, dec. iv., lib. x., cap. ii. Veytia connects him with St. Thomas. *Hist. Antig. Mej.*, tom. i., pp. 195–8. Speaking of Cukulcan and his companions Las Casas says: 'A este llamaron Dios de las

Besides Izamal and Chichen, there was a third great centre of worship in Yucatan, namely, the temple of Ahulneb, on Cozumel Island, said by some writers to have been the chief sanctuary, Chichen being second in importance. It consisted of a square tower of considerable size, within which was the gigantic terra-cotta statue of Ahulneb, dressed as a warrior, and holding an arrow in his hand. The statue was hollow and set up close against an aperture in the wall, by which the priest entered the figure to deliver the oracle; should the prediction not be fulfilled, which was scarcely likely as it was generally so worded that it might mean anything or nothing, the failure was ascribed to insufficient sacrifice or unatoned sin. So famous did this oracle become, and so great was the multitude of pilgrims continually flocking to it, that it was found necessary to construct roads leading from the chief cities of Yucatan, and even from Tabasco and Guatemala, to Polé, a town on the continent opposite the island. Before embarking, the genius of the sea was always propitiated by the sacrifice of a dog, which was slain with arrows amid music and dancing.[14]

The Bacabs were four brothers who supported the four corners of the firmament; they were also regarded as air gods. Cogolludo speaks of them as Zacal Bacab, Canal Bacab, Chacal Bacab, and Ekel Bacab, but they were also known by other names. Echuah was the patron-god of merchants and of roads; to him the traveler erected every night a rude altar of six stones, three laid flat, and three set upright, upon which he burned incense while he invoked the protection of the god. It

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fiebres ò Calenturas....Los cuales mandaban que se confesasen las gentes y ayunasen; y que algunos ayunaban el viernes porque habia muerto aquel dia Bacab; y tiene por nombre aquel dia Himis.' *Hist. Apologética*, MS., cap. cxxiii. '*Kukulcan*, vient de *kuk*, oiseau qui paraît être le même que le quetzal; son déterminatif est *kukul* qui uni à *can*, serpent, fait exactement le même mot que *Quetzal Cohuatl*, serpent aux plumes vertes, ou de Quetzal.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, in *Landa*, *Relacion*, p. 35.

[14] *Gomara*, *Conq. Mex.*, fol. 22; *Landa*, *Relacion*, p. 158; *Cogolludo*, *Hist. Yuc.*, p. 202; *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., pp. 46-7. 'Se tenian por santificados los que alla auian estado,' *Herrera*, *Hist. Gen.*, dec. iv., lib. x., cap. iv.

was considered a religious duty by Yucatec wayfarers, when passing some prominent point on the road or spot where an image of Echuah stood, to add a stone or two to the heap already accumulated there, an act of devotion similar to that performed by the Romans in honor of Mercury. Yuncemil was Lord of Death, or, perhaps, the personification of death itself; this dread deity was propitiated with offerings of food.[15] Acat was God of Life; he it was that formed the infant in the womb. At Tihoo, the present Mérida, stood the magnificent temple of Yahau Kuna in which Baklum Chaam, the Priapus of the Mayas and their most ancient god was worshiped. Chac, or Chaac, a former king of Izamal, was honored as the god of fields, and fertility, and the inventor of agriculture. Some distance south-west of this city was the temple of Hunpictok, 'commander of eight thousand lances', a title given also to the general of the army.[16] Abchuy Kak was another apotheosized warrior-prince, whose statue, dressed in royal robes, was borne in the van of the army by four of the most illustrious captains, and received an ovation all along the route. Yxchebelyax is mentioned as the inventor of the art of interweaving figures in cloth, and of painting. Xibalba, 'he who disappears,' was the name of the evil spirit. Exquemelin relates that nagualism obtained on the coast. The naked child was placed on a bed of ashes in the temple, and the animal whose footprint was noticed in the ashes, was adopted as the nagual, and to it the child offered incense as it grew up.[17]

One of the most remarkable emblems of Maya worship, in the estimation of the conquerors, was the cross, which has also been noticed in other parts of Central America and in Mexico,[18] although less prominently than here. Among the many conjectures as to its origin it is supposed that it was received from Spaniards who were wrecked on the coast before Córdova discovered Yucatan, as, for instance, the pious Aguilar, Cortés' interpreter; but this would not account for the crosses that existed in other parts of Central America. The natives had a tradition, however, which placed the introduction of the cross a few years before the conquest. Among the many prophets who arose at that time was one who predicted the coming of a strange people from the direction of the rising sun, who would bring with them a monotheistic faith having the cross for its emblem. He admonished them to accept the new religion, and erected a cross as a token of his prophecy.[19] Another tradition states that a very handsome man passed through the country and left the cross as a memento, and this many of the padres readily believed, declaring this personage to be none other than the wanderer St Thomas.[20] The opinion that it was introduced by early Christians, or old-world pagans, is, however, opposed by the argument that other more practical features of their culture would have left their mark at the same time. The symbol itself is so simple and suggestive of so many ideas that it seems to me most reasonable to suppose that the natives adopted it without foreign aid. At all events, as the cross was in use both as a religious emblem and an instrument of punishment long before the Christian era, it is surely unnecessary to account for its presence in America by Christ-myths invented for the occasion, or, in fact, in any way to connect it with Christianity. The most common signification attributed to the symbol is fertility or generation. A piece of wood fastened horizontally to an upright beam indicated the height of the overflow of the Nile. If the flood reached this mark, the crops flourished; should it fail to do so, famine was the result; thus, we are told, in Egypt the cross came to be worshipped as a symbol of life and generation, or feared as an image of decay and death. By other peoples and for other reasons it was closely connected with phallic rites, of which I shall speak elsewhere, or was connected with the worship of that great fertilizer and life-giver, the sun. Among the Chinese the cross signifies conception. The cross of Thor may possibly be an exception, and refer merely to his hammer or thunderbolt.[21]

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[15] Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., p. 50, calls the god of death Rakalku. *Baeza*, in *Registro Yuc.*, tom. i., pp. 168–9, mentions a transparent stone called *zatzun*, by means of which hidden things and causes of diseases could be discovered.

[16] 'Cette divinité paraît être la même que le *Tihax* des Quichés et Cakchiquels, le *Tecpatl* des Mexicains, la lance ou la flèche.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, in *Landa, Relacion*, p. 363.

[17] *Zee-Rovers*, p. 64; *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, pp. 178, 190–1, 196–7; *Landa, Relacion*, pp. 206–8; *Lizana*, in *Id.*, pp. 356–64; *Ternaux-Compans*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1843, tom. xcvii., pp. 40–4; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. i., pp. 17, 32; *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, pp. 245–6; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat, Civ.*, tom. ii., pp. 4–10, 20, 42–50.

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[18] 'Tra le Croci sono celebri quelle di Jucatan, della Mizteca, di Queretaro, di Tepique, e di Tianquiztepec.' *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 14. There were also crosses at Palenque, on San Juan de Ulloa, at Copan, in Nicaragua, and other places. 'Die Tolteken haben nämlich die Verehrung des Kreuzes mit durchaus bewusster Beziehung desselben auf den Regen, von der alten Urbevölkerung aufgenommen.' *Müller, Amerikanische Urreligionen*, pp. 498–9; *Palacio, Carta*, p. 88.

[19] This and other prophecies, which, if not mere fabrications, bear at least marks of mutilation and addition, may be found in *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. iii., pp. 132–3; *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, pp. 245–6; *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, pp. 99–100; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., pp. 603–6. Brinton thinks that they may refer to 'the return of Zammá, or Kuckulcan, lord of the dawn and the four winds, worshipped at Cozumel ....under the sign of the cross.' *Myths*, p. 188. The report circulated by Aguilar of his people and of the cross, may have given the prophets a clue.

[20] 'The formation of such an opinion by the Spaniards seems to shew almost conclusively, that the aborigines of the country did not retain any traditional history on the subject that would justify the simple belief, that Catholic Europeans had ever possessed influence enough among them to have established so important a feature in their superstitious observances.' *McCulloh, Researches in Amer.*, p. 327. 'Afirmaban que por que habia muerto en ella un hombre mas replandeciente que el sol.' *Las Casas, Hist. Apologética*, MS., cap. cxxiii; *Peter Martyr*, dec. iv., lib. i.

With the Mexicans the cross was a symbol of rain, the fertilizing element, or rather of the four winds, the [illegible]arers of rain, and as such it was one of Quetzalcoatl's [illegible]lems. Chalchiuitlicue, the sister of the rain-gods, [illegible] in her hands a cross-shaped vessel. The cross is to [illegible]ound in Mexican MSS., and appears in that of Fejérvary with a bird, which, as an inhabitant of the air, may be said to accord with the character of the symbol. The Mexican name of the cross, *tonacaquahuitl*, 'tree of one life, or flesh,' certainly conveys the idea of fertility. It is nevertheless regarded by some writers merely as an astronomical sign.[22] The first cross noticed by the Spaniards stood within the turreted courtyard of a temple on Cozumel Island; it was composed of lime and stone, and was ten spans (palmos) in height. To this cross the natives prayed for rain, and in times of drought went in procession to offer *vahomche*, as they called the symbol, quails and other propitiatory gifts. Another cross stood within the precincts of the Spanish cloister at Mérida, whither the pious monks had most likely brought it from Cozumel; it was about three feet high, six inches thick, and had another cross sculptured on its face.[23] The sculptured cross at Palenque has the latin form; a bird is perched on its apex, and on either side stands a human figure, apparently priests, one of whom offers it a child.[24]

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[21] Mr Godfrey Higgins, in his *Celtic Druids*, p. 126, says: 'Few causes have been more powerful in producing mistakes in ancient history, than the idea, hastily taken up by Christians in all ages, that every monument of antiquity marked with a cross, or with any of those symbols which they conceived to be monograms of Christ, were of Christian origin. . . . The cross is as common in India as in Egypt, and Europe,' Mr Maurice, in his *Indian Antiquities*, vol. ii., p. 361, writes: 'Let not the piety of the Catholic Christian be offended at the preceding assertion that the cross was one of the most usual symbols among the hieroglyphics of Egypt and India.' The emblem of universal nature is equally honored in the Gentile and Christian world. 'In the cave at Elephanta, in India, over the head of the principal figure, again may be seen this figure (the cross), and a little in the front the huge Lingham' (phallus).

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[22] Constantio holds it to be a symbol of the solstices. *Malte-Brun, Précis de la Géog.*, tom. vi., pp. 464–5; *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. ii., pp. 354–6; *Waldeck, Voy. Pitt.*, p. 24; *Müller, Amerikanische Urreligionen*, pp. 497–500; *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. iii., pp. 133, 200–6, 299; *M'Culloh's Researches*, pp. 331–6; *Klemm, Cultur-Geschichte*, tom. v., p. 143; *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, fol. 63. Brinton refers to a statement that the Mexicans had cruciform graves, and supposes that this referred to four spirits of the world who were to carry the deceased to heaven, but there seems to be a mistake on both of these points. *Myths*, pp. 95–8; *Gould's Curious Myths*, vol. ii., p. 79, et seq.; *Cox's Mythology of Aryan Nations*, vol. ii., pp. 369–72. Some of the crosses referred to lack the head piece, and being of this shape, **T**, resemble, so[illegible]what, a Mexican coin.

[23] 'No solo se hallò vna Cruz, sino algunas.' *Cogolludo, Hist. Yu*[illegible] 199–302; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Conq.*, fol. 3; *Hererra, Hist. Gen.*, dec. [illegible] iii., cap. i.; *Gomara, Conq. Mex.*, fol. 24. Stephens found a cross [illegible] church of Mejorada, in Mérida, which an old monk had dug out of the [illegible] of a church on Cozumel Island. 'The connecting of the "Cozumel Cross with the ruined church on the island completely invalidates the strongest proof offered at this day that the cross was ever recognized by the Indians as a symbol of worship.' *Yucatan*, vol. ii., pp. 377–8. Rather a hasty assertion when made in the face of so many old authorities.

[24] This seems to confirm the idea that it was worshiped, yet Constantio regards it as a representation of the birth of the sun in the winter solstice, and holds the ruin to which the cross belongs to be a sun temple. *Malte-Brun, Précis de la Géog.*, tom. vi., pp. 464–5; *Müller, Amerikanische Urreligionen*, p. 498; *Stephen's Cent. Amer.*, vol. i., pp. 345–8. Squier, who denies that the Tonacaquahuitl was intended to represent a cross, thinks that the Palenque cross merely represents one of these trees with the branches placed crosswise. *Palacio, Carta*, pp. 120–1; Jones, *Hist. Anc. Amer.*, p. 149, et seq, who identifies almost every feature of Central American worshi

The Yucatecs were as careful as the Mexicans to prepare for their numerous festivals by fasts marked by strict chastity and absence from salt and pepper.[25] Scarification could not be omitted by the pious on these occasions, although women were not called upon to draw blood.[26] Yet their gods were not by any means so bloodthirsty as the Mexican, being generally appeased by the blood of animals, and human sacrifices were called for only on extraordinary occasions. Cukulcan, like his prototype Quetzalcoatl, doubtless opposed the shedding of human blood, but after his departure the practice certainly existed, and the pit at Chichen Itza, whose waters he had consecrated with his person, was among the first places to be polluted. The victims here were generally young virgins, who were charged when they should come into the presence of the gods to entreat them for the needed blessings. Medel relates that on one occasion the victim threatened to invoke the most terrible evils upon the people, instead of blessings, if they sacrificed her against her will; the perplexed priests thought it prudent to let the girl go, and select another and more tractable sacrifice in her place. The victims who died under the knife, or were tied to a tree and shot, were usually enslaved captives, especially those of rank, but when these failed, criminals and even children were substituted. All contributed to these sacrifices, either by presenting slaves and children, or by subscribing to the purchase money. While awaiting this doom the victims were well treated, and conducted from town to town amid great rejoicings; care was taken, however, that no sinful act should detract from their purity or

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with the Phœnician, asserts that the Palenque cross proves the Tyrian origin of the aborigines.

[25] Cogolludo says, however: 'Solian ayunar dos, y tres dias, sin comer cosa alguna.' *Hist. Yuc.*, p. 194.

[26] These mutilations were at times very severe. 'Otras vezes hazian un suzio y penoso sacrificio añudandose los que lo hazian en el templo, donde puestas en rengla, se hazian sendos aguzeros en los miembros viriles al sos layo por el lado, y hechos passavan toda la mas cantidad de hilo que podian, quedando assi todos asidos.' *Landa*, *Relacion*, pp. 162-2. This author thinks that the practice of slitting the prepuce gave rise to the idea that circumcision existed in Yucatan.

value.[27] Sometimes the body was eaten, says Landa, the feet, hands and head being given to the priests, the rest to the chiefs and others; but Cogolludo and Gomara insist that cannibalism was not practiced. The latter statement can not apply to the whole of the peninsula, however, for on a preceding page Cogolludo relates that Aguilar's shipwrecked companions were sacrificed and eaten by the natives.[28]

Confession, which Cukulcan is said to have introduced, was much resorted to, the more so as death and disease were thought to be direct punishments for sin committed. Married priests were the regular confessors, but these were not always applied to for spiritual aid; the wife would often confess to her husband, or a husband to his wife, or sometimes a public avowal was made. Mental sins however, says Landa, were not confessed.[29]

The priesthood of Yucatan were divided into different factions, some of which regarded Zamná and Cukulcan as their respective founders, while others remained true to more ancient leaders. According to Landa the high-priest was termed Ahkin Mai, or Ahau Can Mai, and held in great veneration, as one whose advice was followed by the kings and grandees. The revenues of the office, which passed as an inheritance to the son or nearest relative, consisted of presents from the king and of tributes collected by the priests. The ordinary priests bore the title of *ahkin*,[30] and were divided into several classes. Some of them preached, made offerings, kept records, and instructed the sons of nobles and those destined for the priesthood in the various branches of education. The *chilanes* who construed the oracles of the gods, and accordingly exercised great influence, held the highest place in the estimation of the people, before whom they appeared in state, borne in litters. The sorcerers and medicine men foretold fortunes and cured diseases. The *chacs* were four old men elected at every celebration to assist the priests, from which it would seem that the priesthood was not a very numerous body. *nacon* was the title of the sacrificer, an office held for life, but little esteemed; this title was also borne by the general of the army, who assisted at certain festivals. Marriage seems to have been permitted to all, and confessors were actually required to have wives, yet there were doubtless a large number who lived in a state of celibacy, devoted to their sacred duties. Their dress varied according to their rank, the high-priest being distinguished by a mitre in addition to his peculiar robe; the most usual dress was, however, a large white cotton robe[31] and a turban formed by wreathing the unwashed hair round the head, and keeping it pasted in that position with blood. Connected with the sun worship was an order of vestals, formed by princess Zuhui Kak, 'fire virgin,' the daughter of Kinich Kakmo, superioress of the vestals. The members were all volunteers, who generally enrolled themselves for a certain time, at the expiration of which they were allowed to leave and enter the married state; some, however, remained for ever in the service of the temple, and were apotheosized. Their duty was to tend the sacred fire, the emblem of the sun, and to keep strictly chaste; those who broke their vows were shot to death with arrows.[32]

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[27] *Landa*, *Relacion*, pp. 161–8; *Cogolludo*, *Hist. Yuc.*, pp. 193–4; *Medel*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1843, tom. xcvii., p. 43; vol. ii., pp. 704–5, of this work. 'For want of children they sacrifice dogges.' *Peter Martyr*, dec. iv., lib. vi. 'El numero de la gente sacrificada era mucho: y esta costumbre fue introduzida en Yucatan, por los Mexicanos.' 'Flechauan algunas vezes al sacrificado....desollauanlos, vestiase el sacerdote el pellejo, y baylauo, y enterrauan el cuerpo en el patio del templo.' *Herrera*, *Hist. Gén.*, dec. iv., lib. x., cap. iii., iv. Tradition relates that in a cave near Uxmal existed a well like that of Chichen, guarded by an old woman, the builder of the dwarf palace in that city, who sold the water for infants, and these she cast before the snake at her side. *Stephens' Cent. Amer.*, vol ii., p. 425.

[28] *Landa*, *Relacion*, p. 165; *Cogolludo*, *Hist. Yuc.*, pp. 25, 180; *Gomara*, *Hist. Ind.*, fol. 62.

[29] *Relacion*, p. 154; *Herrera*, *Hist. Gen.*, dec. iv., lib. x., cap. iv. For description of baptismal rites, see vol. ii., pp. 682–4, of this work.

[30] 'Que se deriva de un verbo *kinyah*, que significa "sortear ó echar suertes."' *Lizana*, in *Landa*, *Relacion*, p. 362.

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[31] 'Longues robes noires.' *Morelet, Voyage*, tom. i., p. 168.

[32] *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, p. 198; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., p. 6; *Ternaux-Compans*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1843, tom. xcvii., pp. 39–41. Temples are described in vol. ii., pp. 791–3, of this work.

The chief account of Guatemalan worship is derived from the sacred book of the Quichés, the *Popol Vuh*, to which I have already referred in the opening pages of this volume, but the description given in it is so confused, the names and attributes of the gods so mixed, that no very reliable conclusions can be derived therefrom. This very confusion seems, however, to indicate that the imported names of Hurakan, Gucumatz, and others, were with their attributes attached to native heroes, who undergo the most varying fortunes and character, amid which now and then a glance is obtained at their original form.

The most ancient of the gods are two persons called Hun Ahpu Vuch and Hun Ahpu Utïu, or Xpiyacoc and Xmucane, Creator and Protector, Grandfather and Grandmother of the sun and moon, who are often confounded under either gender and represented with big noses, like tapirs, an animal sacred to these people. Brasseur identifies them with the Mexican Oxomoco and Cipactonal,[33] Tonacatlecutli and Tonacatepetl, Ometecutli and Omecihuatl, the female also with Centeotl and Toci, and places her in the Quiché calendar as Hun Ahpu, while the male heads the list of months under the name of Imox.[34] Connected with them stands Tepeu, termed by the sacred book Dominator, He who Begets, and whose name means grand, majestic. Ximenez, by translating his name as buboes, or syphilis, connects him with Nanahuatzin, the Nahua hero who threw himself into the fire and rose as the sun.[35] Tepeu is more generally known under the name of Gucumatz, 'feathered snake,' which is universally identified with Quetzalcoatl, the Nahua air god. In this character he is said to transform himself every seven days into four forms, snake, eagle, tiger, a mass of coagulated blood, one after the other, and every seven days he visits heaven and hell alternately. He is also held to be the introducer of culture in Guatemala, though more as one who directs man in his search for improvement, than as a culture-hero.[36] These two gods blending into one, often form a trinity with Hun Ahpu Vuch and Hun Ahpu Utïu, under the one name of Gucumatz, the Heart of Heaven. The assumption by this god of four forms may have reference to the divine quartette, and in the expression "they are enveloped in a mist of green and azure," Brasseur de Bourbourg sees a reference to the sacred bundle containing the four first men and sacrifices, transformed into gods.[37]

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[33] 'Célèbres dans toutes les traditions d'origine toltèque, comme les pères du soleil et de la magie.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. i., p. 120.

[34] '*Hun-Ahpu-Vuch* un Tireur de Sarbacane au Sarigue et *Hun-Ahpu-Utiu* un Tireur de Sarbacane au Chacal.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, *Popl Vuh*, pp. cxviii., cxix, pp. 2–5. They are also referred to as conjurers. *Id.*, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. i., p. 54. Ximenez spells the latter name Hun-ahpu-uhú, and states that they are held as oracles. *Hist. Ind. Guat.*, pp. 4, 156–8, 82. Las Casas, *Hist. Apologítica*, MS., cap. cxxiv. refers to these beings as having been adored under the name of grandfather and grandmother before the deluge, but later on a woman appeared who taught them to call the gods by other names. This woman, Brasseur de Bourbourg holds to be the traditional and celebrated queen Atit, from whom Atitlan volcano obtained its name, and from whom the princely families of Guatemala have descended. The natives still recall her name, but as that of a phantom. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., pp. 74–5. He further finds considerable similarity between her and Aditi of the Veda. In his solution of the Antilles cataclysm he identifies Xmucane as the South American part of the continent and Xpiyacoc as North America. *Quatre Lettres*, pp. 223–4. 235–8. Garcia, *Origen de los Ind.*, pp. 329–30, calls these first beings Xchmel and Xtmana, and gives them three sons, who create all things. In the younger of these we recognize the two legitimate sons of Hunhun Ahpu, who will be described later on as the patrons of the fine arts.

Hurakan,[38] although connected with the above quartette in the enumeration of titles of the supreme deity, keeps aloof from the lower sphere in which these move at times, and is even invoked by Gucumatz, who calls him, among other names, Creator, he who begets and gives being. That he was held to be distinct, and worshiped as such by the Quichés, may be seen from the fact that they had one high-priest for Gucumatz, and another for Tohil, another name of Hurakan, who seems to have ranked a degree above the former.[39] He represented the thunder and lightning, and his particular title seems to have been Heart of Heaven, under which were included the three phases of his attribute, the thunder, the lightning, and the thunderbolt, or, as stated in another place, the flash, the track of the lightning, and the thunderbolt,[40] another conception of a trinity. He is also called Centre of the Earth and is represented with thunder in his hand. The bird Voc was his messenger. Müller considers him a sun god, probably because of his title 'Heart of Heaven,' which determines nothing, while others hold him to be identical with the Tlalocs, the Mexican rain gods. He is doubtless the same as Tohil, the leader of the Quiché gods, who is represented by the sign of water, but whose name signifies rumble, clash.[41] In him are also found united the three symbols of Quiché trinity, as will be seen shortly, and his priests address him: "Hail, Beauty of the Day, Hurakan, Heart of Heaven and of Earth! Thou who givest glory, riches and children! Thou Tohil, Avilix, Gagavitz, Bowels of Heaven, Bowels of Earth! Thou who dost constitute the four ends of Heaven!"[42] He was also god of fire, and as such gave his people fire by shaking his sandals.[43] According to the version of

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[35] To be aflicted with buboes implied the possession of many women and consequently wealth and grandeur. *Hist. Ind. Guat.*, p. 157; see this vol. p. 60; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Popol Vuh.*, p. 3.

[36] Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Popol Vuh.*, p. 315, does not understand why Ximenez, *Hist. Ind. Guat.*, p. 125, translates heaven and Xibalba as heaven and hell, but as both terms doubtless refer to provinces, or towns, it is better to retain the figurative name. Xibalba is, besides, derived from the same source as the Xibilba 'demon' of the Yucatecs. Brasseur translates: 'Chaque sept (jours) il montait au ciel et en sept (jours) il faisait le chemin pour descendre à Xibalba,' while Ximenez with more apparent correctness renders: 'Siete dias se subia al cielo y siete dias se iba al infierno.' In *Quatre Lettres*, p. 228, the Abbé explains Xibalba as hell. See also vol. ii., pp. 715-7, of this work.

[37] *Popol Vuh.*, p. cxvii.-cxx., 7, 9; see this vol., pp. 48-54. The occurrence of the number 4 in mythical and historical accounts of Mexico and Central America is very frequent.

[38] 'Parait venir des Antilles, où il désignait la tempête et le grondement de l'orage.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Popol Vuh.*, p. 8.

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[39] *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., p. 496.

[40] Garcilaso says: 'C'est encore l'idée du Tonnerre, de l'Eclair et de la Foudre, contenus dans un seul *Hurakan*, le centre, le coeur du ciel, la tempête, le vent, le souffle.' *Comentarios Reales*, lib. ii., cap. xxiii., lib. iii., cap. xxi., lib. iii.; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Popol Vuh.*, p. ccxxxv., 9; *Id.*, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. i., p. 51.

[41] Ximenez dit qu'il signifie *Pluie*, *Averse*: mais il confond ici le nom du dieu avec le signe. *Toh*,....est rendu par le mot *paga*, paie, *pagar*, payer. Mais le MS. *Cakchiquel*....dit que les Quichés reçurent celui de *Tohohil*, qui signifie grondement, bruit,' etc. *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Popol Vuh*, p. 214. He seems identical with the Maya Hunpictok.

[42] *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., p, 553, tom. i., p. 128.

[43] Brinton, *Myths*, pp. 156–7, who holds Hurakan to be the Tlaloc, connects Tohil with Quetzalcoatl—ideas taken most likely from Brasseur de Bourbourg—states that he was represented by a flint. This must refer

Brasseur de Bourbourg, his temple at Utatlan, where he seems to have taken the place of an ancient god, was a truncated pyramid with extremely steep steps in the façade. On its summit was a temple of great height, built of cut stone, and with a roof of precious woods; the walls within and without were covered with fine, brilliant stucco of extreme hardness. In the midst of the most splendid surroundings sat the idol, on a throne set with precious stones. His priests perpetually prayed and burnt precious incense before him, relieving each other in bands of thirteen, so that while some attended to his service, the others fasted to prepare for it. The chief men of the kingdom also attended in bands of eighteen, to invoke his blessing for them and their provinces, nine fasting, while nine offered incense.[44] Tohil, and the other members of the trinity, Avilix and Hacavitz, or Gagavitz, who also represent the thunder, the lightning, and the thunderbolt, were the family gods given by the Creator to the founders of the Quiché race, and though they afterwards became stone, they could still assume other shapes in conformity with the supreme will. As family gods they had special temples in the palace of the princes, where their regular service was conducted, and three mountain peaks bearing their names, served to keep them before the people.[45] The flint with which Brinton identifies Tohil may, perhaps, be the black stone brought from the far east, and venerated in the temple

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to his traditional transformation into a stone, for the Abbé declares, that no description of his idol is given by the chroniclers. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., p. 552. Now, although the Abbé declares Tohil to be the same as Quetzalcoatl, in the *Pohol Vuh*, p. 214, and other places, he acknowledges that the tradition positively identifies him with Hurakan, and confirms this by explaining on p. cclxvii., that Tohil, sometimes in himself, sometimes in connection with the two other members of the trinity, combines the attributes of thunder, flash, and thunderbolt; further, he gives a prayer by the Tohil priests in which this god is addressed as Hurakan. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., p. 553. Gucumatz, the acknowledged representative of Quetzalcoatl, is, besides, shown to be distinct from Tohil. Every point, therefore, tradition, name, attributes, connect Tohil and Hurakan, and identify them with Tlaloc.

[44] *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., pp. 552–3.

[45] *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, *Popol Vuh*, p. cclxvii., 235; *Id.*, *Hist Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., p. 554. The turning into stone 'veut dire que les trois principaux volcans s'éteignirent ou cessèrent de lancer leurs feux.' *Id.*, *Quatre Lettres.* p. 331.

of Kahba, 'house of sacrifice,' at Utatlan. but there is no confirmation by the chroniclers. It is, besides, stated that the worship of Kahba had greatly declined, but was again restored to something like its former glory by Gucumatz; Tohil, on the other hand, always stood high, and his high-priest belonged to a different family.[46] A similar stone existed in a temple situated in a deep ravine near Iximche, in whose polished face the gods made known their will. This stone was often used to determine the fate of those accused of crime; if the judges perceived no change in the stone the prisoner went free.[47]

We now come to the heroes with whose adventures the *Popol Vuh* is chiefly occupied. From the union of the Grandfather and Grandmother who head the list of Quiché deities, proceeded two sons, Hunhun Ahpu and Vukab Hun Ahpu.[48] They incur the suspicion and hatred of the princes of Xibalba, who plan their downfall and for this purpose invite them to their court, under the pretence of playing a game of ball with them. On their arrival they are subjected to various indignities and finally condemned to lose their heads. The head of Hunhun Ahpu is placed between the withered branches of a calabash-tree; but lo! a miracle takes place; the tree immediately becomes laden with fruit and the head turns into a calabash. Henceforth the tree is held sacred and the king commands that none shall touch it. Xquiq, however, a royal princess, Eve-like, disregards the injunction, and approaches to pluck the fruit. As she stretches forth her arm, Hunhun Ahpu spits into her hand, and Xquiq finds herself pregnant. Her father soon perceives her condition, and in a fury condemns her to death, telling the executioners to bring him the heart of his daughter to prove that they have done their duty. While being led to the wood Xquiq pleads earnestly for her life, and finally prevails upon her executioners to deceive her father by substituting for her heart the jelly-like resin of a tree, which she procures. Xquiq proceeds to Utatlan, to the Grandmother, Xmucane, and gives birth to the twins Hun Ahpu and Xbalanque,[49] who develop rapidly; their superior talents soon make their elder brothers jealous, and they attempt their destruction, but the twins anticipate their designs and transform them into apes. These brothers Hun Batz and Hun Chouen, were the sons of Hunhun Ahpu by Xbakiyalo, and were invoked as the patrons of the fine arts[50]. Brasseur de Bourbourg explains this myth by saying that Hunhun Ahpu denotes the Nahua immigrants who by their superiority gain the women of the country, and whose children carry on a successful struggle with the aboriginal race. The continuance of the contest and the triumph of the Nahuas is described in the adventures of Hun Ahpu and Xbalanque. A rat reveals to them their origin, and the place where the ball-game implements of their father are hidden. They play a match with the Xibalba princes who had challenged their father, and are successful in this as well as several herculean tasks assigned to them, but are nevertheless burned.[51] The ashes, thrown into the water, are transformed into two handsome young men, and then into man-fishes, a reference, perhaps, to the arrival by sea of allies to help them. Again they make their appearance in Xibalba, this time as conjurers, and lay their plans so skillfully as to overthrow the Prince Vukub Cakix with his adherents, and obtain the apotheosis of their father and his adherents as sun, moon, and stars. Vukub Cakix, who represents the sun, may be taken as the representative of an older sun-worship replaced by the newer cult introduced by Hun Ahpu.[52] The burning of this hero agrees with that of the Mexican Nanahuatzin who by this act became a sun. In fact, Brasseur de Bourbourg considers the whole as a version of the Nahua myth. From another point of view Hun Ahpu, whose name, signifying 'sarbacan-blower or air-shooter,' suits the attribute of the air-god, may be considered as the morning wind dispersing the clouds and disclosing the splendors of the sun.[53]

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[46] *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., p. 497, 75; *Id., Popol Vuh*, p. cclxii.; see note 7.

[47] *Id., Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., p. 521; *Juarros' Hist. Guat.*, p. 384.

[48] '*Hunhun-Ahpu* signifie Chaque Tireur de Sarbacane; *Vukub-Hun-Ahpu*, Sept un Tireur de Sarbacane.' *Brasseur de Bourboury, Popol Vuh*, p. cxxxv. Their chief name Ahpu 'désigne la puissance volcanique.' *Id., Quatre Lettres*, p. 225.

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[49] Hun Ahpu, a sarbacan shooter. '*Xbalenque*, de *balam*, tigre, jaguar; le *que* final est un signe pluriel, et le *x* qui précède, prononcez *sh* (anglais), est alternativement un diminutif ou un signe féminin.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Popol Vuh*, p. cxxxv. *Ximenez, Hist. Ind. Guat.*, pp. 146–7, 156, remarks the similarity of these personages to the God son and virgin of the Christians.

[50] '*Hun-Bats*, Un Singe (ou un Fileur); *Hun-Chouen*, un qui se blanchit, ou s'embellit.' They seem to correspond to the Mexican Ozomatli and Piltzintecutli. *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Popol Vuh*, pp. cxxxv., 69, 117. The *ba* in Hun-Batz refers to something underground, or deep down, and Hun-Chouen '"Une Souris cachée" ou "un lac en sentinelle."' Both names indicate the disordered condition and movement of a region (the Antilles). *Id., Quatre Lettres*, pp. 227–9.

[51] 'Les deux frères, s'étant embrassés, s'élancent dans les flammes.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. i., p. 137.

In the *Quatre Lettres*, the Abbé takes another view of the myth, and sees in it but a version of the convulsions that take place in the Antilles, the Seven Grottos of the Mexican myth, of which I have spoken in a preceding chapter. Hunhun Ahpu, Vukub Hun Ahpu, and the two legitimate sons of the former are volcanoes, and their plays, death, and transformation, are earthquakes, extinction, and upheavals. The burning of Hun Ahpu and Xbalanque and the scattering of their ashes upon the waters is the final catastrophe, the sinking of the Atlantides, or the seven islands; and as the brothers rise again in the form of beautiful young men, so do new islands take the place of those destroyed. The confirmation of this he finds in a tradition current on the islands, which speaks of certain upheavals similar to the above.[54]

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[52] Vukub Cakix, 'seven aras,' a type of the sun, although declared in one place to have usurped the solar attribute, seems to have been worshiped as the sun; his two sons, Zipacna and Cabrakan, represent respectively the creator of the earth and the earthquake, which confirms their father's high position. *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Popol Vuh*, pp. 31-9, cciv., ccliii.

[53] The allegorical account of these events is related on pp. 31 to 192 of *Popol Vuh*, and Brasseur's remarks are given on pages cxxxiv. to cxl. Juarros, *Hist. Guat.*, p. 164, states that Hun Ahpu discovered the use of cacao and cotton, which is but another indication of the introduction of culture. According to Las Casas, Xbalanque descends into hell, Xibalba, where he captures Satan and his chief men, and when the devil implores the hero not to bring him to the light, he kicks him back with the curse that all things rotten and abhorrent may cling to him. When he returns, his people do not receive him with due honor, and he accordingly leaves for other parts. *Hist. Apologética*, MS., cap. cxxiv,; *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 53-4.

The Quichés had a multitude of other gods and genii, who controlled the elements and exercised their influence upon the destinies of man. The places where they most loved to linger were dark quiet spots, in the undisturbed silence of the grotto, at the foot of some steep precipice, beneath the shade of mighty trees, especially where a spring trickled forth between its roots, and on the summit of the mountains; and here the simple native came to pour out his sorrow, and to offer his sacrifice. In some places this idea of seclusion was carried to such an extent that idols were kept hidden in subterranean chapels, that they might not be disturbed or the people become too familiar with them; another reason, however, was to prevent their being stolen by other villagers. The god of the road had sanctuaries, called *mumah*, all along the highways, especially at the junctions, and the traveler in passing never failed to rub his legs with a handful of grass, upon which he afterwards spat with great respect, and deposited it upon the altar together with a small stone, believing that this act of piety would give him renewed strength. He also left a small tribute from his stock of food or merchandise, which remained to decay before the idol, for none dared to remove it. This custom was also observed in Nicaragua.

The household gods were termed *chahalha*, 'guardian of the house,' and to them incense was burned and sacrifice made during the erection of a building; when finished, a corner in the interior was consecrated to their use. They seem to have been identified with the spirit of departed friends, for occasionally a corpse was buried beneath the house to insure their presence.[55]

Among the more superstitious highlanders, the ancient worship has retained its hold upon the population to a great extent, in spite of the efforts of the padres. Scherzer tells us that the people of Istlavacan reverenced gods of reason, health, sowing, and others, under the names of Noj, Ajmak, Kanil, and Ik, who were generally embodied in natural features, as mountains, or big trees. They recognized an Ormuzd and an Ahriman in Kij, the god of light and good principle, opposed by Juiup, the god of earth and evil principle, who was represented by a rock, three feet high and one foot thick, supposed to be a distorted human face. The native priests generally took the horoscope, and appointed a nagual, or guardian spirit for their children, before the padres were allowed to baptize them. They are said to have sacrificed infants, scattering their heart's blood upon a stone before the idol, and burying the body in the woods to avoid detection.[56]

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[54] *Quatre Lettres*, pp. 225–53; see this vol. 261–4.

[55] On one occasion the people 'égorgèrent chacun un de leurs fils, dont ils mirent les cadavres dans les fondations.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., pp. 561–4.

The Choles and Manches of Vera Paz, impressed with the wild features of their country, venerated the mountains, and on one called Escurruchan, which stood at the junction of several branches of their principal river, they kept up a perpetual fire to which passers-by added fuel, and at which sacrifices were offered. At another place the padres found a rough altar of stone and clay surrounded by a fence, where they burned torches of black wax and resinous wood, and offered fowls, and blood from their bodies, to mountains, cross-roads and pools in the river, whence came all means of existence and all increase.[57]

The chief idol of the Itzas was Hubo, who was represented by a hollow metal figure with an opening between the shoulders, through which human beings were passed, charged to implore the favors of the gods. A fire was then lighted beneath the figure, and while the victims were roasting alive, their friends joined in a dance around it, drowning the cries of the victims with shouts and rattling of drums. No women were allowed to join in the temple ceremonies. On the chief island in the lake of Peten, the conquerors found twenty-one stone temples with stone roofs, the chief of which formed a kind of pyramid of nine steps. In this was found a large chalchiuite, representing one of their two battle-gods, Pakoc and Hunchupchan, who gave oracles and were supposed to join the people in their dances. This familiarity evidently bred contempt, however, for it is related that when a prediction of the oracle was not fulfilled, the priest without hesitation castigated the idol. In the same temple stood a gypsum image in the form of the sun, adorned with rays, inlaid with nacar, and having a gaping mouth set with human teeth. The bones of a horse, which hung from the rafters, were adored as sacred relics. These were the remains of a wounded horse left by Cortés among the natives when on his way to Honduras. Having seen the Spaniards fire from its back, they believed that the animal produced the flash and report, and hence adored it as Tziminchac, god of thunder, and brought it flowers, flesh, and incense; but such offerings did not sustain life, and it was not long before the bones of the apotheosized charger were all that remained to his worshipers. In another place was a stone and lime imitation of this horse, seated on the floor on its haunches, which the natives adored in the same manner. This animal-worship was the more readily admitted, since their gods was supposed to assume such forms.[58]

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[56] *Indianer von Istlávacan*, pp. 11–3. The natives believed that they would have to share all the sufferings and emotions of their naguals. *Gage's New Survey*, p. 334: Herrera, *Hist. Gen.*, dec. iv., lib. viii., cap. iv., also refers to naguals, and states that the Honduras protégé made his compact with it in the mountains by offerings and blood-letting.

[57] *Espinosa*, *Chron. Apost.*, pp, 344–5; *Remesal*, *Hist. Chyapa*, p. 726; *Villagutierre*, *Hist. Conq. Itza*, pp. 151–3.

Their idols were so numerous, say the conquerors, that it took over a hundred men a whole day to destroy those existing on the chief island alone; Cogolludo affirms that the priests had charge of all the idols.[59] The chief god of the Cakchiquels, Chamalcan, or Chimalacan,[60] had many of the attributes of Tohil, but took the form of a bat, the symbol of the royal house of Zotzil. Every seventh and thirteenth day of the month the priests placed before him bloodstained thorns, fresh white resin, bark and branches of pine, and a cat, the emblem of night, which were burned in his honor.[61]

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[58] 'Tenian por sus Dioses à los Venados.' *Villagutierre, Hist. Conq. Itza*, p. 43.

[59] *Hist. Yuc.*, pp. 699, 489-93, 509; *Villagutierre, Hist. Conq. Itza*, pp. 100-2, 182, 500-2; *Morelet, Voyage*, tom. ii., p. 32; *M'Culloh's Researches in Amer.*, p. 318.

The purest form of sun-worship appears among the Lacandones, who adored the luminary without the intervention of an image, and sacrificed before it in the Mexican fashion. They had temples, however, the walls of which were decorated with hieroglyphs of the sun and moon, and with a figure in the act of praying to the sun.[62] The Nahua tribe of the Pipiles also worshiped the sun, before which they prostrated themselves while offering incense and muttering invocations. Quetzalcoatl and the goddess Itzcueye were honored in the sacrifice,[63] which generally consisted of a deer. The relative importance of Quetzalcoatl and Itzcueye, may be seen from the statement that the festival held in honor of the former on certain occasions lasted fifteen days, while that in honor of the latter was but of five days duration. The chief centre of worship was at Mictlan, near Huixa Lake, where now is the village of Santa Maria Mita, founded, according to tradition, by an old man, who in company with an exceedingly beautiful girl issued from the lake, both dressed in long blue robes, the man also wearing a mitre. He seated himself upon a stone on the hill, while the girl pursued her way and disappeared, and here, by his order, was built the temple of Mictlan, round which stately palaces afterwards arose; he also organized the government of the place.[64]

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[60] '*Cha-malcan* serait donc Flèche ou Dard frotté d'ocre jaune,' etc. *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Popol Vuh*, pp. 248-9.

[61] *Id., Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., p. 173.

[62] *Müller, Amerikanische Urreligionen*, p. 475. In their want of idols they contrasted strongly with their neighbors. *Villagutierre, Hist. Conq. Itza*, p. 74; *Morelet, Voyage*, tom. ii., p. 79.

[63] 'C'est à eux qu'elles offraient presque tous leurs sacrifices.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., p. 556; *Palacio, Carta*, pp. 66-70.

[64] 'L'époque que les événements paraissent assigner à cette légende coïncide avec la période de la grande émigration toltèque et la fondation

Among the vestiges of older worship we find the natives of Cerquin in Honduras,[65] venerating and praying for health to two idols, called respectively Great Father and Great Mother, which probably refer to the Grandfather and Grandmother of the Quichés. A faint idea of a Supreme Being, says Torquemada, was mixed up with the worship of the sun and stars, to which sacrifices were made. Their culture-tradition speaks of a beautiful white woman, called Comizahual, or 'flying tigress,' a reputed sorceress, as the introducer of civilization in Cerquin. She is said to have descended from heaven and to have been transported by an invisible hand to the city of Cealcoquin, where she built a palace adorned with monstrous figures of men and animals, and placed in the chief temple a stone having on each of its three sides three faces of strange and hideous aspect; by aid of this stone she conquered her enemies. She remained a virgin, yet three sons were born to her,[66] among whom she divided the kingdom when she grew old. After arranging her affairs, she commanded her attendants to carry her on her bed to the highest part of the palace, whence she suddenly disappeared amid thunder and lightning, doubtless to resume her place among the gods; directly afterwards a beautiful bird was seen to fly upwards and disappear. The people erected a temple in her honor, where the priest delivered her oracles, and celebrated every year the anniversary of her disappearance with great feasts. Palacio refers to a stone, like the one with three faces, named Icelaca, in Cezori, which disclosed things past, present, and future, and before which the people sacrificed fowls, rabbits and various

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des divers royaumes guatémaliens.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., p. 81; *Id., Popol Vuh*, p. cxxviii. Near the village of Coatan was a small lake which they regarded as oracular, into which none dared to peer least he should be smitten with dumbness and death. *Palacio, Carta*, p. 50.

[65] 'Aujourd'hui de *Gracias*....Il y a encore aujourd'hui un village du même nom, paroisse à 12 l. de Comayagua.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., p. 106.

[66] 'Aunque otros dicen, que eran sus Hermanos.' *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. i., p, 336.

kinds of food, and smeared the face with blood drawn from the generative organs.[67]

The religious fervor of the people is shown by the fact that whatever work they undertook they commenced by sanctifying it with prayers and offerings and by incensing their implements that they might acquire more efficacy; thus, before commencing to sow, the laborers killed a turkey whose blood they scattered over the field, and performed other ceremonies.[68] Simple in their mode of life, they did not importune the gods for vain luxuries: their prayers were for long life, health, children, and the necessaries of life. The first they hoped to obtain by scarifications and penances; to guard against disease, they sent the priest a bird, generally a quail, to sacrifice. When actually attacked by sickness confession was resorted to as a powerful means of propitiation, as was also the case on all important occasions to secure divine blessings and avert immediate danger. It is related by an old chronicler that when a party of travelers met a jaguar or puma, each one immediately commended himself to the gods and confessed in a loud voice the sins he had committed, imploring pardon. If the object of their terror still advanced upon them, they cried, "we have committed as many more sins, do not kill us!" and sat down, saying one to another, "one of us has done some grievous deed, and him the wild beast will kill!"[69]

In their scarifications, those who drew the most blood, especially from the secret organs, were held to be the most pious. Among the Pipiles the women joined in drawing blood from the ears and tongue, and smearing it on cotton, offered it to Quetzalcoatl, and then to Itzcueye.[70] On extraordinary occasions, as in the event of a public calamity, the priests and chief men held a council to determine the propitiatory penance to be imposed on the people, and the kind of sacrifice to be offered; the Ahgih were called upon to trace magic circles and figures, and to cast grains, so as to determine the time when it should be made. The esteemed task of collecting the fuel for this celebration devolved upon a royal prince, who formed the boys of the district into bands to forage for the wood. The efforts of the people alone were not considered sufficient at such times to propitiate the gods; it required the sanctified presence and powerful influence of the high priest to secure remission of sins. This personage, whether king or pontiff, subjected himself to a very severe fast and penance during the twenty, or even hundred days determined upon. He removed to an arbor near the hidden sanctuary of the idols, and lived in entire solitude, subsisting on grains and fruit, touching no food prepared by fire, sacrificing the offerings brought him during the day, and drawing blood. The fast over, with its attendant separation of man and wife, bathing, painting in red, and other acts of penance, the nobles went in a body to the retreat of the idols, and having adorned them in the most splendid manner, conducted them in procession to the town, attended by the high priest and victims. In places where the idols were kept in the temples of the town, they marched with them round the city. The various rites closed with games of ball, played under the supervision of the idols, and with feasting and reveling.[71]

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[67] *Carta*, pp. 82–4. As an instance of the respect entertained for the idols, Las Casas relates that on the Spaniards once profaning them with their touch, the natives brought censers with which they incensed them, and then carried them back to their altar with great respect, shedding their blood upon the road traversed by the idols. *Hist. Apologética*, MS., cap. clxxx.; *Torquemada*, *Monarq. Ind.*, tom. i., 326; *Herrera*, *Hist. Gen.*, dec. iv., lib. viii., cap. iv.

[68] See vol. ii. of this work, pp. 719–20.

[69] *Roman*, *Republica de los Indios*, in *Ximenez*, *Hist. Ind. Guat.*, pp. 176–81; *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, *Hist. Nat.Civ.*, tom. ii., pp. 564–566; *Las Casas*, *Hist. Apologética*, MS., cap. clxxix.; *Juarros*, *Hist. Guat.*, p. 196.

The Popol Vuh ascribes the introduction of human sacrifices to Tohil, who exacted this offering from the first four men in return for the fire given to the Quichés, while Las Casas states that Xbalanque initiated them. Their knives of sacrifice, he says, had fallen from heaven, and were accordingly adored as 'hands of God,' and set in rich handles of gold or silver, ornamented with turquoises and emeralds. The ordinary sacrifices occurred several times a month, and among the Pipiles, the number and quality were indicated by the calendar and consisted chiefly of bastard boys from six to twelve years of age. Their most solemn offerings were made at the commencement and end of the rains, and were attended by the chief men only. Juarros states that human sacrifices were not offered by the Pipiles and that the attempt of caciques to introduce them resulted in an insurrection; and, although this will scarcely apply to later times, it seems that formerly the sacrifices were very few in number. The Cakchiquels are, however, said to have abstained from the rite. Cortés relates that at Acalá the fairest girls to be found were selected by the priests and brought up, in strict chastity, to be sacrificed, at the proper time, to the goddess of the place. The Itzas, who when captives failed took the fattest of their young men for victims, had several modes of immolation, as roasting the victims alive in the metal image; dispatching them with the knife on the stone of sacrifice, a large one of which was found at Taysal; impalement, followed by extraction of the heart, as at Prospero; and in earlier times shooting, as was done by their Yucatec ancestors. According to Cogolludo, three persons assisted at the sacrifices, the *adkulel*, master of ceremonies, the *adkayom*, and a virgin who must be the daughter of one of these; but Villagutierre mentions that the stone of sacrifice at the chief temple at Taysal, was surrounded by twelve seats for the attendant priests; and assistants to hold the victims were certainly required. Cannibalism seems to have attended all these sacrifices, the flesh being boiled and seasoned, and the choice bits reserved for the high priests and chiefs.[72]

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[70] The ancient Quichés 'recueillirent leur sang avec des éponges,' *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Popol Vuh*, p. 259.

[71] *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., pp. 559–63; *Las Casas, Hist. Apologética*, MS., cap. clxxvii.; vol. ii. of this work, pp. 688.

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[72] *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Popol Vuh*, pp. 226-7; *Las Casas, Hist. Apologética*, MS., cap. cxxiv., clxxvii.; *Juarros' Hist. Guat.*, p. 225; *Torquemada*,

Each of the numerous tribes of Guatemala had a distinct and separate body of priests, who by means of their oracles exercised a decided influence on the state, and some, the Quichés for instance, were spiritually governed by independent pontiffs. The high priests of Tohil and Gucumatz, Ahau Ah Tohil and Ahau Ah Gucumatz, belonged to the royal house of Cawek, and held the fourth and fifth rank respectively among the grandees of the Empire; Ahau-Avilix, the high-priest of Avilix, was a member of the Nihaïb family; Ahau Gagavitz came of the Ahau Quiché house; and the two high-priests of the Kahba temple in Utatlan were of the Zakik house, and each had a province allotted him for his support. The Tohil priests were vowed to perpetual continence and austere penitence, and were not permitted to taste meat or bread.[73] The pontiff at Mictlan, in Salvador, who stood on nearly the same level as the king, bore the title of Teoti, 'divine' [74] and was distinguished by a long blue robe, a diadem, and a baton like an episcopal cross; on solemn occasions he substituted a mitre of beautiful feathers for the diadem. Next to him came an ecclesiastical council composed of the Tehuamatlini chief of the astrologers and learned priests, who acted as lieutenant of the high priest, and superintended the writings and divinations, and four other priests, *teopixqui*, who dressed in different colors. These ruled the rest of the priesthood, composed of keepers of properties, sacrificers, watchers, and the ordinary priests, termed *teupas*, who were all appointed by the high-priests from the sons of

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Monarq. Ind., tom. ii., p. 54; *Palacio, Carta*, p. 66; *Squier*, in *Id.*, pp. 116–7; *Cortés*, *Cartas*, pp. 417–8; *Cogolludo*, *Hist. Yuc.*, p. 699; *Villagutierre*, *Hist. Conq. Itza*, pp. 392, 502; *Gomara*, *Hist. Ind.*, fol. 268; *Waldeck*, *Voy. Pitt.*, p. 40; see also, this vol. pp. 688–9, 706–10, 735; *Stephen's Cent. Amer.*, vol. ii., pp. 184–5. Ximenez, *Hist. Ind. Guat.*, p. 210, states, that in case of a severe illness, a father would not hesitate to sacrifice his son to obtain relief. The very fact of such a tale passing current, shows how little human life was valued.

[73] 'Ils n'avaient pour toute nourriture que des fruits.' MS., *Quiché de Chichicastenango*, in *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., pp. 552–553, 496–7; *Las Casas*, *Hist. Apologética*, MS., cap. cxxxiii.

[74] Ternaux-Compans renders it *tuti*, *Recueil de Doc.*, p. 29, while Squier gives it as *tecti*. *Palacio*, *Carta*, p. 62. But as an Aztec word, it ought to be written *teoti*.

the ministers. When the high-priest died, the body was embalmed and placed in a crypt beneath the palace. After fifteen days of mourning, attended by fasts, the king and Tehuamatlini drew lots for his successor from among the four teopixqui, the vacancy in their ranks being filled by a son of the pontiff, or one of their own sons. The elected purified himself for the office by blood-letting and other observances, while the people celebrated his accession with feasting and dancing. In Vera Paz the chief priest was elected according to merit from a certain family by the people, and ranked next to the king.[75] As an instance of the lasting influence possessed by the priesthood over the people, Scherzer relates that at Istlávacan there were a few years ago as many as sixty priests, diviners, and medicine-men, Ahgih, Ahqixb, and Ahqahb, as they used to be termed, who exercised their offices among them. At Coban, says Villagutierre, a priest was so highly respected that the person who presumed to touch him was expected to fall dead immediately.[76]

The Nahua impress, noticeable in the languages and customs of Nicaragua, is still more strongly marked in the mythology of that country.[77] Instead of obliterating the older forms of worship, however, as it seems to have done in the northern part of Central America, it has here and there passed by many of the distinct beliefs held by different tribes, and blended with the chief element of a system which is traced to the Muyscas in South America. The inquiries instituted by a Spanish friar among different classes of people in the Nagrando district go to prove that Tamagostat[78] and Cipattonal, male and female deities who inhabit the regions of the rising sun, were the supreme beings. They created all things, stars as well as mortals, and re-created what had been destroyed by the flood, in which work they were aided by Ecalchot, surnamed Huehue, 'the aged,' and Ciagat 'the little.' In Tamagostat Müller at once recognizes Fomagata, the ancient sun-god of the Muyscas, who after his dethronement by a newer solar deity became more particularly the fire-god of that people, but retained more of his original preëminence in the countries to which his worship spread, as in Nicaragua. This view is supported by the statement that he inhabited the heavens above, or rather the region of sunrise. His consort Cipattonal, Müller, judging from their relationship, holds to be the moon; her name seems however, to be derived from a Mexican source, probably from *xipalli*, 'dark blue color,' and *tonalli*, 'sun,'[79] which may be construed as referring to the sun in its blue element, or, as the fainter sun, to the moon. In either case the connection of the two is perfectly legitimate. Ecalchot, who is represented as a young man, yet is surnamed 'the aged,' seems to be the same as the Mexican Ehecatl, 'wind, air,' an element ever young, yet ever old, and Ciagat may mean 'moisture;'[80] both forming with the sun the fertilizing forces that create.[81] Oviedo gives the names of these deities as Tamagostat or Tamagostad, Zipattoval or Zipattonal, Calchithuehue, and Chicoziagat,[82] 'father.' He further names Chiquinaut and Hecat as gods of the winds, which seems to be merely another version of Chicoziagat and Ehecatl.[83]

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[75] *Palacio, Carta*, pp. 62-6; *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, dec. iv., lib. viii., cap. x; *Ximenez, Hist. Ind. Guat.*, pp. 200-1; *Brasseur de Boirbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., pp. 105, 555-6; *Salazar y Olarte, Hist. Conq. Mex.*, pp. 315-6.

[76] *Hist. Conq. Itza*, p. 61; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Popol Vuh*, pp. cxviii., cclxvi.; *Scherzer, Indianer von Istlávacan*, p. 10.

[77] Gomara says with regard to this: 'Religion de Nicaragua que casi es la mesma Mexicana.' *Hist. Ind.*, fol. 63.

[78] The similarity of the name of *tamachaz* and *tamagast*, names given to angels and priests, is striking. The ending *tat* might also be regarded as a contraction of the Aztec *tatli*, father. *Buschmann, Ortsnamen*, pp. 164-5.

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[79] *Buschmann*, *Ortsnamen*, p. 163.

[80] 'Ich bringe es in Verbiudung mit dem Stammworte *ciahua* oder *ciyahua* befeuchten, bewässern.' *Ib.* It is to be noticed that the Aztec *h* frequently changes into *g*, in these countries.

[81] *Müller*, *Amerikanische Urreligionen*, pp. 435-8, 503; *Squier's Nicaragua*, (Ed. 1856), vol. ii., pp. 349-60; *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., p. 112—this author identifies Tamagostat and Cipaltona with the solar deities Oxomoc and Cipactonal of the Toltecs, but places them in rather an inferior position.

[82] Oxomogo is also introduced, which tends to throw doubt on Brasseur's identification of Jamagostad with this personage.

[83] 'Ehecatl oder verkürzt Ecatl....ist die Berichtigung für Oviedo's Hecat.' *Buschmann*, *Ortsnamen*, p. 163; *Oviedo*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. iv., pp. 40-5, 52.

The Guatemalan trinity reappears in the character of Omeyateite and Omeyatezigoat[84]—easily recognizable in the Mexican Ometecutli and Omecihuatl—and their son Ruiatcot, the rain god,[85] who sends forth thunder, lightning and rain. They are also supposed to live where the sun rises, doubtless because that seems the abode of bliss, and as fertilizing forces they are regarded as creators, but not connected with the two before mentioned. Quiateot was the most prominent, if not the supreme, member of the trinity, for the other two, as representing the thunder and lighting, the forerunners, or parents, of the showers, do not seem to have been invoked when rain was wanted, or to have participated in the sacrifices of young boys and girls offered on such occasions.[86]

The Nicaraguans had other deities presiding over the elements, seasons, and necessaries of life. Thus, Macat and Toste, also written Mazat and Teotost,[87] the deer and rabbit, were gods of the chase. When a deer was killed, the hunter placed the head in a basket in his house, and regarded it as the representation of the god.[88] Mixcoa was the god invoked by the traders, and those about to make purchases; Cacaguat was the patron of cacao-culture; Miquetanteot, god of hades, was evidently the same as Mictlantecutli of Mexico; there were, besides, others whose names have been given to the days of the month. In Martiari the chief deity was called Tipotani. In Nicaragua proper, they adored Tomaoteot, 'the great god,' whose son Teotbilche was sent down to mankind. This looks like another Christ-myth, especially when we read of attendant angels who had wings and flew about in heaven. The names of the two chief angels were Taraacazcati and Tamacaztobal.[89] The Dirans revered in particular the goddess of the volcano Masaya; for her they placed food on the brink of the crater, into which they cast human beings, especially when she manifested her anger by earthquakes. On such occasions the chiefs and priests, who alone were permitted to look into the seething abyss, went to the summit and called upon the genius, who issued from the lake of fire in the form of an old woman and instructed them what to do. She is described as a naked, dark-skinned hag, with hanging breasts, scanty hair, long, sharp teeth, and sunken glaring eyeballs. The gods were invested with all the peculiarities of humanity, formed of flesh and blood, and lived on the food provided for man, besides blood and incense. They also appeared on earth dressed like the natives, but since the death of the cacique Xostoval these visits ceased.[90] They were personified by idols of stone, clay, or wood, called *teobat*,[91] whose forms their forefathers had transmitted; to them were brought offerings of food and other things, which were taken in at the door of the temple by boys serving there, for none except the consecrated were allowed to enter the sanctuary.[92] To encourage the piety that prompted these offerings, the priests never failed to remind the people of the punishment inflicted on the inhabitants of the ancient capital of Nagrando, who having given themselves up to the pursuit of pleasure, and neglected the gods, were one night swallowed up, not a vestige of their city being left.[93] The most acceptable offering was, of course, human blood. At certain times the favorite idol was set on a spear and planted in an open place amid gorgeously adorned attendants holding banners, and flowers. Here the priests gashed their tongues, and other parts, smearing the face of the image with the blood that flowed, while the devout approached to whisper their desires into the ear of the idol. Songs, dances, and games attended these ceremonies.

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[84] In *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii., tom. iii., p. 40, they are written Homey-Atelïte and Homey-Ateciguat, but the above spelling corresponds better with other similar Azteo names in Nicaragua. *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, tom. iv., p. 46.

[85] 'Von quiahui oder quiyahui regnen: mit *teotl* Gott verbunden.' *Buschmann, Ortsnamen*, p. 167.

[86] *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, tom. iv., p. 46.

[87] *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., p. 113. The latter seems to be the same as the Mexican Teotochtli, 'rabbit god.'

[88] 'Y esso tenemos por el dios de los venados.' *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, tom. iv., p. 55.

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[89] All probably derived from *tlamacazqui*, priest. *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., pp. 112–4. This author, following *Oviedo, Hist. Nic.*, spells the names somewhat differently. *Buschmann, Ortsnamen*, pp. 165–8; *Ociedo, Hist. Gen.*, tom. iv., pp. 48, 52, 101.

[90] These remarks appear inconsistent with the statement that the spirit only of men ascended to heaven. *Id.*, pp. 41–2.

[91] '*Téobat* viènt problement de *Téohuall*, être divine.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., p. 113.

[92] 'En toda la plaça, ni en el templo donde están, entran allí hombre ni muger en tanto que allí están, sino solamente los muchachos pequeños que les llevan é dan de comer.' *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, tom. iv., p. 47.

[93] *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. i., p. 330.

Before each temple was a conic or pyramidal mound of adobe, called *tescuit*, or *tezarit*, ascended by an interior staircase.[94] From its summit, upon which there was room for about ten men to stand, the priest proclaimed the nature of the approaching festival, and the kind of sacrifice to be made, and here, upon a stone block, the victims, generally captives and slaves, had their hearts cut out, after which they were decapitated, the body to be cut up and prepared for the grand banquets, while the head, if that of a captive, was hung on a tree near the temple, a particular tree being reserved for each tribe from whom the victims were captured. The most prized victims were young boys and girls, who were brought up by the chiefs for the purpose and treated with great care and respect wherever they went, for they were supposed to become deified after death and to exercise great influence over the affairs of life. Women, who were held to be unworthy to perform any duty in connection with the temples, were immolated outside the temple ground of the large sanctuaries, and even their flesh was unclean food for the high-priest, who accordingly ate only of the flesh of males.[95]

Fasts and baptismal rites, so prominent hitherto, do not appear to have been practiced in Nicaragua. A kind of sacrament was administered, however, by means of maize sprinkled with blood drawn from the generative organs, and confession was a recognized institution. The confessor was chosen from among the most aged and respected citizens; a calabash suspended from the neck was his badge of office. He was required to be a man of blameless life, unmarried, and not connected with the temple. Those who wished to confess went to his house, and there standing with humility before him unburdened their conscience. The confessor was forbidden to reveal any secret confided to him in his official capacity, under pain of punishment. The penance he imposed was generally some kind of labor to be performed for the benefit of the temple.. Boys did not confess, but seem to have reserved the avowal of their peccadillos for maturer age.[96]

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[94] Peter Martyr describes this edifice as follows: 'Within the viewe of of their Temples there are diuers Bases or Pillers like the Pulpittes.. which Bases consist of eight steppes or stayres in some places twelue, and in another fifteene.' Dec. vi., lib. vi.

[95] *Oviedo*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. iv., pp. 46-7, 53, 56, 93-4, 98, 101; *Peter Martyr*, dec. vi., lib. vii.; *Gomara*, *Hist. Ind.*, fol. 265-6; *Herrera*, *Hist. Gen.*, dec., iii., lib. iv., cap. vii.; vol. ii., pp. 708-10, 715, of this work.

The office of high-priest was held by the caciques, who each in his turn left home and occupation and removed to the chief temple, there to remain for a year attending to religious matters and praying for the people. At the expiration of the term he received the honorable distinction of having his nose perforated. Subordinate duties were performed by boys. In the inferior temples other classes entered for a year's penance, living like the chief in strict seclusion, except at festivals perhaps, seeing none but the boys who brought food from their homes. The ordinary priests were called *tamagast*[97] and lived on the offerings made to the idols, and perhaps by their own exertions, for the temples had no fixed revenues.[98] They had sorcerers, *texoxes*, who sometimes caused the death of children by merely looking at them, and who could assume animal forms, for which reasons they were much feared by the people. To strengthen this belief they at times disguised themselves in skins of beasts.[99] In Honduras the idea of a Supreme Being and Creator was connected with a worship of the sun, moon, and stars, to which the people made sacrifices.[100] Near Truxillo were three chief temples[101] in one of which was a chalchiuite in the form of a woman, to which the people prayed, and which answered them through the priests. Preparatory to any important undertaking, cocks, dogs or even men, were sacrificed to secure the favor of the gods. In each of the sanctuaries presided a *papa*, or chief priest, to whom the education of the sons of the nobles was entrusted. These were unmarried men, distinguished by long hair reaching to the waist, though in some places they wound it round the head in plaits. Their sanctity and superior knowledge gave them great influence, and their advice was sought on all affairs of importance by the principal men, for none else dared to approach them. There were also sorcerers who could assume animal forms, in which guise they went about devouring men and spreading diseases.[102].

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[96] *Oviedo*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. iv., pp. 55–6; *Herrera*, *Hist. Gen.*, dec. iii., lib. iv., cap. vii., lib. v., cap. xii.; *Gomara*, *Hist. Ind.*, fol. 256.

[97] Brasseur de Bourbourg says: '*Tamagoz*, c'est encore une autre corruption du mot *tlamacazqui*.' *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., p. 114.

[98] *Oviedo*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. iv., pp. 46–7, 53; *Andagoya*, in *Navarrete*, *Col. de Viages*, tom. iii., p. 414; vol. ii., p. 728, of this work. Gomara, *Hist. Ind.*, fol. 265, states that the priests were all married, while Herrera, *Hist. Gen.*, dec. iii., lib. iv., cap. vii., asserts the contrary. The latter view seems more correct when we consider that women were not permitted to enter the temples, and that the high priest and devotees were obliged to leave their wives when they passed into the sanctuary. It is even probable that there was no distinct priesthood, since the temples had no revenues, and the temple service was performed in part at least by volunteers; to this must be added the fact, that although the confessor might not be connected with the temple, yet he ordered penance for its benefit. It must be considered, however, that without regular ministers it would have been difficulty to keep up the routine of feasts and ceremonies, write the books of records, teach the children, and maintain discipline.

Among the barbarians of the Mosquito Coast, we find, of course, a much lower order of belief, and one which calls to mind the ghouls and ghosts of Californian mythology. The natives acknowledged a good spirit or principle, to which they gave no definite name[103] and rendered no homage, for there was no necessity, they said, to pray to one who always did good; as for thanking him for mercies received, such an idea seems never to have occurred to them. In fact, they had neither temples nor idols, and the only ceremonies that partook of a religious character were the conjurations of their *sukias*, or sorceresses, who were constantly engaged in breaking the spells of evil spirits, with which the people's fancy, excited by grewsome stories told round the campfire, had filled every dark and dismal place, every stream and mountain top. These gnomes were known by the name of Wulasha,[104] and were supposed to issue from their hiding-places, especially at night, to do all manner of evil; they were especially addicted to carrying off solitary wanderers; it was, therefore, say the chroniclers, almost impossible to induce a native to go out alone after dark.

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[99] *Arricivita*, *Crónica Seráfica*, p. 57; *Oviedo*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. iv., pp. 101, 107. 'Sous le nom de "Texoxé" ou désignait les naguals, les génies mauvais de toute espèce, ainsi que les sorciers.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., p. 113.

[100] *Torquemada*, *Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., p. 63.

[101] At Cape Honduras they consisted of long, narrow houses, raised above the ground, containing idols with heads of animals. *Herrera*, *Hist. Gen.*, dec. iv., lib. viii., cap. v.

[102] *Id.*, and dec. iv., lib. i., cap. vi.; see vol. i., p. 740, of this work.

[103] 'Es ist dafür das Wort God aus dem Englischen aufgenommen.' *Mosquitoland*, *Bericht*, p. 142.

Amid the underwood and fallen trees about the sources of rivers, big snakes were thought to dwell. These monsters were assisted by a resistless upward current and a strong wind which swept the unwary boatman within the reach of the red jaws and slimy folds. Patook, among other rivers, had this bad reputation, and a white man who despite the warnings of the natives started to explore its mysteries, returned in a few days with the story that his progress had been opposed by a big white cock. Leewa[105] was the name of the water spirit, who sucked the bather into pools and eddies and sent forth devastating waterspouts and hurricanes. Wihwin, a spirit having the appearance of a horse,[106] with tremendous teeth to devour human prey, haunted the hills during the summer, but retired with the winter to the sea, whence he originally issued. In mountain caves, guarded by fierce white boars, lived the patron deity of the *warrees*, the wild pigs of the country, of childish form but immense strength, who directed the movements of the droves. There were, besides, certain venomous lizards, who after biting a man ran immediately to the nearest water: if the wounded person did the same and succeeded in reaching the water first, he was saved, and the lizard died; otherwise the man was doomed.[107] The Sukias who were called upon to exorcise these malignant beings on every occasion of sickness, or misfortune, were generally old hags, supposed to have a compact with the evil one, in whose name they exacted half their fee before commencing their enchantments. The Caribs held regular meetings or festivals to propitiate these spirits, and the Woolwas, who seem to have had many religious forms in common with the Nicaraguans, had "dances with the gods."[108]

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[104] *Bard's Waikna*, p. 243. 'Devils, the chief of whom they call the Woolsaw, or evil principle, witchcraft.' *Strangeways' Mosquito Shore*, p. 331. Young writes Oulasser. *Narrative*, p. 72.

[105] *Bell*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc., Jour.*, vol. xxxii., p. 254.

[106] A shape which assigns the story a comparatively recent date, unless a deer was originally meant.

Among the Isthmians several forms of worship appear, that in the vicinity of Panamá resembling the system prevalent in Hayti and Cuba, says Gomara.[109] The heavenly bodies seem to have been very generally adored, especially in the northern part of the Isthmus, were all good things were thought to come from the sun and moon, which were considered as man and wife; but no accounts are given of temples, or forms of worship, except that prayers were addressed to the sun.[110]

The most prominent personage in the Isthmian pantheon was Dabaiba,a goddess who controlled the thunder and lightning, and with their aid devastated the lands of those who displeased her. In South America, thunder and lightning were held to be the instruments used by the sun to inflict punishment upon its enemies, which makes it probable that Dabaiba was a transformed sun-goddess. Pilgrims resorted from afar to her temple at Urabá, bringing costly presents and human victims, who were first killed and then burned, that the savory odors of roasting flesh might be grateful in the delicate nostrils of the goddess. Some describe her as a native princess, whose reign was marked by great wisdom and many miracles, and who was apotheosized after death. She was also honored as the mother of the Creator, the maker of the sun, the moon, and all invisible things, and the sender of blessings, who seems to have acted as mediator between the people and his mother, for their prayers for rain were addressed to him, although she is described as controlling the showers, and once when her worship was neglected she inflicted a severe drouth upon the country.

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[107] *Bell*, in *Lond Geog. Soc., Jour.*, vol. xxxii., pp. 253-4; *Young's Narrative*, p. 79.

[108] *Froebel's Cent. Amer.*, p. 137; see also vol. i., pp. 740-1, of this work.

[109] *Hist. Ind.*, fol. 255.

[110] *Id.*, fol. 89; *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, tom, iii., pp. 20, 125.

When the needs of the people were very urgent, the chiefs and priests remained in the temple fasting and praying with uplifted hands; the people meanwhile observed a four-days fast, lacerating their bodies and washing their faces, which were at other times covered with paint. So strict was this fast that no meat or drink was to be touched until the fourth day, and then only a soup made from maize-flour. The priests themselves were sworn to perpetual chastity and abstinence, and those who went astray in these matters were burned or stoned to death. Their temples were encompassed with walls and kept scrupulously clean; golden trumpets, and bells with bone clappers summoned the people to worship.[111]

In the province of Pocorosa the existence of a rain-god called Chipiripe was recognized, who inhabited the heaven above, whence he regulated celestial movements; with him lived a beautiful woman with one child. Nothing else was known respecting this divine family. This ignorance of the deity was further manifested by the absence of any form of worship; the moral laws were well defined, however, so that adultery and even lying were regarded as sinful.[112] Las Casas states that Chicune, 'the beginning of all,' who lived in heaven, was the one being to whom the people of Darien addressed their invocations and sacrifices, though a certain sect, or tribe, among them worshiped the water. In another chapter he declares that the Isthmians had little or no religion, for they had no temples and few or no gods or idols.[113] According to Peter Martyr, the embalmed and bejeweled bodies of ancestors were worshiped in Comagre, and in Veragua gold was invested with divine qualities, so that the gathering of it was attended with fasting and penance.[114] Tuira, whom the Spanish writers declared to have been the devil himself, was a widely known being who communed with his servants, *tequina*, 'masters,'[115] in roofless huts kept for this purpose. Here the tequinas entered at night, and spoke in different voices, to induce the belief that the spirits were actually answering their questions; the result of the interview was communicated to their patrons. At times the evil one appeared in the guise of a handsome boy without hands[116] and with three-toed feet, and accompanied the sorcerers upon their expeditions to work mischief, and supplied them with a protecting ointment. Among the evil deeds imputed to these sorcerers was that of sucking the navel of sleeping people until they died.[117] These men naturally took care to foster ideas that tended to sustain or increase their influence, and circulated, besides, most extravagant stories of supernatural events and beings. Once a terrible hurricane, blowing from the east, devasted the country and brought with it two birds with maiden faces, one of which was of a size so great that it seized upon men and carried them off to its mountain nest. No tree could support it, and where it alighted upon the rocks, the imprint of its talons were left. The other bird was smaller and supposed to be the offspring of the first.

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[111] *Peter Martyr*, dec. vii., lib. x.; *Irving's Columbus*, vol. iii., pp. 173-4; *Müller*, *Amerikanische Urreligionen*, p. 421.

[112] *Andagoya*, in *Navarrete*, *Col. de Viages*, tom. iii., p. 401; *Herrera*, *Hist. Gen.*, dec. iv., lib. i., cap. xi., dec. ii., lib. iii., cap. v.

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[113] *Hist. Apologética*, MS., cap. cxxiv., ccxlii.; *Torquemada*, *Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., p. 63.

[114] Dec. iii., lib. iv., dec. ii., lib. iii.

[115] A-name applied in Cueba to all who excelled in an art. *Oviedo*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. iii., pp. 126-7.

[116] 'Las manos no se las vian.' *Andagoya*, in *Navarrete*, *Col. de Viages*, tom. iii., p. 400.

[117] For further account of sorcerers, see vol. i., pp. 779-80. Gomara writes: 'Tauira, que es el Diablo.' *Hist. Ind.*, fol. 255; *Herrera*, *Hist. Gen.*, dec. ii., lib. ii., cap. x., lib. iii., cap. v., dec. iv., lib. i., cap. x.

After trying several plans to kill these man-eating harpies, they hit upon the device of fixing a large beam in the ground, near the place where they usually alighted, leaving only one end exposed, on which was carved the image of a man. With the dawn of day the larger bird came swooping down upon the decoy and imbedded its claws so firmly in the beam that it could not withdraw them, and thus the people were enabled to kill it.[118]

The knowledge that the human mind, no matter how low its condition, can be capable of such puerile conceptions, must bring with it a sense of humiliation to the thinking man; and well were it for him could he comfort himself with the belief that such debasing superstitions were at least confined to humanity in its first and lowest stages; but this he cannot do. It is true that the belief of the civilized Aztec was far higher and nobler than that of the uncivilized Carib, but can he who has read the evidence upon which old women and young maidens were convicted of riding upon broomsticks to witches' Sabbaths, by the most learned judges of the most learned law-courts of modern Europe, deny that the coarsest superstition and the highest civilization have hitherto gone hand in hand.

Before leaving this division it will be well to say a few words concerning the existence of Phallic Worship in America.

One of the first problems of the primitive man is creation. If analogies lead him to conceive it as allied to a birth, and the joint result of some unknown male and female energy, then the symbolization of this power is liable to take the gross form of phallic worship. Thus it is that among the earliest nations of which we possess any knowledge, the life-giving and vivifying principle of nature has been always symbolized by the human organs of generation. The Lingham of India, the Phallus of Greece, the Priapus of Rome, the Baal-Peor of the Hebrew records, and the Peor-Apis of Egypt, all have plainly the same significance. In most mythologies the sun, the principle of fire, the moon, and the earth, were connected with this belief; the sun and moon as the celestial emblems of the generative and productive powers of nature, fire and the earth as the terrestial emblems. These were the Father and the Mother, and their most obvious symbols, as already stated, were the phallus and kteis, or the lingham and yoni of Hindustan.

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[118] *Peter Martyr*, dec. vii., lib. x.

It is unnecessary to multiply quotations respecting the basal though often veiled idea of One, underlying the polytheistic systems. The difficulty to the human mind of considering anything in another than human aspect, and our natural delight in analogies, leads, however, in many cases to the consideration in certain aspects of this deity as a duality or joint essence of the masculine and the feminine. Take the learned Cory's summary of ancient mythology: "It recognizes, as the primary elements of all things, two independent principles, of the nature of male and female; and these, in mystic union, as the soul and body, constitute the Great Hermaphrodite Deity, The One, the universe itself, consisting still of the two separate elements of its composition, modified though combined in one individual. . . . If we investigate the Pantheons of the ancient nations, we shall find that each, notwithstanding the variety of names, acknowledged the same deities and the same system of Theology; and, however humble any of the deities may appear, each who has any claim to antiquity will be found ultimately, if not immediately, resolvable into one or other of the Primeval Principles, the Great God and Goddess of the Gentiles."[191]

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[119] *Ancient Fragments*, introduction, p. 34. M. Pictet says of the primitive Celtic religion: "From a *primitive duality*, constituting the fundamental forces of the universe, there arises a double progression of cosmical powers, which, after having crossed each other by a mutual transition, at last proceed to blend in One Supreme Unity, as in their essential principles." Says Sir William Jones: "We must not be surprised at finding, on a close examination, that the characters of all the Pagan deities, male and female, melt into each other, and at last into one or two, for it seems a well-founded opinion that the whole crowd of gods and goddesses in ancient Rome and modern Váránes, mean only the Powers of Nature, and principally those of

To the moral ideal of the present age, an ideal derived from acquired habit, not from nature, phallic worship will doubtless appear repulsive and indelicate in the extreme. It was, nevertheless, the most natural form of worship that the primitive man could adopt; for him the symbol had no impure meaning, and was associated with none of the disgusting excesses by means of which, as he became more sophisticated, he converted his reverence of Nature into a worship of Lust.

What could be more natural than that he should symbolize the fecundating principle, the creative power, by the immediate cause of reproduction, or as he doubtless took it, of creation, the phallus. He recognized no impurity or licentiousness in the moderate and regular gratification of any natural appetite; nor did it seem to him that the organs of one species of enjoyment were naturally to be considered as subjects of shame and concealment more than those of another. As Payne Knight remarks of the ancient nations of the old world: "In an age, therefore, when no prejudices of artificial decency existed, what more just and natural image could they find, by which to express their idea of the beneficent power of the great Creator than that organ which endowed them with the power of procreation, and made them partakers, not only of the felicity of the Deity, but of his great characteristic attribute, that of multiplying his own image, communicating his blessings, and extending them to the generations yet unborn." Nothing natural was to them offensively obscene. When the Egyptian matrons touched the phallus they did so with the pure wish of obtaining offspring. The gold lingham on the neck of the Hindoo wives was not an object of shame to them.

That the worship of the reciprocal principles of nature was recognized and practiced in America, there is in my mind no doubt. The almost universal prevalence of sun-worship, which is, as I have already intimated, closely

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the SUN, expressed in a variety of ways, and by a multitude of fanciful names." *On the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India*, p. 273.

connected with phallic rites, would alone go far to prove this, but an account of certain material relics and well known customs is still more satisfactory evidence.

In Yucatan, according to Stephens, "the ornaments upon the external cornice of several large buildings actually consisted of *membra conjuncta in coitu*, too plainly sculptured to be misunderstood. And, if this were not sufficient testimony, more was found in the isolated and scattered representations of the *membrum virile*, so accurate that even the Indians recognised the object, and invited the attention of Mr Catherwood to the originals of some of his drawings as yet unpublished."

The sculptured pillars to be seen at Copan and other ruins in Central America, which are acknowledged to be connected with sun worship, are very similar to the sculptured phallus-pillars of the East.[120] Mr. Squier is of the opinion that they may be considered as such, and the Abbé Brasseur takes the same view in making the plain cylindrical pillar found in so many places the representation of the volcano, the goddess of love, and whence it issues as the symbol of new life. On another page he terms the phallus the Crescent, the land whence the Nahuas originated, and the continent of America the body.[121] Some of the pillars appear without ornament, as the *picote* at Uxmal, a round stone of irregular form, which stood in front of one of the ruins, but the worshipers of Priapus at Thespia and other places were content with a rude stone for an image in early times. In Mexico according to Gama, the presiding god of spring, Xopancalehuey Tlalloc, was often represented without a human body, having instead a pilaster or square column, upon a pedestal covered with various sculptured designs.[122] In Pánuco images of the generative organs were kept in the temples as objects of worship, and statues representing men and women performing the sexual act in various postures stood in the temple-courts.[123] Near Laguna de Terminos, on the coast of Yucatan, Grijalva found images of men committing acts of indescribable beastliness, while close by lay the bodies of victims recently sacrificed in their honor.[124] The united symbols of the sexual

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[120] 'This suggestion was first publicly made in a communication read,' says Squier, *Serpent Symbol*, p. 49, 'before the American Ethnological Society, by a distinguished member of that body; from which the following passages are extracted. After noticing several facts tending to show the former existence of Phallic worship in America, the author of the paper proceeds as follows:—"We come now to Central America. Upon a perusal of the first journey of our fellow-members, Messrs. Stephens and Catherwood, into Guatemala and the central territories of the Continent, I was forcibly struck with the monolithic idols of Copan. We knew nothing before, save of Mexican, Palenque, and Uxmal remains; and those of Copan appeared to me to be unlike them all, and probably of an older date. My reading furnishes me with but one parallel to those singular monolithic sculptures, and that was seen in Ceylon, in 1796, by Captain Colin McKenzie, and described in the 6th volume of the Asiatic Researches. As the description is short, I transcribe it: "The figure is cut out of stone in relievo; but the whole is sunk in a hollow, scooped out, so that it is defended from injury on the sides. It may be about fourteen feet high, the countenance wild, a full round visage, the eyes large, the nose round and long; it has no beard; nor the usual distinguishing marks of the Gentoo casts. He holds up both his hands, with the forefingers and thumbs bent; the head-dress is high, and seems ornamented with jewels; on the little finger of the left hand is a ring; on the arms bracelets; a belt high about the waist; the lower dress or drapery fixed with a girdle much lower than the Gentoo dress, from which something like tassels depend; a collar and ornaments on the neck and shoulders; and rings seem to hang low from the ears. No appearance of any arms or weapons." This was the nearest approximation I could make to the Copan idols; for idols I took them to be, from the fact that an altar was invariably placed before them. From a close inspection of Mr. Catherwood's drawings, I found that though no single figure presented all the foregoing characteristics, yet in the various figures I could find every particular enumerated in the Ceylon sculpture. It then occurred to me that one of the most usual symbols of the Phallus was an erect stone, often in its rough state, sometimes sculptured, and that no other object of heathen worship was so often shadowed forth by a single stone placed on end, as the

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Phallus. That the worship of the Priapus, [Lingham] existed in Ceylon, has long since been satisfactorily established; and hence I was led to suspect that these monuments at Copan, might be vestiges of a similar idolatry. A further inspection confirmed my suspicions; for, as I supposed, I found sculptured on the American ruins the organs of generation, and on the back of one of the emblems relative to uterine existence, parturition, etc. I should, however, have wanted entire confidence in the correctness of my suspicions, had the matter rested here. On the return of Messrs. Stephens and Catherwood from their second expedition, every doubt of the existence of Phallic worship, especially in Yucatan, was removed.

[121] *Quatre Lettres*, pp. 290, 301; *Squier's Serpent Symbol*, pp. 47–50.

[122] *Leon y Gama*, *Dos Piedras*, part i., p. 40.

[123] In Pánuco and other provinces 'adorano il membro che portano gli huomini fra le gambe, & lo tengono nella meschita, & posto similmente sopra la piazza insieme con le imagini de rilieuo di tutti modi di piacere che possono essere fra l'huomo & la donna, & gli hanno di ritratto con le gambe di alzate in diuersi modi.' *Relatione fatta per vn gentil'huomo del Signor Fernando Cortése*, in *Ramusio*, *Navigationi*, tom. iii., fol. 307.

[124] 'Hallaron entre vnos arboles vn idolillo de oro y muchos de barro, dos hombres de palo, caualgando vno sobre otro, a fuer Sodoma, y otro de tierra cozida con ambas manos alo suyo, que lo tenia retajado, como son casi todos los Indios de Yucatan.' *Gomara*, *Hist. Ind.*, fol. 58.

organs were publicly worshiped in Tlascala, and in the month of Quecholli a grand festival was held in honor of Xochiquetzal, Xochitecatl, and Tlazolteotl, goddesses of sensual delights, when the prostitutes and young men addicted to sodomy were allowed to solicit custom on the public streets.[125] On Zapatero Island, around Lake Nicaragua, and in Costa Rica, a number of idols have been found of which the disproportionately large *membrum generationis virile in erectione* was the most prominent feature. Palacio relates that at Cezori, in Honduras, the natives offered blood drawn from the organs of generation and circumcised boys before an idol called Icelaca, which was simply a round stone,[126] with two faces and a number of eyes, and was supposed to know all things, past, present, and future.[127] The frequent occurrence of the cross, which has served in so many and such widely separated parts of the earth as the symbol of the life-giving, creative, and fertilizing principle in nature, is, perhaps, one of the most striking evidences of the former recognition of the reciprocal principles of nature by the Americans; especially when we remember that the Mexican name for the emblem, tonacaquahuitl, signifies 'tree of one life, or flesh.'[128] Of two terracotta relics found at Ococingo, in the state of Chiapas, one would certainly attract the attention of any one who had investigated the subject of phallic worship or had seen the phallic amulets and ornaments of the old world.[129] In the Museum at Mexico are two small images which were evidently used as ornaments. Each of these represents a human figure in a crouching posture, clasping with both hands an enormous phallus. Col. Brantz Mayer kindly showed me drawings of these made by himself. One of these figures is reproduced in another volume of this work.

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[125] See vol. ii., pp. 336-7, concerning this festival.

[126] 'Un idolo de piedra redondo,' which may mean a 'cylindrical stone,' as the translator of Palacio's *Carta* has rendered it.

[127] *Palacio, Carta*, p. 84.

[128] Concerning the cross in America, see this vol. pp. .

[129] I refer to the left hand figure in the cut on p. 348, vol. iv., of this

The Pipiles abstained from their wives for four days previous to sowing, in order to indulge in the marital act to the fullest extent on the eve of that day, evidently with a view to initiate or urge the fecundating powers of nature. It is even said that certain persons were appointed to perform the sexual act at the moment of planting the first seed. During the bitter cold nights of the Hyperborean winter, the Aleuts, both men and women, joined hands in the open air and whirled perfectly naked round certain idols, lighted only by the pale moon. The spirit was supposed to hallow the dance with his presence. There certainly could have been no licentious element in this ceremony, for setting aside the discomfort of dancing naked with the thermometer at zero, we read that the dancers were blindfolded, and that decorum was strictly enforced. In Nicaragua, maize sprinkled with blood drawn from the genitals was regarded as sacred food.[130] The custom of drawing blood from this part of the body was observed as a religious rite by almost every tribe from Mexico to Panamá, though this, of course, does not prove that it was in all cases connected with phallic worship. Circumcision is regarded by Squier as a phallic rite, but there is not sufficient testimony to support this view. Tezcatlipoca, the chief god of the Nahuas, who has been frequently identified with the sun, was adored as a love-god, according to Boturini, who adds that the Nahua Lotharios held disorderly festivals in his honor, to induce him to favor their designs.[131] Orgies, characterized by the grossest licentiousness are met with at different places along the coast, as among the Nootkas, the Upper and Lower Californians, in Sinaloa, Nicaragua, and especially in Yucatan, where every festival ended in a debauch. During a certain annual festival held in Nicaragua, women, of whatever condition, could abandon themselves to the

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work. For examples of the amulets mentioned, see illustrations in Payne Knight's *Worship of Priapus.*

[130] See vol. i., of this work, p. 93; *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, tom. iv., p. 48; See vol. ii., of this work, pp. 719–20.

[131] *Boturini, Idea*, p. 13; see also this volume, pp. 243–4.

embrace of whomever they pleased, without incurring any disgrace.[132]

The feast of the Mexican month Xocotlhuetzin, 'fall, or maturity of fruit,' is to me a most striking evidence of the former existence of phallic worship, or at least recognition of the fecundating principle in nature. I will, however, leave the reader to draw his own conclusions. This feast of the 'maturity of fruit' was dedicated to Xiuhtecutli, god of fire, and, therefore, of fertility, or fecundity. The principal feature of the feast was a tall, straight tree, which was stripped of all its branches except those close to the top and set up in the court of the temple. Within a few feet of its top a cross-yard thirty feet long was fastened; thus a perfect cross was formed. Above all, a dough image of the god of fire curiously dressed was fixed. After certain horrible sacrifices had been made to the deity of the day, the people assembled about the pole, and the youth scrambled up for the image, which they broke in pieces and scattered upon the ground.[133] A great number of similar analogies may be detected in the rites and customs of the people, and it is almost reluctantly that I refrain from giving my views in full. I have made it my aim, however, to deal with facts, and leave speculation to others. Those who wish to thoroughly investigate this most interesting subject, cannot do better than study Mr Squier's learned and exhaustive treatise on the Serpent Symbol.

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[132] See vol. i., of this work, pp. 200, 414, 566-6; vol. ii., p. 676, and account of Yucatec feasts in chap. xxii. In citing these brutish orgies I do not presume, or wish to assert, that they were in any way connected with phallus worship, or indeed, that there was anything of a religious nature in them. Still, as they certainly were indulged in during, or immediately after the great religious festivals, and as we know how the phallic cult degenerated from its original purity into just such bestiality in Greece and Rome, I have thought it well to mention them. There is much truth in the following remarks on this point, by Mr. Brinton, though with his statement that the proofs of a recognition of the fecundating principle in Nature by the Americans are 'altogether wanting,' I cannot agree. He says: 'There is no ground whatever to invest these debauches with any recondite meaning. They are simply indications of the thorough and utter immorality which prevailed throughout the race. And a still more disgusting proof of it is seen in the frequent appearance among diverse tribes of men dressed as women and yielding themselves to indescribable vices. There was at first nothing of a religious nature in such exhibitions. Lascivious priests chose at times to invest them with some such meaning for their own sensual gratification, just as in Brazil they still claim the *jus primae noctis*. The pretended phallic worship of the Natchez and of Culhuacan, cited by the Abbé Brasseur, rests on no good authority, and if true, is like that of the Huastecs of Panuco, nothing but an unrestrained and boundless profligacy which it were an absurdity to call a religion. That which Mr. Stephens attempts to show existed once in Yucatan, rests entirely by his own statement on a fancied resemblance of no value whatever, and the arguments of Lafitau to the same effect are quite insufficient. There is a decided indecency in the remains of ancient American art, especially in Peru, (Meyen) and great lubricity in many ceremonies, but the proof is altogether wanting to bind these with the recognition of fecundating principle throughout nature, or, indeed, to suppose for them any other origin than the promptings of an impure fancy. I even doubt whether they often referred to fire as the deity of sexual love. By a flight of fancy inspired by a study of oriental mythology, the worship of the reciprocal principle in America has been connected with that of the sun and moon, as the primitive pair from whose fecund union all creatures proceeded. It is sufficient to say if such a myth exists among the Indians—which is questionable—it justifies no such deduction; that the moon is often mentioned in their languages merely as the "night sun;" and that in such important stocks as the Iroquois, Athapascas, Cherokees, and Tupis, the sun is said to be a feminine noun; while the myths represent them more frequently as brother and sister than as man and wife; nor did at least the northern tribes regard the sun as the cause of fecundity in nature at all, but solely as giving light and warmth.' *Myths*, pp. 149–50; *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., pp. 416–17.

[133] For a full account of this feast see vol. ii., of this work, pp. 329–30.

CHAPTER XII.

FUTURE STATE.

Aboriginal Ideas of Future—General Conceptions of Soul—Future State of the Aleuts, Chepewyans, Natives at Milbank Sound, and Okanagans—Happy Land of the Salish and Chinooks—Conceptions of Heaven and Hell of the Nez Percés, Flatheads, and Haidahs—The Realms of Quawteaht and Chayher—Beliefs of the Songhies, Clallams, and Pend d'Oreilles—The Future State of the Californian and Nevada Tribes, Comanches, Pueblos, Navajos, Apaches, Moquis, Maricopas, Yumas, and others—The Sun House of the Mexicans—Tlalocan and Mictlan—Condition of the Dead—Journey of the Dead—Future of the Tlascaltecs and other Nations.

The hope, or at least the expectation of immortality, is universal among men. The mind instinctively shrinks from the thought of utter annihilation, and ever clings to the hope of a future which shall be better than the present. But as man's ideal of supreme happiness depends upon his culture, tastes, and condition in this life, we find among different people widely differing conceptions of a future. The intellectual Greek looked forward to the enjoyment of less gross and more varied pleasures in his Elysian Fields, than the sensual Mussulman, whose paradise was merely a place where bright-eyed houris could administer to his every want, or the fierce Viking whose Valhalla was a scene of continual gluttony and strife, of alternate hewing in pieces and swilling of mead.

It has been supposed by some that the idea of future punishment and reward was unknown to the Americans.[1] This is certainly an error, for some of the Pacific Coast tribes had very definite ideas of future retribution, and almost all, in supposing that the manner of death influenced the future state of the deceased, implied a belief in future reward, at least. The slave, too, who was sacrificed on the grave of his master, was thought to earn by his devotion, enforced though it might be, a passport to the realms of eternal joy; had there been no less blissful bourne this prospective reward for fidelity would have been manifestly superfluous.

The future life of these people was sharply defined, and was of the earth, earthy. In its most common forms it was merely earth-life, more or less free from mortal ills. The soul was subject to the same wants as the body, and must be supplied by the same means. In fact, the pagan's conception of heaven was much more clearly defined than the christian's, and the former must have anticipated a removal thither with a far less wondering and troubled mind than the latter.

In the Mexican heaven there were various degrees of happiness, and each was appointed to his place according to his rank and deserts in this life. The high-born warrior who fell gloriously in battle did not meet on equal terms the base-born rustic who died in his bed. Even in the House of the Sun, the most blissful abode of the brave, the ordinary avocations of life were not entirely dispensed with, and after their singing and dancing, the man took up his bow again, and the woman her spindle. The lower heavens possessed a less degree of splendor and happiness until the abode of the great mass of those who had lived an obscure life and died a natural death was reached. These pursued their avocations by twilight, or passed their time in a dreamy condition, or state of torpor. As slaves were often sacrificed over their master's grave that they might serve in the next world, we must suppose that differences of rank were maintained there. The Tlascaltecs supposed that the common people were after death transformed into beetles and disgusting objects, while the nobler became stars and beautiful birds. But this condition was also influenced by the acts and conduct of friends of the deceased.

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[1] 'The preconceived opinions,' says Brinton, that saw in the meteorological myths of the Indian a conflict between the Spirit of Good and the Spirit of Evil, have with like unconscious error falsified his doctrine of a future life, and almost without an exceptions drawn it more or less in the likeness of a Christian heaven, hell, and purgatory.... Nowhere was any well-defined doctrine that moral turpitude was judged and punished in the next world. No contrast is discoverable between a place of torments and a realm of joy; at the worst, but a negative castigation awaited the liar, the coward, or the niggard.' *Myths*, p. 242.

Sir John Lubbock[2] does not believe with Wilson and other archæologists that the burial of implements with the dead was because of any belief that they would be of use to the deceased in a future state; but solely as a tribute of affection, an outburst of that spirit of sacrifice and offering so noticeable in all, from the most savage to the most civilized, in the presence of lost brotherhood, friendship, or love. In the first place the outfit in a great majority of cases is wholly unfit and inadequate, viewed in any rational scale of utility; they are not such as the dead warrior would procure, if by any means he were again restored to earth and to his friends. In the second place it was and is usual to so effectually mutilate the devoted arms and utensils, as to render them a mere mockery if they are intended for the future use of the dead. It is easy to classify this phenomenon in the same category with the deserting or destroying of the house of the deceased, the refusal to mention his name, and all the other rude contrivances by which the memory of their sorrow may be buried out of their sight.

This subject may be viewed in another light, however, by considering that these Indians sometimes impute spirits even to inaminate objects, and when the wife or the slave is slain, their spirits meet the chief in the future land. Do they not also break the bow and the spear that the ghostly weapons may seek above the hands of their sometime owner, not leaving him defenceless among the awful shades. The mutilation of the articles may perhaps be regarded as a symbolic killing, to release the soul of the object; the inadequacy of the supply may indicate that they were to be used only during the journey, or preparatory state, more perfect articles being given to the soul, or prepared by it, on entering the heaven proper.

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[2] *Prehistoric Times*, p. 139.

The slaves sacrificed at the grave by the Aztecs and Tarascos were selected from various trades and professions and took with them the most cherished articles of the master, and the implements of their trade, wherewith to supply his wants. Passports were given for the different points along the road, and a dog as guide. Thus the souls of animals are shown to have entered heaven with man, and this is also implied by the belief that men were there transformed into birds and insects, and that they followed the chase. Another instance which seems to indicate that the souls of these earthly objects were used merely during the preparatory state, was the yearly feast given to departed souls during the period that this condition endured. After that they were left to oblivion. The Miztecs had the custom of inviting the spirits to enter and partake of the repast spread for them, and this food, the essence of which had been consumed by the unseen visitors, was regarded as sacred.[3]

The road to paradise was represented to be full of dangers—an idea probably suggested to them by the awful mystery of death. In the idea of this perilous journey, this road beset with many dangers—storms, monsters, deep waters, and whirlpools—we may trace a belief in future retribution, for though the majority of travelers manage to reach their destination having only suffered more or less maltreatment by the way, yet many a solitary, ill-provided wanderer is overwhelmed and prevented from doing so. In exceptional cases, the perils of this valley of the shadow of death are avoided by the intervention of a friendly deity who, Hermes-like, bears the weary soul straight to its rest. Among the Mexicans Teoyaomique, the consort of the war-god, performed this good office for the fallen warrior.

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[3] See vol. ii., pp. 618, 623.

With the alternative of this not very attractive future before them, it is natural that the theory of metempsychosis should have found wide and ready acceptance, for with these people it did not mean purification from sin, as among the Brahmans; it was simply the return of the soul to the world, to live once more the old life, although at times in a different and superior sphere. The human form was, therefore, assumed more often than that of animals. The soul generally entered the body of a female relative to form the soul of the unborn infant; the likeness of the child to a deceased friend in features or peculiarities lent great weight to this belief. This reëmbodiment was not limited to individuals; the Nootkas, for instance, accounted for the existence of a distant tribe, speaking the same language as themselves, by declaring them to be the incarnated spirits of their dead. The preservation of the bones of the dead, seems in some cases to be connected with a belief in a resurrection of the body. The opinion underlying the various customs of preservation of remains, says Brinton, "was, that a part of the soul, or one of the souls, dwelt in the bones; that these were the seeds which, planted in the earth, or preserved unbroken in safe places, would, in time, put on once again a garb of flesh, and germinate into living human beings."[4] Indeed, a Mexican creation-myth relates that man sprang from dead bones,[5] and in Goatzacoalco the bones were actually deposited in a convenient place, that the soul might resume them.

The most general idea of a soul seems to have been that of a double self, possessing all the essence and attributes of the individual, except the carnal embodiment, and independent of the body in so far as it was able to leave it, and revel in other scenes or spheres. It would accordingly appear to another person, by day or night, as a phantom, with recognizable form and features, and leave the impression of its visits in ideas, remembrances, or dreams. Every misty outline, every rustle, was liable to be regarded by the undiscriminating aborigine as a soul on its wanderings, and the ideas of air, wind, breath, shadow, soul, were often represented by the same word. The Eskimo word *silla*, signifies air, wind, and conveys the idea of world, mind; *tarnak*, means soul, shadow. The Yakima word for wind and life contains the same root; the Aztec *ehecatl* signifies wind, air, life, soul, shadow; in Quiché the soul bears the name of *natub*, shadow; the Nicaraguans think that it is *yulia*, the breath, which goes to heaven.[6] Some hold that man has several souls, one of which goes to heaven, the others remain with the body, and hover about their former home. The Mexicans and Quichés received a soul after death from a stone placed between the lips for that purpose, which also served for heart, the seat of the soul;[7] this was buried with the remains. The custom of eating the flesh of brave enemies in order to inherit their virtues, points to a belief in the existence of another soul or vital quality in the corpse. Some Oregon tribes gave a soul to every member of the body. A plurality of souls is also implied by the belief in soul-wandering during sleep, for is not the body animate though the soul be separated from it? yet the soul proper could not remain away from the body beyond a certain time, lest the weaker soul that remained should fail to sustain life.

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[4] *Myths*, p. 257.

[5] See p. 59, this volume.

With the many contradictions and vague statements before us, it must be admitted that the phrase "immortality of the soul" is often misleading. Tylor even considers it doubtful "how far the lower psychology entertains at all an absolute conception of immortality, for past and future fade soon into utter vagueness as the savage mind quits the present to explore them."[8]

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[6] *Oviedo, Hist. Nic.*, in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série ii., tom. iii. p. 36; *Buschmann, Spuren der Aztec, Spr.*, p. 74; *Id., Ortsman*, p. 159; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Gram. Quiché*, p. 196; *Brinton's Myths*, p. 49-52, 235.

[7] Vol. ii., pp. 606, 799, of this work.

[8] *Prim. Cult.*, vol. ii., p. 22.

Some tribes among the Hyperboreans actually disbelieved in a future existence, while others held the doctrine of a future reward and punishment. The conceptions of a soul were well defined however; the Thlinkeets supposed it to enter the spirit-world, among the *yeks*, on being released from the body. The braves who had fallen in battle, or had been murdered, became *keeyeks*, 'upper ones,' and went to dwell in the north, where the aurora borealis, omen of war, flashes in reflection from the lights which illuminate their dances; so at least the Eskimos regard it.[9] Those who died a natural death became *tákeeyeks*, land-spirits, and *tékeeyeks*, sea-spirits, and dwelt in *takankon* , doubtless situated in the centre of the earth,[10] the road to which was watered, and made smooth by the tears of relatives, but if too much crying was indulged in, it became swampy and difficult to travel. The tákeeyeks and tékeeyeks appear to have attached themselves as guardian spirits to the living, and were under the control of the shamáns, before whom they came in the form of land and sea animals, to do their bidding and reveal the past and future.[11] The keeyeks were evidently above the conjuration of the sorcerers. The comforts of heaven, like the road to it, depended on earthly conditions; thus, the body was burned in order that it might be warm in its new home. Slaves, however, who were buried, were condemned to freeze, but the shamáns whose bodies were also left to moulder, had doubtless power to avoid such misery. All lived in heaven as on earth, earning their living in the same manner, to which end the implements and other articles burnt with them were brought into use; wealthy people appointed two slaves to be sacrificed at the pyre, upon whom devolved the duty of attending to their wants.

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[9] *Dall's Alaska*, pp. 145, 422.

[10] Barrett-Lennard says, however: 'Those that die a natural death are condemned to dwell for ages among the branches of tall trees.' *Trav.*, p. 54. 'Careciese de algunas ideas religiosas, y viviese persuadido de la total aniquilacion del hombre con la muerte.' *Sutil y Mexicana*, *Viage*, p. cxviii. It is doubtful whether the latter class is composed of the spirits of men, or merely of marine animals. See this vol., p. 148.

[11] The Tinnehs do not regard these as the spirits of men. *Dall's Alaska*, p. 88.

The slaves carried their long-pending doom very philosophically, it is said.[12] It appears, however, that the soul had the option of returning to this life, and as I have said, generally entered the body of a female relative to form the soul of a coming infant. If the child resembled a deceased friend or relation, this reëmbodiment was at once recognized, and the name of the dead person was given to it. Metempsychosis does not appear to have been restricted to relatives only, for the Thlinkeets were often heard to express a desire to be born again into families distinguished for wealth and position, and even to wish to die soon in order to attain this bliss the earlier.[13] This belief in the transmigration of souls was widely spread, and accounts to some extent for the fearlessness with which the Hyperboreans contemplated death.[14] The Tacullies and Sicannis asked the deceased whether he would return to life or not, and the shamán who put the question decided the matter by looking at the naked breast of the body through his fingers; he then raised his hand toward heaven, and blew the soul, which had apparently entered his fingers, into the air, that it might seek a body to take possession of; or the shamán placed his hands upon the head of one of the mourners and sent the spirit into him, to be embodied in his next offspring. The relative thus favored added the name of the deceased to his own. If these things were not done the deceased was supposed to depart to the centre of the earth to enjoy happiness, according to their estimate of it. The Kenai supposed that a soft twilight reigned perpetually in this place, and that its inhabitants pursued their avocations; while the living slept they worked. The soul did not, however, attain perfect rest until a feast had been given in its honor, attended by a distribution of skins.[15]

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[12] *Kotzebue's New Voy.*. vol. ii., p. 54. 'They have a confused notion of immortality.' *Id,*, p. 58. The Koniagas also used to kill a slave on the grave of wealthy men. *Dall's Alaska*, p. 403.

[13] *Dall's Alaska*, pp. 422-3; *Holmberg, Ethno. Skiz.*, pp. 63-5.

[14] The Chepewyans also held this theory, though they believed in a heaven of bliss and a state of punishment. *Mackenzie's Voy.*, p. cxix.

[15] *Richardson's Jour.*, vol. i., pp. 409-10; *Baer, Stat. u. Ethno.*, pp. 107-8,

Dall, in speaking of the Tinnehs, to which family the Tacullies and Kenai belong, states that he found few who believed in the immortality of the soul, and none in future reward and punishment; any contrary assertion he characterizes as proceeding from ignorance or exaggeration. Other authors, however, in treating of tribes situated both in the extreme north, and in the center of this family, as the Loucheux and Chepewyans, declare that good and wicked were treated according to their deserts, the poor and rich often changing lots in the other life. Terrible punishment was sometimes inflicted upon the wicked in this world; thus, in Stickeen River stand several stone pillars, which are said to be the remains of an evil-doing chief and his family, whom divine anger placed there as a warning to others. According to Kennicott, the soul, whether good or bad, was received by Chutsain, the spirit of death, who was, for this reason probably, called the bad spirit.[16] The Eskimos seem to have believed in a future state, for Richardson relates that a dying man whom he saw at Cumberland Inlet declared his joy at the prospect of meeting his children in the other world and there living in bliss. It is also a suggestive fact that implements and clothes were buried with the body, care being taken that nothing should press heavily upon it. The large destruction of property practiced by some Rocky Mountain tribes was for the purpose of obliterating the memory of the deceased.[17] The Aleuts believed that the spirits of their relatives attended them as good genii, and invoked them on all trying occasions, especially in cases of *vendetta*.[18] The Chepewyan story relates that the soul arrives after

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111; *Harmon's Jour.*, pp. 299–300; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 482.

[16] *Whymper's Alaska*, p. 345; *Mackenzie's Voy.*, p. cxxviii.; *Hardisty*, in *Smithsonian Repl.*, 1866, p. 318. 'Nach dem Tode wurde nach ihren (Koniagas) Begriffen jeder Mensch ein Teufel; bisweilen zeigte er sich den Verwandten, und dass hatte Glück zu bedeuten.' *Holmberg, Ethno. Skiz.*, p. 122; *Macfie's Vanc. Isl.*, pp. 457–8.

[17] Vol. i., pp. 126–7, of this work; *Dunn's Oregon*, p. 83; *Silliman's Jour.*, vol. xvi., p. 147; *Seeman's Voy. Herald*, vol. ii., p. 67; *Richardson's Pol. Reg.*, p. 322. The Eskimos had no idea of 'future reward and punishment.' *Dall's Alaska*, p. 145.

[18] *D'Orbigny's Voy.*, p. 50.

death at a river upon which floats a stone canoe. In this it embarks and is borne by the gentle current to an extensive lake in the midst of which is an enchanted island. While the soul is drifting toward it, the actions of its life are examined, and if the good predominate, the canoe lands it on the shore, where the senses revel in never-ending pleasures. But if the evil of its past life out-weigh the good, the stone canoe sinks, leaving the spirit-occupant immersed up to the chin, there eternally to float and struggle, ever beholding but never realizing the happiness of the good.[19] This pronounced belief in a future reward and punishment obtained among several of the Columbian tribes. The natives of Millbank Sound picture it as two rivers guarded by huge gates, and flowing out of a dark lake—the gloom of death. The good enter the stream to the right, which sparkles in constant sunshine, and supplies them with an abundance of salmon and berries; the wicked pass in to the left and suffer cold and starvation on its bleak, snow-clad banks.[20] The Okanagans call paradise, or the abode of the good spirit, *elemehumkillanwaist*, and hell, where those who kill and steal go, *kishtsamah*. The torments of the latter place are increased by an evil spirit in human form, but with tail and ears like a horse, who jumps about from tree to tree with a stick in his hand and belabors the condemned.[21]

Some among the Salish and Chinooks describe the happy state as a bright land, called *tamath* by the latter, evidently situated in the direction of the sunny south, and abounding in all good things. Here the soul can revel in enjoyments, which, however, depend on its own exertions; the wealthy, therefore, take slaves with them to perform the menial duties. The wicked on the other hand are consigned to a desolate region under the control of an evil spirit, known as the Black Chief, there to be constantly tantalized by the sight of game, water and fire, which they can never reach. Some held that tamath was gained by a difficult road called *otuihuti*, which lay along the Milky Way, while others believed that a canoe took the soul across the water that was supposed to separate it from the land of the living.[22]

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[19] *Mackenzie's Voy.*, p. cxix; *Dunn's Oregon*, p. 104.
[20] *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 272–3.
[21] *Ross' Adven.*, p. 288; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., p. 158.

The Nez Percés, Flatheads, and some of the Haidah tribes believed that the wicked, after expiating their crimes by a longer or shorter sojourn in the land of desolation, were admitted to the abode of bliss. The Haidahs called the latter place *keewuck*, 'above,' within which seems to have been a still brighter spot termed *keewuckkow*, 'life above,' the abode of perennial youth, whither the spirit of the fallen brave took its flight. Those who died a natural death were consigned with the wicked to *seewukkow*, the purgatorial department, situated in the forest, there to be purified before entering the happy keewuck.[23] The Queen Charlotte Islanders termed paradise 'the happy hunting-ground,' a rather strange idea when we consider that their almost sole avocation was fishing.[24] The Nez Percés believed also in a purgatory for the living, and that the beavers were men condemned to atone their sins before they could resume the human form.[25] It seems to have been undecided whether the wives and young children shared the fate of the head of the family; the Flatheads expressed a belief in reunion, but that may have been after one or all had been purified in the intermediate state. Those who sacrificed slaves on the grave, sent them alike with the master that died gloriously on the battle-field, or obscurely in his bed.

The Ahts hold that the soul inhabits at once the heart and the head of man. Some say that after death it will return to the animal form from which its owner can trace his descent; others that, according to rank, disembodied souls will go to live with Quawteaht or with Chayher. Quawteaht inhabits a beautiful country somewhere up in the heavens, though not directly over the earth; a goodly land flowing with all manner of Indian milk and honey; no storms there, no snow nor frost to bind the rivers, but only warmth and sunshine and abundant game and fish. Here the chiefs live in the very mansion of Quawteaht, and the slain in battle live in a neighboring lodge, enjoying also in their degree, all the amenities of the place. And these are the only doors to this Valhalla of the Ahts; only lofty birth or a glorious death in battle can confer the right of entry here. The souls of those that die a woman's death, in their bed, go down to the land of Chayher. Chayher is a figure of flesh without bones—thus reversing our pictorial idea of the grisly king of terrors—who is in the form of an old gray-bearded man. He wanders about in the night stealing men's souls, when, unless the doctors can recover the soul, the man dies. The country of Chayher is also called chayher. It resembles a subterranean earth but is every way an inferior country: there are no salmon there and the deer are wretchedly small, while the blankets are so thin and narrow as to be almost useless for either warmth or decoration. This is why people burn blankets when burying their friends; they cannot bear that their friend be sent shivering to the world below. The dead Aht seems to have been allowed in some cases to roam about on earth in the form of a person or animal, doing both good and evil, a belief which induced many to make conciliatory offerings of food to the deceased. Some Chinook tribes were afraid to pronounce the names of their dead lest they should be attracted and carry off souls. This was especially feared at the sick-bed, and the medicine-man had to be constantly on guard with his familiars to frustrate such attempts.[26] The Aht sorcerer even sent his own soul down to chayher to recover the truant, in which he generally succeeded, unless the spirit of the sick man had entered a house.[27] Some among the tribes believed that the soul issued from animals, especially sea-gulls and partridges, and would return to its original form. The Songhies said the hunter was transformed into a deer, the fisherman into a fish; and the Nootkas, that the spirit could reassume a human form if the celestial abode were not to its taste.[28]

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[22] *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 235, 246–7; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. v., p. 124; *Dunn's Oregon*, p. 120. The Salish and Pend d'Oreilles believed that the brave went to the sun, while the bad remained near earth to trouble the living, or ceased to exist. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 239-40. But this is contradicted by other accounts.

[23] Macfie's description leaves a doubt whether the keewuck and keewuckkow are names for the same heaven, or separate. *Vanc. Isl.*, p. 457.

[24] *Poole's Q. Char. Isl.*, p. 320.

[25] *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 252; Dunn, *Oregon*, p. 318, says, 'beavers are a fallen race of Indians.'

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[26] *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. vi., p. 619; vol. i., p. 248, of this work.

In striking contrast to the preceding beliefs in futurity, and to that of the Clallams, who with universalistic feeling believe that the good spirit will receive all, without exception, in his happy hunting-ground, we are told that the Pend d'Oreilles had no conceptions whatever of soul or immortality, so that the missionaries found it difficult to explain these matters to them. It is certainly strange that a tribe surrounded by and in constant contact with others who held these ideas should have remained uninfluenced by them, especially as they were extremely superstitious and believed in guardian spirits and dreams.[29] Disbelief in a future state is assigned to many tribes, which upon closer examination are shown to possess ideas of a life after this; such statements must, therefore, be accepted with caution. Among the Californians who are said to identify death with annihilation, are the Meewocs and the tribes of the Sacramento Valley, yet the latter are afraid to pronounce the name of a deceased person, lest he should rise from dark oblivion.[30] But these may be regarded as exceptions, the remainder had pretty definite ideas of futurity, heaven being generally placed in the west, whither the glorious sun speeds to rest. The

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[27] The sorcerer is stated by one native to have brought the soul on a small stick and thrown it back into the head of its body. *Sproat's Scenes*, p. 214. 'The natives often imagine that a bad spirit, which loves to vex and torment, takes the place of the truant soul during its absence.' *Id.*, pp. 173-4; *Hutchings' Cal. Mag.*, vol. v., p. 225.

[28] *Mayne's B.C.*, p. 181; *Sutil y Mexicana, Viage*, p. 136; *Meares' Voy.*, p. 270; *Macfie's Vanc., Isl.*, p. 457; *Sproat's Scenes*, pp. 212-3.

[29] *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 212; *Brinton's Myths*, pp. 233-4; see note 2.

[30] *Johnston*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol., iv., p. 225.

Northern Californian regarded it as a great camping-ground, under the charge of the good spirit, where all meet after death, to enjoy a life free from want. But there were dangers upon the road which led to this bliss; for Omahá, the evil spirit, hovered near the dying man, ready to snatch and carry off the soul as soon as it should leave its earthly tenement. To prevent such a calamity, the friends who attended the burning of the body shouted and gesticulated to distract the Evil One's attention and enable the heart, in which the soul resided, to leap out of the flames and escape to heaven. If the body was interred, they thought the devil would have more chance of capturing the heart, which would then be sent back to earth to annoy the living.[31] The natives near the mouth of Russian River burned their dead to prevent their becoming grizzlies, while those about Clear Lake supposed that the wicked alone were thus metamorphosed, or condemned to wander as spirits.[32] Others, however, who adhered to interment, sought to complete the ceremony before night, when the coyote, in which form the evil spirit probably appeared, begins to howl, and for three days they kept up noisy demonstrations and fires at the graves; after that the fate of the soul was no longer doubtful. If captured, the good spirit could redeem it with a big knife. It was the belief in some parts that the deceased remained in the grave during the three days, and then proceeded to heaven, where earth and sky meet, to become stars, chiefs assuming the most brilliant forms.[33]

The bright rivers, sunny slopes, and green forests of the Euroc paradise are separated from the earth by a deep chasm, which good and wicked alike must cross on a thin, slippery pole. The former soon reach the goal, aided, doubtless, by the good spirit, as well as by the fire lighted on the grave by mourning friends, but the wicked man has to falter unaided along the shivering bridge;

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[31] *Hutchings' Cal. Mag.*, vol. iii., pp. 438–9; *Macfie's Vanc. Isl.*, p. 448.
[32] *Powers' Pomo*, MS.
[33] *Ib.*; *Gibbs*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iii., p. 140.

and many are the nights that pass before his friends venture to dispense with the beacon, lest the soul miss the path, and fall into the dark abyss. Nor does retribution end with the peril and anxiety of the passage, for many are liable to return to the earth as birds, beasts, and insects. When a Kailta dies, a little bird carries the soul to spirit-land, but its flight is impeded by the sins of the wicked, which enables a watching hawk to overtake and devour the soul.[34]

The Cahrocs have a more distinct conception of future reward and punishment, and suppose that the spirit on its journey comes to two roads, one strewn with flowers and leading to the bright western land beyond the great waters, across which good Chareya doubtless aids it; the other, bristling with thorns and briars, leading to a place full of deadly serpents, where the wicked must wander for ever.[35] The Tolewahs place heaven behind the sun, wherever that is, and picture hell as a dark place where souls shiver for ever before the cold winds, and are harassed by fiends.[36] The Modocs believe in a spirit-land, evidently situated in the air above the earthly home, where souls hover about inciting the living to good or evil. Merit appears to be measured by bodily stature, for contemptible woman becomes so small here that the warrior, whose stature is in proportion to his powers, requires quite a number of females to supply his wants.[37]

The Ukiahs, Sanéls, and others sprinkle food about the favorite haunts of the dead. The mother, for instance, while chanting her mournful ditty over the grave of her dead babe sprinkles the nourishing milk in the air.[38]

Many of the Nevada tribes thought that several heavens await the soul, each with a degree of bliss in proportion to the merits of the dead person; but this belief was not well defined; nor was that of the Snakes, who killed the favorite horse, and even wife, for the deceased, that he might not be lonely.[39] The Allequas supposed that before the soul could enter the ever-green prairies to live its second life, free from want and sorrow, it had expiated its sins in the form of some animal, weak, or strong, bad or good, often passing from a lower to a higher grade, according to the earthly conduct of the deceased. By eating prairie-dogs and other game, some sought to gather souls, apparently with a view to increase the purity of their own and shorten the preparatory term.[40] The San Diego tribes, on the other hand, who considered large game as the embodied spirits of certain generations, abstained from their flesh, evidently fearing that such fare would hasten their metamorphosis; but old men, whose term of life was nearly run, were not deterred by these fears.

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[34] *Powers' Pomo*, MS.; *Miller's Life amongst the Modocs*, pp. 241, 249.
[35] *Powers*, in *Overland Monthly*, vol. viii., pp. 430–1.
[36] *Id.*, *Pomo*, MS.; this vol., p. 177.
[37] *Meacham*, *Religion of Indians.*
[38] *Powers' Pomo*, MS.

Ideas of metempsychosis also appear in one of the songs of a Southern Californian tribe, which runs: As the moon dies to be reborn, so the soul of man will be renewed. Yet this people professed no belief in a future reward, or punishment. It is doubtless the same people, living near Monterey, of whom Marmier says, they supposed that the dead retired to certain verdant isles in the sea, while awaiting the birth of the infants whose souls they were to form. Others regarded these islands as paradise, and placed hell in a mountain chasm.[41]

Among the Acagchemems we meet with a peculiar pantheistic notion. Death was regarded as an invisible entity constituting the air, which also formed the soul of man, or his breath, whose particular seat was the heart. As man became decrepit, his soul was gradually absorbed in the element which had originated it, until it finally became merged and lost therein. But this was the belief of some only among the tribe. Others supposed that they would go to *tolmec*, the abode of the great Chinigchinich, situated below the earth, abounding in sensual pleasures, unembittered by sorrow, and where food and other wants were supplied without labor. Still others held that Chinigchinich sent the soul, or the heart, as they expressed it, to different places, according to the station in life and manner of death of the deceased. Thus, chiefs and medicine-men, whom Tacu, the eater of human flesh, honored by devouring, became heavenly bodies, while those who died by drowning, or in captivity, and could not be eaten by Tacu, went elsewhere. Souls of common people were consigned to some undefined, though evidently happy, place, since they were obliged to pass a probationary term on the borders of the sea, on mountains, in valleys, or forests, whence they came to commune with, or among, their widows or relatives, who often burned or razed the house to be saved from such visits.[42]

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[39] Vol. i., pp. 439–40, this work; *Browne's L. Cal.*, p. 188.

[40] *Meyer*, *Nach dem Sacramento*, pp. 228–9; *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v,, pp. 215–6.

[41] *La Pérouse*, *Voy.*, tom. ii., p. 307; *Marmier*, *Notice*, in *Bryant*, *Voy. en Cal.*, p. 238; *Fages*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1844, tom. ci., pp. 335–6; *Mofras*, *Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 379–80.

The Mojaves have more liberal ideas and admit all to share the joys of heaven. With the smoke, curling upwards from the pyre, the soul rises and floats eastward to the regions of the rising sun, whither Matevil has gone before, and where a second earth-life awaits it, free from want and sorrow. But if its purity be sullied by crime, or stained with human blood, the soul is transformed into a rat and must remain for four days in a rat-hole to be purified before Matevil can receive it. According to some, Matevil dwells in a certain lofty mountain lying in the Mojave territory.[43]

The Pimas also believe that the soul[44] goes to the east, to the sun-house perhaps, there to live with Sehuiab, the son of the creator, but this Elysion is not perfect, for a devil called Chiawat is admitted there, and he greatly plagues the inmates.[45] The Maricopas are stated in one account to believe in a future state exactly similar to the life on earth, with all its social distinctions and wants, so that in order to enable the soul to assume its proper position among the spirits, all the property of the deceased, as well as a great part of that of his relatives, is offered up at the grave. But according to Bartlett they think the dead will return to their ancient home on the banks of the Colorado, and live on the sand hills. Here the different parts of the body will be transformed into animals, the head, for instance, becoming an owl, the hands, bats, the feet, wolves, and in these forms continue their ancient feuds with the Yumas, who expelled them from that country.[46] The Yumas, however, do not conform to these views, but expect that the good soul will leave worldly strife for a pleasant valley hidden in one of the cañons of the Colorado, and that the wicked will be shut up in a dark cavern to be tantalized by the view of the bliss beyond their reach.[47]

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[42] *Boscana*, in *Robinson's Life in Cal.*, pp. 316–24.

[43] 'Ives legte dem Gebirge den Namen: "Berg der Todten" bei.' *Möllhousen, Reisen in die Felsengeb.*, tom. i., pp. 357–8. 'All cowardly Indians (and bravery was the good with them) were tormented with hardships and failures, sickness and defeats. This hill, or hades, they never dared visit.' *Stratton's Capt. Oatman Girls*, p. 233; *Dodt*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1870, p. 129; *Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner's Rept.*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. iii,, p. 43.

[44] Estupec, the soul or heart, may be connected with *eep*, breath. *Walker's Pimas*, MS. In *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iii., p. 461, occurs the term angel, but the Pima chiefs whom I have questioned state that the term angel was not known to them.

The Apaches believe in metempsychosis and consider the rattlesnake as the form to be assumed by the wicked after death. The owl, the eagle, and perfectly white birds, were regarded as possessing souls of divine origin, and the bear was not less sacred in their estimation, for the very daughter of Montezuma, whom it had carried off from her father's home, was the mother of its race.[48] The Moquis, went so far as to suppose that they would return to the primeval condition of animals, plants, and inanimate objects.[49] The faith of the other Pueblo tribes in New Mexico was more in accordance with their cultured condition, namely, that the soul would be judged immediately after death according to its deeds. Food was placed with the dead, and stones were thrown upon the body to drive out the evil spirit. On a certain night, in August it seems, the soul haunted the hills near its former home to receive the tributes of food and drink which affectionate friends hastened to offer. Scoffers connected the disappearance of the choice viands with the rotund form of the priests.[50]

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[45] *Walker's Pimas*, MS.

[46] *Pers. Nar.*, vol. ii., p. 222; *Cremony's Apaches*, pp. 104-5. 'Cuando muere vá á vivir su corazon por el mar hácia el poniente: que algunos despues que mueren viven como tecolotes, y últimamente dijeron que ellos no saben bien estas cosas.' *Garces*, *Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii., tom. i., p. 239.

[47] *Day*, in *Hesperian*, vol. iii., p. 482.

[48] *Henry*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 209.

[49] *Ten Broeck*, in *Id.*, vol. iv., p. 86.

The Navajos expected to return to their place whence they originated, below the earth, where all kinds of fruits and cereals, germinated from the seeds lost above, grow in unrivaled luxuriance. Released from their earthly bonds the spirits proceed to an extensive marsh in which many a soul is bemired through relying too much on its own efforts, and failing to ask the aid of the great spirit; or, perhaps the outfit of live stock and implements offered at the grave has been inadequate to the journey. After wandering about for four days the more fortunate souls come to a ladder conducting to the under world; this they descend and are gladdened by the sight of two great spirits, male and female, who sit combing their hair. After looking on for a few suns imbibing lessons of cleanliness, perhaps, they climb up to the swamp again to be purified, and then return to the abode of the spirits to live in peace and plenty for ever. Some believe that the bad become coyotes, and that women turn into fishes, and then into other forms.[51]

Among the Comanches we find the orthodox American paradise, in its full glory. In the direction of the setting sun lie the happy prairies, where the buffalo lead the hunter in the glorious chase, and where the horse of the pale-face aids those who have excelled in scalping and horse-stealing, to attain supreme felicity. At night they are permitted to revisit the earth, but must return before the break of day.[52] In striking contrast to this idea stands the curious belief said to have been held by the Pericúis of Lower California. Their great spirit Niparaya hated war, and to deter his people from engaging therein, consigned all those slain in battle to Tuparan or Wac, a spirit who rising in rebellion against the peace-loving Niparaya was deprived of all luxuries, and imprisoned in a cave by the sea, guarded by whales. Yet a number openly professed themselves adherents of this personage. The Cochimís, who appear to have had nearly the same belief, declare that it was the bad spirits who sought to secure the soul and hold it captive in the cave. Whatever may be the correct version, their belief in a future state, says Baegert, is evident from the custom of putting sandals on the feet of the dead.[53]

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[50] *Id.*, p. 78; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 402; *Whipple's Rept.*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. iii., p. 59.

[51] *Beadle*, in *Crofutt's Western World*, Aug., 1872, p. 27; *Bristol*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1867, p. 358; *Eaton*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iii., p. 218; *Davis' El Gringo*, p. 418.

The souls of the Sonora Indians dwell in the caves and among the rocks of the cliffs, and the echoes heard there are their clamoring voices.[54] Ribas declares that in one part of Sinaloa a future state was ignored, yet he says that they acknowledged a supreme mother and her son, who was the first man.[55] In Nayarit we come upon the Mexican idea of different heavens, determined by the mode of death. Thus, children and those who were carried off by disease went to one place; those who died a violent death, to the air regions, where they became shooting stars. The others went to *mucchita*, placed somewhere in the district of Rosario, where they lived under the care of men with shaven heads. During the day they were allowed to consort with the living, in the form of flies, to seek food; but at night they returned to the mucchita to assume the human form

[52] *Marcy's Army Life*, p. 57; *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., pp. 54, 685. Food is left at the grave for a certain time; this would indicate that the soul proper, or its second form, remains with the body for a while. *Id.*, pp. 78–9.

[53] *Smithsonian Rept.*, 1866, p. 387; *Clavigero, Storia della Cal.*, tom. i., pp. 136–7, 139.

[54] *Alger's Future Life*, p. 208. 'Lo llevan á enterrar sentado y con sus mejores vestidos, poniendo á su lado competente porcion de sus ordinarios alimentos.' *Alegre, Hist. Comp. de Jesus*, tom. ii., p. 218.

[55] *Hist. de los Triumphos*, p. 18.

and pass the time in dancing. At one time they could be released from this abode, but owing to the imprudence of one man, this privilege was lost. This person one day made a trip to the coast to procure salt, leaving his wife to take care of the house. After a short absence he returned, in time only to see her disappear in the mucchita, whither the spirits had beckoned her. His sorrow was boundless, for he loved his wife dearly. At last his tears and sighs touched the heart of the keeper of the souls, who told him to watch for his wife one night when she appeared in the dance, and wound her with an arrow: she would then recognize him and return home; but he warned him not to speak a loud word, or she would disappear forever. The man did as he was told, wounded his wife on the leg, and had the joy to see her return home. Musicians and singers were called in, and a grand feast was held to celebrate the event; but, overcome with excitement, the husband gave vent to a shout of joy. The next moment the warning of the keeper was verified—a ghastly corpse had taken the place of the wife. Since then no other soul has been allowed to rejoin the living.[56] It is curious to note in how many countries the doctrine of a future life has been connected with the legend of some hero who has died, descended into the under-world, and again risen to life. How closely does this American legend resemble the old story of Orpheus and Eurydice; the death and resurrection of the Egyptian Osiris; the Mithraic Mysteries of Persia, in which the initiated, in dumb show, died and rose again from the coffin; the Indian Mahadeva searching for the lifeless Sita, and made glad by his resuscitation; the recovery of Atys by Cybele among the Phrygians; the return of Kore to Demeter for half of every year in the Elusinian Mysteries; the mock murder and new birth of the impersonated Zagreus, in the Bacchic Mysteries; the Metamorphoses in the Celtic and Druidic Mysteries practiced in Gaul and Britain; all are different forms of but one idea.

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[56] *Apostolicos Afanes*, pp. 22-4.

An equally devoted husband was the Neeshenam whose story is told by Mr Powers in the following legend:—"First of all things existed the moon. The moon created man, some say in the form of a stone, others say in the form of a simple, straight, hairless, limbless mass of flesh, like an enormous earth-worm, from which he gradually developed into his present shape. The first man thus created was called Eicut; his wife, Yoátotowee. In process of time Yoátotowee fell sick, and though Eicut nursed her tenderly, she gradually faded away before his eyes and died. He loved her with a love passing the love of brothers, and now his heart was broken with grief. He dug a grave for her close beside his camp-fire (for the Neeshenams did not burn the dead then), that he might daily and hourly weep above her silent dust. His grief knew no bounds. His life became a burden to him; all the light was gone out of his eyes, and all this world was black and dreary. He wished to die, that he might follow his beloved Yoátotowee. In the greatness of his grief he fell into a trance, there was a rumbling in the ground, and the spirit of the dead Yoátotowee arose out of her grave and came and stood beside him. When he awoke out of his trance and beheld his wife, he would have spoken to her, but she forbade him, for in what moment an Indian speaks to a ghost he dies. She turned away and set out to seek the spirit-land (*oóshwooshe koom,* literally, 'the dance-house of ghosts.') Eicut followed her, but the ghost turned and said, 'why do you follow me? you are not dead.' They journeyed on through a great country and a darksome—a land that no man has seen and returned to report—until they came to a river that separated them from the spirit-land. Over this river there was a bridge of one small rope, so very narrow that a spider could hardly cross over it. Here the spirit of Yoátotowee must bid farewell to her husband and go over alone into the spirit-land. But the great unspeakable grief of Eicut at beholding his wife leaving him forever overcame his love of life, and he called aloud after her. In that self-same instant he died—for no Indian can speak to a ghost and live—and together they entered the land of spirits. Thus Eicut passed away from the realm of earth, and in the invisible world became a good and quiet spirit, who constantly watches over and befriends his posterity still living on earth. But he and his wife left behind them two children, a brother and a sister; and to prevent incest the moon created another pair and from these two pairs are descended all the Neeshenams of to-day."[57]

The future abode of the Mexicans had three divisions to which the dead were admitted according to their rank in life and manner of death. Glorious as was the fate of the warrior who died in the cause of his country, on the battle-field, or in the hands of the enemy's priests, still more glorious was the destiny that awaited his soul. The fallen Viking was carried by radiant Valkyries to Valhalla, but the Aztec hero was borne in the arms of Teoyaomique herself, the consort of Huitzilopochtli, to the bright plains of the sun-house, in the eastern part of the heavens, where shady groves, trees loaded with luscious fruit, and flowers steeped in honey, vied with the attractions of vast hunting-parks, to make his time pass happily. Here also awaited him the presents sent by affectionate friends below. Every morning when the sun set out upon his journey, these bright strong warriors seized their weapons[58] and marched before him, shouting and fighting sham battles. This continued until they reached the zenith, where the sun was transferred to the charge of the Celestial Women, after which the warriors dispersed to the chase or the shady grove.

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[57] This legend is taken from a MS kindly presented to me by Mr. Stephen Powers, and is a corrected version of the legend entitled 'Hilpmecone and Olégance' contributed by the same gentleman to the *Overland Monthly*, January, 1874. pp. 30-1.

[58] 'El que tenia rodela horadada de saetas no podia mirar al sol.' *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. iii., p. 265. This may perhaps mean that the humbler warrior, whose inferior shield was more likely to be pierced, could not look upon the majestic face of the sun, just as he had been interdicted from regarding the face of his king.

The members of the new escort were women who had died in war or child-bed, and lived in the western part of the Sun House. Dressed like the warriors in martial accoutrement,[59] they conducted the sun to his home, some carrying the litter of quetzal feathers in which he reclined, while others went in front shouting and fighting gaily. Arrived at the extreme west they transferred the sun to the dead of Mictlan, and went in quest of their spindles, shuttles, baskets, and other implements necessary for weaving or household work.[60] The only other persons who are mentioned as being admitted to the Sun House, were merchants who died on their journey. After four years of this life the souls of the warriors pass into birds of beautiful plumage, which live on the honey of flowers growing in the celestial gardens or seek their sustenance on earth.[61]

The second place of bliss was Tlalocan, the abode of Tlaloc, a terrestrial paradise, the source of the rivers and all the nourishment of the earth, where joy reigns and sorrow is unknown,[62] where every imaginable product of the field and garden grows in profusion beneath a perpetual summer sky. This paradise appears to have been erected on the ideal reminiscences of the happy Tollan, the cradle of the race, where their fathers

[59] 'When the midwife speaks to a woman who has died in childbed, she refers to the noble manner in which she has used the sword and shield, a figure of speech which is probably intended to represent the high estimation in which they held her.' *Id.*, tom. ii., lib. vi., p. 189.

[60] 'Descendian acá á la tierra.' *Ib.* But it is just as likely that they used the weaving implements supplied to them at the grave, as those of the living. Brasseur de Bourbourg says that the inhabitants of this region had day when the inhabitants of the earth slept; but since the women resumed their work after the setting of the sun, it is more likely that they always had light up there, and that they never slept. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. iii., p. 497.

[61] The humming-bird, the emblem and attribute of the war-god, offered on the grave in the month of Quecholli, probably referred to this transformation. *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib., ii., p. 164, lib. iv., pp. 264–5, tom. ii., lib. vi., pp. 188–9, lib. ix., p. 358; *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., p. 530. 'Nachher werden sie theils in Wolken verwandelt, theils in Kolibris.' *Müller, Amerikanische Urreligionen*, p. 661. The transformation into clouds seems to refer to the Tlascaltecs.

[62] Tlalocan is the name given by some old writers to the country between Chiapas and Oajaca. *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. iii., p. 496; *Brinton's Myths*, pp. 88–9. It may also be the place referred to under the names of Tamoancha, Xuchitlycacan. *Explanation of the Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vi., p. 127.

reveled in richess and splendor. To this place went those who had been killed by lightning, the drowned, those suffering from itch, gout, tumors, dropsy, leprosy and other incurable diseases. Children also, at least those who were sacrificed to the Tlalocs, played about in its gardens, and once a year they descended among the living in an invisible form to join in their festivals.[63] It is doubtful, however, whether this paradise was perpetual, for according to some authors the diseased stayed here but a short time, and then passed on to Mictlan; while the children, balked of their life by death or sacrifice, were allowed to essay it again.[64]

The third destination of the dead, provided for those who died of ordinary diseases or old age, and, accordingly, for the great majority, was Mictlan, 'the place of the dead,' which is described as a vast, pathless place, a land of darkness and desolation, where the dead after their time of probation are sunk in a sleep that knows no waking. In addressing the corpse they spoke of this place of Mictlan as a 'most obscure land, where light cometh not, and whence none can ever return.'[65] There are several points, however, given by Sahagun, as well as other writers, which tend to modify this aspect of Mictlan. The lords and nobles seem even here to have kept up the barriers which separated them from the contaminating touch of inferiors, and doubtless the good and respectable were classed apart from low miscreants and criminals, for there were nine divisions in Mictlan, of which Chicohnahuimictlan or Ninth-Mictlan, was the abode of the Aztec Pluto and his Proserpine. This name seems also to have been applied to the whole region, meaning then the nine Mictlans.[66] The different idol-mantles in which the dead person was attired, determined by his profession and by his manner of death, would imply that different gods had control of these divisions.[67] Whatever distinction there may have been was kept up by the humbler or richer offerings of food, clothing, implements, and slaves, made at the time of the burial, at the end of eighty days, and on the first, second third, and fourth anniversary of the death; all of which went before Mictlantecutli before being turned over to the use of the person for whom they were destined.[68] In one place Sahagun states that four years were passed in traveling before the soul reached Mictlan, and on another page he distinctly implies that this term was passed within that region, when he says that the dead awoke from their sleep as the sun reached the western horizon, and rose to escort it through their land; Torquemada says that four days were occupied in the journey.[69] The only way to reconcile these statements is by supposing that the soul passed from one division to another, until it finally, at the end of the four years, reached Mictlan proper, or Ninth-Mictlan, and attained repose. Their duties during this term consisting in escorting the sun, and working like their happier brethren in the Sun House, besides passing a certain time in sleep. The fact that the people besought the dead to visit them during the festival in their honor, implies that they were within Mictlan, though their liberty there, at that season, at least, was not so very restricted. 'As they helped to escort the sun, we must suppose that they also enjoyed the blessings of sunshine while terrestrial beings slept, and the expression of Tezozomoc, a place where none knows whether it be night or day, a place of eternal rest,' must refer to those only who have passed the time of probation, and lapsed into the final sleep. It may be however, that the sun was lustreless at night, for Camargo states that it slept after its journey.[70] If so, the dim twilight noticed among the northern people, or the moon, the deity of the night, must have replaced the obscured brightness of the sun, if lights indeed were needed, for the escort and the workers could scarcely have used artificial illumination. The route of the sun further indicates that Mictlan was situated in the antipodean regions, or rather in the centre of the earth, to which the term 'dark and pathless regions' also applies. This is the supposition of Clavigero, who bases it on the fact that Tlalxicco, the name of Mictlantecutli's temple, signifies center or bowels of the earth.'[71] But Sahagun and others place it in the north, and support this assertion by showing that *Mictlampa* signified north.[72] The fact that the people turned the face to the north when calling upon the dead,[73] is strongly in favor of this theory; the north is also the dark quarter. These apparently contradictory statements may be reconciled by supposing that Mictlan was situated in the northern part of the subterranean regions, as the home of the heroes was in the eastern part of the heavens.

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[63] Vol. ii., p. 336, this work.

[64] *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, p. 97; *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 82, 529. The remarks of the above authors with reference to those who die of diseases may, however, refer to sufferers from ordinary afflictions, who were from all doomed to Mictlan. In *Explanation of the Codex Vaticanus*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vi., pp. 169–71, all who die of diseases and a violent death are consigned to Mictlan. *Brinton's Myths*, pp. 246–7; *Alger's Future Life*, pp. 475–6. Chevalier, *Mex. Ancien et Mod.*, p. 91, who regards the sun as heaven, and Mictlan as hell, considers this an intermediate and incomplete paradise. *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. iii., p. 264; *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 5.

[65] *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. iii., pp. 260–1, tom. ii., lib. vi., p. 176; *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., p. 529; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. iii., p. 571; *Tezozomoc, Hist. Mex.*, tom. i., pp. 329, 331.

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[66] *Id.*, p. 329. 'Le plus commun est *Chiucnauh-Mictlan*, les Neuf séjours des Morts.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. iii., p. 495; *Mendieta*, *Hist. Ecles*, p. 97; *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. iii., p. 263.

[67] This seems also to be the idea of Gomara, *Conq. Mex.* fol. 308–9, although he makes the heavens distinct from one another, and includes the Sun House and Tlalocan in the list.

[68] *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., p. 166, lib. iii., p. 263.

[69] *Monarg. Ind.*, tom. ii., p. 522. The fact that offerings and prayers were kept up for four days by the mourners, confirms this statement. *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. iii., p. 263, tom. ii., lib. vi., p. 189. 'Until souls had arrived at the destined place at the expiration of these four years, they had to encounter much hardship, cold, and toil.' *Explanation of the Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vi., p. 96.

As the warrior in the Sun House passes after four years of perfect enjoyment into a seemingly less happy state, so the Mictlan probationer appears to have abandoned his work for a condition of everlasting repose.[74] This condition is already indicated by the very signification of the name Mictlan, 'place of the dead,' and by the preceding statements; it also implied by the myth of the creation of man, wherein the god-heroes say to Xolotl: Go beg of Mictlantecutli, Lord of Hades, that he may give the a bone or some ashes of the dead that are with him.[75]

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[70] *Hist. Tlax*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1843, tom. xcviii., p. 193; *Tezozomoc, Hist. Mex.*, tom. i., p. 331. 'When the sun sets, it goes to give light to the dead.' *Explanation of the Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vi., p. 128.

[71] *Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 6. Tlalxicco may be considered as hell proper, and distinct from Mictlan, and may have been ruled over by Tzontemoc who must then be regarded as distinct from Mictlantecutli. *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vi., p. 219.

[72] Mictlampaehecatl, the north-wind, is said to come from hell. *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. vii., pp. 253, 256-7; *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., p. 81.

[73] *Explanation of the Codex Vaticanus*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vi., pp. 218-9.

I will now revert to the terrible four days' journey,[76] which those who were unfortunate enough to die a peaceful death had to perform before they could attain their negative happiness. Fully impressed with the idea of its hardships, the friends of the deceased held it to be a religious duty to provide him with a full outfit of food, clothing, implements, and even slaves, to enable him to pass safely through the ordeal. Idols were also deposited by his side, and if the dead man were a lord, his chaplain was sent to attend to their service. This maintenance of worship during the journey is also implied by the sprinkling of water upon the ashes with the words: Let the dead wash himself.[77] The officiating priests, laid, besides, passports with the body, which which were to serve for various points along the road. The first papers passed him by two mountains, which, like the symplegades, threatened to meet and crush him in their embrace. The second was a pass for the road guarded by a big snake; the other papers took him by the green crocodile, Xochitonal, across eight deserts, and over eight hills. Then came the freezing *itzehecaya*,

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[74] 'Despues de pasados cuatro años, el difunto se salía y se iba á los nueve infiernos....en este lugar del infierno que se llamaba *Chicunamictla*, se acababan y fenecian los difuntos.' *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. iii., p. 263; see also note 8. At the end of four years the souls came to a place where they enjoyed a certain degree of repose. *Explanation of the Codex Vaticanus*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vi., p. 218.

[75] This vol., p. 59; see also, pp. 296–402.

[76] See not 12. Four was the most sacred number among the Mexicans as well as the other nations of America, and is derived from the adoration of the cardinal points. *Brinton's Myths*, p. 67. The Central Americans believed that the soul arrived at its destination in four days after death.

[77] *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. iii., p. 263.

'wind of knives,' which hurls stones and knives upon the traveler, who now more than ever finds the offerings of his friends of service. How the poor soul escaped this ordeal is not stated. Lastly he came to the broad river Chiconahuapan 'nine waters,' which could be crossed only upon the back of a dog of reddish color, which was killed for this purposes by thrusting an arrow down its throat, and was burnt with the corpse. According to Gomara, the dog served for a guide to Mictlan, but other authors state that it preceded its master, and when he arrived at the river, he found it on the opposite bank, waiting with a number of others for their owners. As soon as the dog recognized its master, it swam over, and bore him safely across the rushing current. A cotton string tied round its neck when placed upon the pyre may have served to distinguish it from other dogs, or as a passport.[78] The traveler was now taken before Mictlantecutli, to whom he presented the passports together with gifts consisting of candlewood, perfume-canes, soft threads of plain and colored cotton, a piece of cloth, a mantle and other articles of clothing, and was thereupon assigned to his sphere. Women underwent the same ordeal.[79] Camargo mentions a paradise above the nine heavens, occupied by the goddess of love, where dwarfs, fools, and hunchbacks danced and sang for her amusement, but whether these beings were of human or divine origin is not stated.[80] At times the old chroniclers consider Mictlan as a place of punishment,[81] but the priests in their homilies never appear to have urged repentance for the purpose of escaping future punishment, but merely to avoid earthly inflictions, visited upon them or their children.[82] The philanthropist whose whole life had been one continuous act of benevolence, the wise prince who had lived but for his country's good, the saintly hermit, the pious priest who had passed his days in perpetual fasts, penance, and self-torture, all were consigned to Mictlan, together with the drunkard, the murderer, the thief, and none were exempt from the terrible journey, or from the long probation which ends in eternal sleep. They may have accounted to themselves for the manifest unfairness of this system by means of their belief in predestination, which taught that the sign under which a man was born determined to a great extent, if not entirely, his character, career, and consequently his future.[83] Mictlan cannot, therefore, be regarded as a hell; it is but a place of negative punishment, a Nirvâna, in which the soul is at last blown out and lost.[84]

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[78] 'Pour qu'il ne fût pas entraîné en traversant le Styx indien.' *Biart, Terre Tempérée*, p. 280; *Gomara, Conq. Mex.*, fol. 309. 'Los porres de pelo blanco y negro, no podian nadar y pasar el rio, porque dizque decia el porro de pelo negro: "yo me labé" y el perro de pelo blanco decia: "yo me he manchado de color prieto, y por eso no puedo pasaros" solamente el perro de pelo vermejo podia pasar.' *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. iii., p. 263.

[79] *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. iii., pp. 260-4; *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., pp. 528-30; *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., pp. 5-6; vol. ii., pp. 603-19, of this work.

[80] *Hist. Tlax.*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1843, tom. xcix., pp. 192-3.

[81] 'Tenian por cierto, que en el infierno habian de padecer diversas penas conforme á la calidad de los delitos.' *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, p. 83. 'Entónces todos serán castigados conforme á sus obras.' *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib. vii., pp. 36-7; *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., p. 80. 'Ils étaient plongés dans une obscurité profonde, livrés à leurs remords.' *Chevalier, Mex. Ancien et Mod*, p. 91.

The Tlascaltecs supposed that the souls of people of rank entered after death into the bodies of the higher animals, or even into clouds and gems, while common souls passed into lower animal forms.[85] With the Mexicans they believed that little children who died were given another trial of earth-life.[86] In Goatzacoalco the bones of the dead were so placed that the soul might have no difficulty in finding them.[87] In the Aztec creation-myth we have seen that out of bone man was formed, and Brinton considers this, together with instances of the careful preservation of remains to be noticed in different parts of America, evidence of a wide-spread belief that the soul resided in the bones. This receives further confirmation in the Quiché legend which relates that the bones of certain heroes were ground to powder to prevent their removal.[88] Yet the idea does not accord with the Mexican custom of placing a stone between the lips of the dead to serve as heart, and, doubtless, to hold the soul as the Quichés supposed. Either instance, however, implies a belief in several souls, although no reference is made to such plurality. The Tlasaltecs had guardian spirits which were embodied in the idols called *tepictoton*, and Camargo mentions angels who inhabited the air and influenced thunder, winds, and other phenomena, and who were doubtless the children of Tlalocan.[89] A devil they could scarcely have had, for evil mingled too liberally in the nature of most of the Mexican gods to admit of its personification by one alone. The nearest approach to our Satan was to be found in a phantom called Tlacatecolotl, the 'owlish one'[90] who roamed about doing mischief; to see an owl was accordingly held to be an evil sign, and much dreaded. Will o' the wisps were regarded as transformed wizards and witches, or animals.[91] The Tlascaltecs supposed that the sparks which sped away from the craters of volcanoes were the souls of tyrants sent forth by the gods to torment the people.[92]

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[82] 'Padecen por los pecados de sus padres.' *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii., lib., vi., p. 36. Their prayers and penances, says Acosta, were merely on account of corporal inflictions, for they certainly feared no punishment in the world to come, but expected that all would rest there. *Hist. de las Ynd.*, p. 383. 'In the destiny they assigned to the wicked, we discern similar traces of refinement; since the abscence of all physical torture forms a striking contrast to the schemes of suffering so ingeniously devised by the fancies of the most enlightened nations. In all this, so contrary to the natural suggestions of the ferocious Aztec, we see the evidences of a higher civilization, inherited from their predecessors in the land.' *Prescott's Mex.*, vol. i., pp. 62-3.

[83] *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. iii., p. 267, et seq.

[84] The reader who thinks upon the subject at all, cannot help being struck by the remarkable resemblance in some points between these future abodes of the Mexicans and those of the ancient Greeks and Romans. The trembling soul has to pass over the same dreadful river, ferried by a brute Charon. In Hades as in Mictlan, the condition of the dead was a shadowy sort of apparent life, in which, mere ghosts of their former selves, they continued dreamily to perform the labors and carry on the occupations to which they had been accustomed on earth. In Greece as in Mexico, the shades of the dead were occasionally permitted to visit their friends on earth, summoned by a sacrifice and religious rites. Neither Elysion nor the glorious Sun House was the reward of the purely good so much as of the favorites of the gods. Such points of resemblance as these are, however, unnoticed by those who theorize concerning the origin of the Americans; they go farther for analogies, and perhaps fare worse.

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[85] *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 5; *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, p. 97.

[86] *Alger's Future Life*, pp. 475–6.

[87] *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, dec. iv., lib. ix., cap. vii.

[88] *Myths*, p. 258; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Popol Vuh*, p. 175.

[89] *Hist. Tlax.*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1843, tom. xcviii., p. 192; *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. ii., p. 64.

[90] *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, p. 81. 'Tlacatecolotl, demonio o diablo.' *Molina, Diccionario.*

[91] *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, p. 109.

The Otomís believed that the soul died with the body,[93] while the Tarascos, according to Herrera, admitted a future judgment, with its accompaniments of heaven and hell, but to judge from their burial customs, with immolation of attendants, term of mourning, and so forth, it would appear that they had the same belief as the Aztecs.[94]

The Miztecs placed the gates of paradise within the cavern of Chalcatongo, and the grandees of the kingdom were therefore eager to be buried within its precincts, in order to be near the abode of bliss. The Zapotecs placed the heavenly portals within the cave of Mictlan. Their heaven must accordingly have been situated within the earth, although the custom of placing the dead with their feet towards the east indicates that it lay toward the sunny morning land. The common people at least seem, like the Aztecs, to have been required to pass a probationary term before entering the holy place, and during this period they were permitted to visit their friends on earth once a year, and partake of the repast spread for them. The Zapotecs gave as a reason for interring the dead, that those who were burned failed to reach heaven.[95]

The Mayas believed in a place of everlasting delight, where the good should recline in voluptuous repose beneath the shade of the *yaxché*,[96] indulging in dainty food and delicious drinks. Those who died by hanging were especially sure of admittance to this paradise, for their goddess Ixtab carried them thither herself, and many enthusiasts committed suicide with this expectation. The wicked, on the other hand, descended into Mitnal,[97] a sphere below this, where hunger and other torments awaited them. Cacao money was laid with the body to pay its way, and frequent offerings of food were made, but the funeral was not proceeded with until the fifth day, when the soul had entered its sphere. A trace of metempsychosis may be noticed in the superstitious belief that sorcerers transformed people into animals.[98]

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[92] 'The inhabitants suppose kinges (who, while they liued, gouerned amisse) to haue a temporary aboade there being companious with diuels amonge those flames, where they may purge the foule spots of their wickednesse.' *Peter Martyr*, dec. v., lib. ii.

[93] *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 4: *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, p. 96.

[94] *Hist. Gen.*, dec. iii., lib. iii., cap. x.; *Carbajal Espinosa, Hist. Mex.*, tom. i., p. 292; vol. ii., pp. 620-2, of this work.

[95] *Burgoa, Geog. Descrip.*, tom. ii., fol. 230-1, tom. i., fol. 159-61; *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 5; *Explanation of the Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. vi., p. 96; *Id.*, *Codex Vaticanus*, p. 218; vol. ii., pp. 622-3, of this work.

[96] 'Le *Yaxché*, qui signifie arbre vert, est probablement le même que le *tonacaste* ou *tonacazquahuitl*, arbe au tronc puissant et élevé, au feuillage immense, mais menu et serré, dont la beauté et l'extrême fraîcheur lui ont

Whether the Quichés believed in a future reward and punishment is uncertain, for on the one hand we are told that Xibalba, which implies a place of terror, was their hell, where ruled two princes bearing the suggestive names of One Death and Seven Deaths; while, on the other hand, the sacrifice of slaves and other objects, implies a negative punishment. A gentle, unwarlike tribe of Guatemala is said to have had a belief similar to that of the Pericuis, namely that a future life was accorded to those only who died a natural death, and, therefore, they left the bodies of the slain to beasts and vultures.[99] The Pipiles appear to have looked forward to the same future abodes as the Mexicans, and to the same dreadful journey after death. During the four days and four nights that the soul was on the road, the mourners wailed deeply, probably with fear for its safety, but on the fifth day, when the priest announced that it had reached the goal, the lamentation ceased. During this time also, the mother whose infant had de-

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fait donner le nom d'arbre de la vie.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, in *Landa, Relacion*, p. 200.

[97] An evident corruption of Mictlan.

[98] 'Dezian se lo (el difunto) avia llevado el diablo porque del pensavan les venian los males todos y especial la muerte.' *Landa, Relacion*, p. 196., 198–202; *Cogolludo, Hist. Yuc.*, p. 192; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., pp. 62–3; *Carrillo*, in *Mex. Soc. Geog.*, *Boletin*, 2da época, tom. iii., pp. 265–6.

[99] *Brinton's Myths*, p. 246; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Popol Vuh*, pp. lxxix.–lxxx., cxxviii.–cxxx; vol. ii., p. 799, of this work.

parted withheld the milk from all other children, lest the thirsty little wanderer should be angry, and smite the usurper.[100] The probationary routine of the spirits appears to have called them to the earth at intervals, for a legend of the isles of Lake Ilopango recounts that at certain times of the year spectre barks glide in silence over the tranquil waters of the lake, anointing every island from the least to the greatest, offering upon each to some bloody divinity of past times a human victim, an infant chosen by lot.[101]

The same view of futurity was taken by the Nicaraguans, who thought that the souls[102] of slain warriors went to the sunrise regions, the abode of Tamagostat and Cipattonal, who welcomed them with the title of 'our children.' But all the good, that is those who had obeyed and reverenced the gods, were admitted here, whether warriors or not, and strong must have been their faith in the bliss that awaited them, for the virgins, says Andagoya, who were cast as offerings into the seething lava streams of the volcano met their fate without fear.[103] The wicked were doomed to annihilation in the abode of Miquetanteot.[104] Infants who died before they were weaned returned to the house of their parents to be cared for, evidently in spirit form.[105] The Mosquitos believe in one heaven only, and this is open to all; for it they prepare at the very beginning of life by tying a little bag of seeds round the neck of the infant, wherewith to pay the ferriage across the great river beyond which paradise lies.[106] In and about Veragua death means annihilation, and no food is left for the dead. In some places the dying are carried out to the woods and abandoned to wild beasts.[107] In Costa Rica and Darien slaves and even wives are sacrificed that their souls may serve their lords in heaven.[108]

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[100] *Palacio, Carta*, pp. 76-8.

[101] *Dollfus and Mont-Serrat, Voy. Géologique*, p. 12.

[102] *Yolia* or *yulia* derived from *yoli*, to live is distinct from heart, *yollotli*. *Buschmann, Ortsnamen*, p. 159. Yet the heart was evidently considered as the seat of the soul, for some Indians stated that 'el coraçon va arriba,' while others explained that by this was meant the breath. *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, tom. iv., pp. 44-5.

[103] *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, tom. iii., p. 415.

[104] Corresponding to the Aztec Mictlantecutli. It is not quite clear whether all agreed upon total annihilation in this place.

[105] 'Han de resuçitar ó tornar á casa de sus padres, é sus padres los conoseçrán é criarán.' *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, tom. iv., pp. 41, 42-9; *Brinton's Myths*, pp. 145, 235; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. ii., pp. 113-4.

[106] Bell adds that this ferriage money was provided lest the child 'should die young.' Offerings are also placed upon the grave. *Lond. Geog. Soc., Jour.*, vol. xxxii., pp. 254-5.

Writing on the customs of Dabaiba, Peter Martyr says: 'They are such simple men, that they know not how to call the soule, nor vnderstand the power thereof: whereupon, they often talk among themselues with admiration what that inuisible and not intelligible essence might bee, whereby the members of men and brute beastes should be moued: I know not what secret thing they say, should liue after the corporall life. That (I know not what) they beleeue that after this peregrination, if it liued without spott, and reserued that masse committed vnto it without iniury done to any, it shoulde goe to a certayne æternall felicity: contrary, if it shall suffer the same to be corrupted with any filthy lust, violent rapine, or raging furie, they say, it shall finde a thousande tortures in rough and vnpleasant places vnder the Center: and speaking these things, lifting vpp their the handes they shewe the heauens, and after that casting right hand down, they poynt to the wombe of the earth'! Their belief in a future punishment he further illustrates by relating that 'the thicke spott seene in the globe of the Moone, at the full, is a mann, and they beleeue hee was cast out to the moyst, and colde Circle of the Moone, that hee might perpetually bee tormented betweene those two passions, in suffering colde, and moysture, for incest committed with his sister.'[109]

The following myths, for which I am indebted to the kindness and industrious investigation of Mr Powers, having come to hand too late for insertion in their proper places I avail myself of the opportunity to give them here:—There dwells, say the Neeshenams, upon the hills and in the forests, a ghost named Bóhem Cülleh, which is at once man and woman. It is a bad spirit, but nevertheless a useful one to those who seek its aid, and these are mostly bad people. Sometimes in the night its wierd eldritch cry is heard in the forest, and then some woman about to be overtaken in dishonest childbirth goes out into the woods alone, with her shame and her pangs upon her, and having brought forth, presently returns, crying and lamenting that the wicked ghost met and overcame her and that she has conceived of the spirit. Or perhaps it is a man who has wrought an evil thing who makes this bad spirit responsible for his wickedness. Either a man or a woman wandering alone in the forest is exposed to the enticements of the ghost Bóhem Cülleh, to commit fornication with it.

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[107] 'They suppose that men do naturally liue and die as other beastes do.' *Peter Martyr*, dec. iii., lib. iv.

[108] 'Aquel humo iba donde estaba el ánima de aquel defunto....en el cielo, y que en el humo iba allá.' *Andagoya*, in *Navarrete*, *Col. de Viages*, tom. iii., p. 402; *Herrera*, *Hist. Gen.*, dec. i., lib. vii., cap. xvi., dec. ii., lib. iii., cap. v.; *Gomara*, *Hist. Ind.*, fol. 255; *Oviedo*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. iii., p. 142.

[109] Dec. vii., lib. x.

'The Coyote's Elopement' forms the subject of another Neeshenam tale. It is as follows—The coyote and the bat were one day gathering the soft-shelled nuts of the sugar pine, when there came along two women-deer (the only way they have of expressing 'female deer'), who were the wives of pigeons. The coyote, upon this, took a handful of pitch and besmeared the bat's eyes so that it could not see. The poor bat was totally blinded, but it called upon the wind to blow, and its eyes were opened a little, as we see them to-day. Meantime the rascally coyote eloped with the two women-deer. But it was not long before they came to a bridge so extremely narrow that they could not pass over it. Just then there came along a quail, and he took the two women-deer and led them across, leaving the bigamous coyote in the lurch. No sooner had they crossed than the sister of the pigeons took the quail away to his mother's camp, and thus the women-deer were set at liberty, and recovered by their husbands, the pigeons.

"In this story," says Mr Powers, "as in many others, we have something analogous to the were-wolves and swan-maidens of the medieval legends. It also illustrates the Indian belief in the common origin of all animals. Their favorite theory is, that the man originated from the coyote, and the woman from the deer. Wherefore this story probably gives us a glimpse of the first courtship recorded of the human race, when the animals had so developed, strictly in accordance with the Darwinian programme, that man was about to appear upon the scene. The failure of the coyote's elopement delayed that auspicious event a little while."

Another Neeshenam legend relates that there was once a medicine-man who possessed the wonderful faculty of turning himself into a bear for a brief season. When one of his patients was extremely ill, and, according to custom, he sucked him to extract the injurious matter, he would presently be seized with a spasm. Falling upon all fours, he would find his hands and feet sprawled along the ground in plantigrade fashion, his nails would grow long and sharp, a short tail would sprout forth, hair would spring up all over his body, in short he would become a raging, roaring bear. When the spasm had passed away, he would return to the human form.

According to yet another Neeshenam tradition, there lived long, long ago a very terrible old man, whose chief delight it was to kill and devour Indians. He had stone mortars in which he pounded the flesh to make it tender for eating. Far down on the Sacramento plains, thirty or forty miles away, he and his wife lived together, and around their wigwam the blood of Indians lay a foot deep. The Indians all made war on them and tried to kill them, but they could do nothing against them. Then at last the Old Coyote took pity on the Indians whom he had created, and he determined to kill this old man. He was accustomed to go into the great round dance-house when the Indians were assembled within it, and slay the chief. So the Old Coyote dug a deep hole just outside the door, and hid himself in it, armed with a big knife. The knife was just on a level with the ground, and when the old man came along, going into the dance-house, he saw it, and gave a kick at it, but did not notice the Coyote, who immediately jumped out of his hole, ran into the dance-house, and killed the old man.

This story, Mr Powers thinks probably refers to some long extinct race of cannibals who were superior in power to the present race. "To them," he says, "may be assigned the stone mortars found in so many parts of California, which the Indians now living here confessedly did not make. Others account for these stone mortars by saying they were made by the chief of the spirits, Haylin Kakeeny, and his subordinates."

The following queer legends are, on the indisputable authority of Mr Powers, of Shasta origin: The world was created by Old Groundmole, *ididoc*, a huge animal that heaved creation into existence on its back, by rooting underneath somewhere. When the flood came it destroyed all animals except a squirrel, as large as a bear, which exists to this day on a mountain called by the Shastas, Wakwaynuma, near Happy Camp.

A long time ago there was a fire-stone in the distant east, white and glistening, like the purest quartz; and the coyote journeyed east, brought this fire-stone and gave it to the Indians, and that was the origin of fire.

Originally the sun had nine brothers, all, like himself, flaming hot with fire, so that the world was like to perish; but the coyote slew nine of the brothers, and thus saved mankind from burning up. The moon also had nine brothers, all like to himself, made of the coldest ice, so that in the night people went near to freeze to death. But the coyote went away out on the eastern edge of the world with a mighty big knife of flint stone, heated stones to keep his hands warm, then laid hold of the nine moons, one after another, and slew them likewise, and thus men got warm again.

When it rains, there is some Indian sick in heaven, weeping. Long, long ago there was a good young Indian on earth, and when he died all the Indians cried so much that a flood came on the earth and rose up to heaven, and drowned all people except one couple.

The Chénposels relate that there was once a man who loved two women, and wished to marry them. Now, these two women were magpies, *atchatch*, and they loved him not, but laughed his wooing to scorn. Then he fell into a rage and cursed these two women that were magpies and went far away to the north, and there he set the world on fire, made for himself a tule boat in which he escaped to sea, and was never heard of more. But the fire which he had kindled burned with a mighty burning. It ate its way south with terrible swiftness, licking up all things that are on earth—men, trees, rocks, animals, water, and even the ground itself. But the Old Coyote saw the burning and smoke from his place far in the south, and he ran with all his might to put it out. He took two little boys in a sack on his back, and ran north like the wind. So fast did he run that he gave out just as he got to the fire, and dropped the two little boys. But he took Indian sugar (honey dew) in his mouth, chewed it up, spat it on the fire and put it out. Now the fire was out, but the Coyote was very thirsty, but there was no water, so he took Indian sugar again, chewed it up, dug a hole in the bottom of the creek, covered up the sugar in it, and it turned to water, and the earth thus had water again. But the two little boys cried because they were lonely for there was nobody on earth. Then the Coyote made a sweat-house, and split up a great number of little sticks, which he laid in the sweat-house over night; in the morning they were all turned into men and women, so the two little boys had company, and the earth was repeopled.[110]

I conclude with a sun-myth of the Pallawonaps, who lived on Kern River in Southern California:—Pokòh made all things. Long ago the sun was a man. The sun is bad and wishes to kill all things, but the moon is good. The sun's rays are arrows, and he gives a bundle to every creature, more to the lion, fewer to the coyote, etc.; but to none does he give an arrow that will slay a man. The coyote wished to go to the sun, and he asked Pokŏh the road. Pokŏh pointed out to him a good road, and the coyote traveled on it all day, but the sun turned round, so he traveled in a circle, and came back at night to the place whence he had started in the morning. A second time he asked Pokŏh, and a second time he came back in a circle. Then Pokŏh told him to go straight to the eastern edge of the earth, and wait there until the sun came up. So the coyote went and sat down on the hole where the sun came up, with his back turned to the east, and kept pointing with his arrow in very direction, pretending he was going to shoot. The sun came up under him, and told him to get out of the way. But the coyote sat there until it became so warm that he was obliged to coil up his tail under him. Then he began to get thirsty, and asked the sun for water. The sun gave him an acorn-cup full, but this did not satisfy the coyote's great thirst. Next his shoulders began to get warm, so he spat on his paws and rubbed his back with them. Then he said to the sun, Why do you come up here, meddling with me? But the sun said, I am not meddling with you; I am traveling where I have a right to travel. The coyote told him to go round some other way, that that was his road, but the sun insisted on going straight up. Then the coyote wanted to go up with him, so the good natured sun took him along. Presently they came to a path with steps like a ladder, and as the sun went up he counted the steps; when they got up above the world, the coyote found it getting hot and wanted to jump down, but the distance was too great. By noon the sun was very hot and bright, and he told the coyote to shut his eyes. He did so, but he opened them quickly again, and so kept opening and shutting them all the afternoon, to see how fast the sun was sliding down. When the sun came down to the earth in the west, the coyote jumped off on to a tree, and so clambered down to the ground.[111]

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[110] "It is possible" concludes Mr Powers, "that this legend has dim reference to that great ancient cataclysm, or overflow of lava from the north, which has been demonstrated by Professor le Conte, in a paper read before the Californian Academy of Science.

Such are the Myths of the Farthest West, such the endeavors of these men unenlightened, according to our ideas of enlightenment, to define the indefinable, such the result of their 'yearning after the gods.' Most of their myths and beliefs are extravagant, childish, meaningless, to our understanding of them, but doubtless our myths would be the same to them. From the beginning of time men have grappled with shadows, have accounted for material certainties by immaterial uncertainties. Let us be content to gather and preserve these perishable phantoms now; they will be very curious relics in the day of the triumph of substance.

[111] This myth, Mr Powers thinks, has been belittled or corrupted from the ancient myth of the zodiac, and, in his opinion, argues for the Americans a civilized, or at least semi-civilized, Asiatic origin,—a very far-fetched conclusion I should say.

THE NATIVE RACES

OF THE

PACIFIC STATES.

LANGUAGES.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL REMARKS.

NATIVE LANGUAGES IN ADVANCE OF SOCIAL CUSTOMS—CHARACTERISTIC INDIVIDUALITY OF AMERICAN TONGUES—FREQUENT OCCURRENCE OF LONG WORDS—REDUPLICATIONS, FREQUENTATIVES, AND DUALS—INTERTRIBAL LANGUAGES—GESTURE-LANGUAGE—SLAVÉ AND CHINOOK JARGONS—PACIFIC STATES LANGUAGES—THE TINNEH, AZTEC, AND MAYA TONGUES—THE LARGER FAMILIES INLAND—LANGUAGE AS A TEST OF ORIGIN—SIMILARITIES IN UNRELATED LANGUAGES—PLAN OF THIS INVESTIGATION.

In nothing, perhaps, do the Native Races of the Pacific States show signs of age, and of progress from absolute primevalism, more than in their languages. Indeed, throughout the length and breadth of the two Americas aboriginal tongues display greater richness, more delicate gradations, and a wider scope, than from the uncultured condition in which the people were found, one would be led to suppose. Until recently, no attention has been given by scholars to these languages; now it is admitted that the more they are studied the more do new beauties appear, and that in their speech these nations are in advance of what their general rudeness in other respects would imply. Nor is there that difference in the construction of words and the scope of vocabularies between nations which we call civilized and those called savage, which, from the difference in their customs, industries, and polities we should expect to find; from which it is safe to infer that in progress, after the essential corporeal requirements are satisfied, the necessities of the intellect, of which speech is the very first, are not only met, but are developed and gratified beyond what the actual necessities of the body demand. That is, speech or no speech the body must be fed or the animal dies, but with the absolute necessities of the body supplied, the intellect and its supernumeraries shoot forward beyond their relative primeval state, leaving bodily comforts far behind. Hence, in the very outset of what we call progress, we see the intellect asserting its independence and developing those organs only which in their turn assist its own development. Again, under certain conditions, two nations having advanced materially and intellectually side by side up to a certain point, may from extrinsic or incidental causes become widely separate; one may go forward intellectually while the two remain together substantially; one may go forward materially while mentally there is no apparent difference. The causes which give rise to these strange inequalities we cannot fathom until we can minutely retrace the progress of the people for thousands of ages in their history; we only see, in the many examples round us, that such is the fact. A people well advanced in art and language may, from war or famine, become reduced to primeval penury and yet retain traces of its former culture in its speech, but by no possibility can rude and barbaric speech suddenly assume depth and richness from material prosperity; from all of which it is safe to conclude that language is the surest test of the age of a people, for the mind cannot expand without an improvement in speech, and speech improves only as it is forced slowly to develop under pressure of the mind.

The researches of the few philologists who have given American languages their study have brought to light the following facts. First, that a relationship exists among all the tongues of the northern and southern continents; and that while certain characteristics are found in common throughout all the languages of America, these languages are as a whole sufficiently peculiar to be distinguishable from the speech of all the other races of the world. Although some of these characteristics, as a matter of course, are found in some of the languages of the old world—more of them in the Turanian family than in any other,—yet nowhere on the globe are uniformities of speech carried over vast areas and through innumerable and diversified races with such persistency, as in America; nowhere are tongues so dissimilar and yet so alike as here. In this general similarity would be a strong ground-work for a theory of common origin, either indigenous or foreign, but for the fact that while the languages of America appear distinct from all other languages of the world, and do indeed in certain respects bear a general resemblance one to another throughout, yet at the same time I may safely assert that on no other continent can there be found such a multitude of distinct languages which definitely approach one another in scarcely a single word or syllable as in America. It is as easy to prove from language that the nations of the New World were originally thrown together from different parts, and that by intermigrations, uniformity in customs and climate, and the lapse of long ages the people have become approximately brethren in speech, while their incessant wars have at the same time held them asunder and prevented a more particular uniformity, as it would be to prove a common origin and subsequent dispersion; without further light both theories are alike insusceptible of proof, as are, indeed, all hypotheses concerning the origin of the native races of this continent. Another fact which naturally becomes more apparent the more we investigate the subject, particularly as regards the nations inhabiting the western half of

North America, is, that the innumerable diversities of speech found among these tribes constantly tend to disappear, tend to range themselves under broad divisions, coalescing into groups and families, thereby establishing more intimate relationship between some, and widening the distance between others. The numbers of tongues and dialects, which at the first appeared to be legion, by comparison and classification are constantly being reduced. Could we go back, even for a few thousand years, and follow these peoples through the turnings and twistings of their nomadic existence, we should be surprised at the rapid and complete changes constantly taking place; we should see throughout this broad continent the tide of human life ebbing and flowing like a mighty ocean, surging to and fro in a perpetual unrest, huge billows of humanity rolling over forest, plain, and mountain, nations driving out nations, absorbing, or annihilating, only to be themselves inevitably driven out, absorbed, or annihilated; we should see as a result of this interminable mixture, languages constantly being modified, some wholly or in part disappearing, some changing in a lesser degree, hardly one remaining the same for any considerable length of time. Even within the short period of our own observation, between the time of the first arrival of Europeans and the disappearance of the natives, many changes are apparent; while we are gazing upon them we see their boundaries oscillate, like the play of the threads in network. On the buffalo-hunting inland plains I have seen aggregations of tribes driven out from their old camping-ground, in some instances a thousand miles away, and their places occupied by others; in the narrower limits of the north-western mountains I have seen numerous tribes extirpated by their neighbors, a remnant only being kept as slaves. While such was the normal condition of the aborigines it is not difficult to perceive in some degree at least, the effect upon languages. Yet while American languages are indeed, as Whitney terms them, "the most changeful human forms of speech" there are yet found indestructible characteristic elements, affiliations which no circumstances of time or place can wholly obliterate.

One of these characteristic elements is the frequent occurrence of long words. Even the Otomí, the only language in America which can be called monosyllabic, consisting as it does, for the most part, of etymons of one syllable, contains some comparatively long words. This frequency of long words, the method of their construction, and the ease with which they are manufactured constitute a striking feature in the system of unity that pervades all American languages. The native of the New World expresses in a single word, accompanied perhaps by a grunt or a gesture, what a European would employ a whole sentence to elucidate. He crowds the greatest possible number of ideas into the most compact form possible, as though in a multitude of words he found weakness rather than strength,—taking their several ideas by their monosyllabic equivalents, and joining them in one single expression. This rule is universal; and so these languages become as Humboldt expresses it "like different substances in analogous forms," in which, as Gallatin observes, there is "an universal tendency to express in the same word, not only all that modifies or relates to the same object or action but both the action and the object, thus concentrating in a single expression a complex idea or several ideas, among which there is a natural connection." This linguistic peculiarity is called by various names. Duponceau terms it the polysynthetic stage or system, Wilhelm von Humboldt the agglutinative, Lieber the holophrastic; others the aggregative, the incorporative, and so on. As an illustration of this peculiarity, take the Aztec word for letter-postage, *amatlacuilolitquitcatlaxtlahuilli*, which interpreted literally signifies, 'the payment received for carrying a paper on which something is written.' The Cherokees go yet further and express a whole sentence in a single word—a long one it is true, but yet one word—*winitawtigeginaliskawlungtanawnelitisesti* which translated forms the sentence, 'they will by that time have nearly finished granting favors from a distance to thee and me.' Other peculiarities common to all American languages might be mentioned, such as reduplications, or a repetition of the same syllable to express plurals; the use of frequentatives and duals; the application of gender to the third person of the verb; the direct conversion of nouns, substantive and adjective, into verbs, and their conjugation as such; peculiar generic distinctions arising from a separation of animate from inanimate beings, and the like.

The multiplicity of tongues, even within comparatively narrow areas, rendered the adoption of some sort of universal language absolutely necessary. This international language in America is for the most part confined to gestures, and nowhere has gesture-language attained a higher degree of perfection than here; and what is most remarkable, the same representatives are employed from Alaska to Mexico and even in South America. Thus each tribe has a certain gesture to indicate its name, which is understood by all others. A Flathead will make his tribe known by placing his hand upon his head; a Crow by imitating the flapping of the wings of a bird; a Nez Percé by pointing with his finger through his nose, and so on. Fire is generally indicated by blowing followed by a pretended warming of the hands, water by a pretended scooping up and drinking, trade or exchange by crossing the fore fingers, a certain gesture being fixed for everything necessary to carry on a conversation. Besides this natural gesture-language there is found in various parts an intertribal jargon composed of words chosen to fit emergencies, from the speech of the several neighboring nations; the words being altered, if necessary, in construction or pronunciation to suit all. Thus in the valley of the Yukon we find the Slavé jargon, and in the valley of the Columbia the Chinook jargon, which latter arose originally, not as is generally supposed conventionally between the French-Canadian and English trappers and the natives of the north-west solely for purposes of trade, but which originated among the tribes themselves spontaneously and before the advent of Europeans, though greatly modified and extended by subsequent European intercourse. Thus has been laid, no doubt, the foundation of many permanent languages and dialects; and thus we may easily perceive the powerful and continued effect of one language upon another.

As to the number of languages in America much difference of opinion exists. Hervás, before half the country was discovered, felt justified in classifying them all under seven families, while others find, on the Pacific side of the northern continent alone, over six hundred languages which thus far refuse to affiliate. The different dialects are countless; and yet, notwithstanding the formidable array of names which I have gathered at the end of this chapter, probably not one-fourth of their real number are or ever will be known to us.

Many of the Pacific States' languages bear resemblances to one another, and may therefore be brought more or less under groups and classes. These languages, however, resemble one another too slightly to be called dialects, and in the majority of cases no affiliations of any kind can be traced. But four great languages are found within our territory, or, if we exclude the Eskimo, which is not properly an American language, there remain but three, the Tinneh, the Aztec, and the Maya. Of the lesser tongues there are many more, as will appear further on. The Eskimos skirt the shores of the north polar ocean and belong more to the old world than to the new. The Tinneh, Athabasca, or Chepewyan family covers the northern end of the Rocky Mountain range, sending its branches in every direction, into Alaska, British Columbia, British America, Washington, Oregon, California, New Mexico, Texas, and Mexico. The Aztec language, whose seat is Central Mexico, is found also in Nicaragua and other parts of Central America. Traces moreover appear in some parts of Sonora, Sinaloa, Durango, Chihuahua, Texas, Arizona, California, Utah, Nevada, Idaho, Montana, and Oregon. The Maya is the chief Central American tongue, but traces of it may be found as well in Mexico. Thus we see that while the cradle of the Tinneh tongue appears to be in the centre of British North America, its dialects extend westward and southward, lessening in intensity the further they are removed from the hypothetical original centre, suddenly dying out in some directions, fading gradually away in others, and breaking out at disconnected intervals in others. So with the Aztec language, whose primitive centre, so far as present appearances go, was the valley of Mexico; we find it extending south along the shores of the Pacific as far as Nicaragua, while northward its traces grow fainter and fainter until it disappears. And so it is with the Maya, which, covering as it does a less extent of territory, is more distinctly marked and consequently more easily followed.

In classifying the languages of the Pacific States, the marks of identification vary with different families. Thus the linguistic affiliations of the Tinneh family are founded not so much on certain recurring grammatical rules, as on the number of important words occurring under the same or slightly altered form. In the Aztec language the reverse of this is true; for although to some extent, in the establishing of relationships, we are governed by verbal similarities, yet we also find positive grammatical rules which carry with them much more weight than mere word likenesses.

For example, in the north, wherever Aztec traces are found, the Aztec substantive endings *tl* and *tli* are either abreviated or changed according to a regular sytem into *ti*, *te*, *t*, *de*, *re*, *ki*, *ke*, *ca*, *la*, *ri*. Aztec numerals are used by these northern nations, but in greatly modified forms; personal pronouns are there found but little changed, while demonstrative, interrogative, and indefinite pronouns likewise show signs of Aztec origin. The ending *ame*, which, attached to the verb, designates the person acting, can be plainly traced; while among these same northern nations of which I am speaking, is found that certain system of *Lautverschiebung* or sound-shunting, originally discovered by Grimm in the Indo-Germanic family, and by Professor Max Müller called Grimm's law.

In the pursuance of this investigation I noticed a two-fold curiosity which may be worthy of mention. Throughout the great Northwest, as well in most of the many Tinneh vocabularies as elsewhere, is found the Aztec word for stone, *tetl*, sometimes slightly changed but always recognizable, and to which the same meaning is invariably attached; while on the other hand the Tinneh word for fire, *cun*, or *coon*, appears in like manner in several of the Mexican languages, and I even noticed it in the vocabulary of a Honduras nation. This may be purely accidental, but both being important words I thought best to draw attention to the fact.

The larger linguistic families are for the most part found inland, while along the sea-shore the speech of the people is broken into innumerable fragments. Particularly is this the case along the shores of the Northwest. South of Acapulco, as we have seen, the Aztec tongue holds the seaboard for some distance; but again farther south, as well as on the gulf coast, there is found a great diversity in languages and dialects. In California the confusion becomes interminable; as if Babel-builders from every quarter of the earth had here met to the eternal confounding of all; yet there are linguistic families even in California, principally in the northern part. It is not at all improbable that Malays, Chinese, or Japanese, or all of them, did at some time appear in what is now North America, in such numbers as materially to influence language, but hitherto no Asiatic nor European tongue, excepting always the Eskimo, has been found in America; nor have affinities with any other language of the world been discovered sufficiently marked to warrant the claim of relationship. Theorizers enough there have been and will be; for centuries to come half-fledged scientists, ignorant of what others have done or rather have failed to do, will not cease to bring forward wonderful conceptions, striking analogies; will not cease to speculate, linguistically, ethnologically, cosmographically and otherwise to their own satisfaction and to the confusion of their readers. The absurdity of these speculations is apparent to all but the speculator. No sooner is a monosyllabic language, the Otomí, discovered in America than up rises a champion, Señor Nájera, claiming the distinction for the Chinese, and with no other result than to establish both as monosyllabic, which was well enough known before. So the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, who has given the subject more years of study and more pages of printed matter than any other writer, unless it be the half-crazed Lord Kingsborough, first attempts to prove that the Maya languages are derived from the Latin, Greek, English, German, Scandinavian, or other Aryan tongues; then that all these languages are but offshoots from the Maya itself, which is the only true primeval language. So much for intemperate speculation, which, whether learned or shallow, too often originates in doubt and ends in obscurity. In all these hypotheses, argument assumes the form of analogies drawn between the peoples with whom a relationship is attempted to be established,—no difficult matter, truly, when we consider that all mankind are formed on one model, and that innumerable similarities must of necessity exist among all the races of the globe.

To show the futility of such attempts, let me give a few words, analogous both in signification and sound, selected from American, European, Asiatic, and other languages, between which it is now well established that no relationship exists. For the German *ja* we have the Shasta *ya*; for *komm*, the Comanche *kim*; for *Kopf*, the Cahita *coba*; for weinen, the Cora *vyeine*; for *thun*, the Tepehuana *duni*; for *nichts*, *nein*, the Chinook *nixt*, *nix*. For the Greek *κόραξ*, there is the Tarahumara *colatschi*; for *ἔμαϑον*, *μαϑεῖν*, the Cora *muatê*; for *γυνή*, the Cahita *cuna*. For the Latin *hic*, *vas*, we have the Tepehuana *hic*, *vase*; for *mucor*, the Cora *mucuare*; for *lingua*, the Moqui *línga*; for *vallis*, the Kalapooya *wallâh*; for *toga*.

manus, the Kenai *togaai*, *man*. For the French *casser*, we find the Tarahumara *cassníaler*; for *tâtonner*. the Tepehuana *tatame*. For the Spanish *hueco*, the Tarahumara *hoco*; for *tuétano*, the Cora *tâtana*. For the Italian *cosi*, the Tarahumara *cossi*; for the Arabic *âchar*, the Tarahumara *ajaré*; for the Hawaiian *po*, the Sekumne *po* (night).

For the Sanscrit *da*, there is the Cora *ta* (give); for *eké*, the Miztec *ec* (one); for *mâ*, the Tepehuana *mai* (not) and the Maya *ma* (no); for *masâ* (month), the Pima *mahsa* (moon); for *tschandra* (moon), the Kenai *tschane* (moon); for *pada* (foot), the Sekumne *podo* (leg); for *kamâ* (love), the Shoshone *kamakh* (to love); for *pâ*, the Kizh *paa* (to drink). For the Malay *tâña*, we have the Tepehuana *tani* (to ask); for *hurip*, *tabah*, the Cora *huri* (to live), *tabá* (to beat); for *hômah*, the Shasta *óma* (house), and so on.

These examples I could increase indefinitely and show striking similarities in some few words between almost any two languages of the world. When there are enough of them similar in sound and signification in any two tongues to constitute a rule rather than exceptions, such languages are said to be related; but where, as in the above-cited instances, these similarities are merely accidental, to prove them related would prove too much, for then all the languages of the earth might be said to be related.

In treating of the languages of the Pacific States, commencing with those of the north and proceeding southward, I make it a rule to follow them wherever they lead, without restricting myself to place or nation. One nation may speak two languages; the same language may be spoken by a dozen nations, and if the evidence is such as to imply the existence of the same language, or traces of it, in Alaska and in Sonora, I can do no less than step from one place to the other in speaking of it. Besides the names and localities of languages and linguistic families, I shall endeavor to give some idea of their several peculiar characteristics, their grammatical construction, with such specimens of each as will enable the student to make comparisons and draw inferences. In the following table I have attempted a classification of these languages; but in some instances, from the lack of vocabularies taken before the intermixtures that followed the advent of Europeans, any classification can be but approximative.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES OF THE PACIFIC STATES.

- Hyperboreans
  - Eskimo
    - Northern Eskimo
      - Naggeuktormute
      - Kittear
      - Kangmali-Innuin
      - Nuwangmeun
      - Nunatangmeun
      - Kitegue
    - Southern Eskimo or Koniagan
      - Malemute
      - Anlygmute
      - Chnagmute
      - Pashtolik
      - Kangjulit......
        - Kuskoquigmute.
        - Kwichpagmute.
      - Magemute
      - Agulmute
      - Kejataigmute
      - Aglegmute
      - Chugatsch
      - Kadiak
  - Aleut ....
    - Unalaska
    - Atkha
  - Thlinkeet...............
    - Yakutat
    - Chilkat
    - Hoodsinoo
    - Takoo
    - Auk
    - Kaka
    - Sitka
    - Eeliknoo
    - Stikeen
    - Tungass
  - Tinneh
    - Eastern Division
      - Sawessaw-tinneh or Chepewyan
      - Tantsawhoot-tinneh or Coppermine River
      - Horn Mountain
      - Beaver
      - Thlingcha-tinneh or Dog-Rib
      - Kawcho-tinneh or Hare
      - Ambawtawhoot-tinneh or Sheep
      - Sarsis or Sursees
      - Tsillawdawhoot-tinneh or Brush-wood
      - Nagailer
      - Slouacuss-tinneh
      - Rocky Mountain
      - Edchawtawoot-tinneh

- HYPERBOREANS
  - Tinneh
    - Western Division
      - Kutchin
        - Degothi-kutchin or Loucheux
        - Vanta-kutchin
        - Natche-kutchin
        - Kukuth-kutchin
        - Tutchone-kutchin
        - Tathzey-kutchin
        - Han-kutchin
        - Artez-kutchin
        - Kutcha-kutchin
        - Tenan-kutchin
      - Kenai
        - Junakachotana
        - Jugelnut
        - Ingalik
        - Inkalit
        - Kenai
        - Ugalenz
        - Atnah or Nehanne
        - Koltschane
    - Central Division
      - Tacully or Carrier
        - Tautin or Talkotin
        - Tsilkotin or Chilkotin
        - Naskotin
        - Thetliotin
        - Tsatsnotin
        - Nulaautin
        - Ntshaautin
        - Natliautin
        - Nikozliautin
        - Tatshiautin
        - Babine
        - Sicanni
      - Tlatskanai
      - Qualhioqua
      - Umpqua
      - Hoopah
        - Lassics
        - Wilacki
        - Haynaggi
        - Tolewah
        - Tahahteen
        - Siah
    - Southern Division
      - Apaches
        - Apache proper
        - Tonto
        - Chiricagui
        - Gileño
        - Mimbreño
        - Faraon
        - Mescalero
        - Llanero
        - Lipan
        - Vaquero
        - Xicarilla
        - Natage
        - Piñaleno
        - Coyotero
        - Tejua
        - Coppermine
        - Navajo

COLUMBIANS	Haidah	Haidah
		Kaiganie
	Nass	Nass
		Sebassa
		Hailtza
	Bellacoola	
	Chimsyan	
	Nootka	Nootka
		Quackoll
		Cowichin
		Tlaoquatch
		Uclenu
		Quane
		Quactoe
		Koskiemo
		Quatsino
		Kycucut
		Aitizzaht
		Chicklezaht
		Ahazaht
		Eshquaht
		Klaizzaht
		Nitinaht
		Toquaht
		Seshaht
		Clayoquot
		Patcheena
		Soke
		Nimkish
		Wickinninish
		Songhie
		Sanetch
		Comux
		Noosdalum
		Kwantlum
		Teet
		Nanaimo
		Taculta
		Ucleta
		Neculta
		Queehaniculta
		Newittee
		Saukaulutuck
		Makah
		Newchemass
		Shimiahmoo
		Nooksak
		Samish
		Skagit
		Snohomish
		Chimakum
		Clallam
		Toanhooch

- Columbians.
  - **Salish**
    - **Salish proper or Flathead**
    - **Lummi**
    - **Clallam**
    - **Kullespelm or Pend d'Oreilles**
    - **Shushwap**
    - **Spokane**
      - **Sngomenei**
      - **Snpoilschi**
      - **Syk'eszilni**
    - **Soaiatlpi**
    - **Okanagan**
      - **St lakam**
    - **Skitsuish, or Cœur d'Alêne**
    - **Pisquouse**
    - **Cowlitz**
    - **Nsietshaw**
    - **Chehalis**
      - **Chehalis proper**
      - **Quaiantl**
      - **Queniauitl**
    - **Nisqually**
  - **Kootenai**
  - **Sahaptin**
    - **Sahaptin proper or Nez Percé**
    - **Walla Walla**
    - **Palouse**
    - **Yakima**
    - **Kliketat**
    - **Tairtla**
  - **Waiilatpu**
    - **Cayuse**
    - **Mollale**
  - **Chinook**
    - **Chinook**
    - **Wakiakum**
    - **Cathlamet**
    - **Clatsop**
    - **Multnomah**
    - **Skilloot**
    - **Watlala**
  - **Yamkally**
  - **Calapooya**
  - **Chinook Jargon**
- Californians.
  - **Tototin**
  - **Yakon**
  - **Klamath**
    - **Lutuami or Klamath**
    - **Modoc**
    - **Copah**
  - **Shasta**
    - **Shasta**
    - **Palaik**
    - **Watsahewah**
  - **Euroc**
  - **Cahroc**
  - **Oppegach**

- CALIFORNIANS
  - Pataway or Weitspeck
    - Pataway
    - Veeard
    - Weeyot
    - Wishosk
  - Ehnek or Pehtsik
  - Howteteoh
  - Nabiltse
  - Patawat
  - Chillulah
  - Wheelcutta
  - Kailta
  - Chimalaquai
  - Yuka..........
    - Yuka
    - Tahtoo
    - Wapo or Ashochemie
  - Pomo.........
    - Ukiah
    - Gallinomero
    - Masallamagoon
    - Gualala
    - Matole
    - Kulanapo
    - Sanél
    - Yonios
    - Choweshak
    - Batemdakaie
    - Chocuyem
    - Olamentke
    - Kainamare
    - Chwachamaju
  - Cushna
  - Kinkla
  - Yuba
  - Sonoma
  - Oleepa
  - Yoloy or Yolo
  - Nemshous
  - Colusa
  - Bashonee
  - Veshanack
  - Meidoo
  - Neeshenam
  - Sacramento Valley Languages
    - Eastern Dialects
      - Ochecamne
      - Serouskumne
      - Chupumne
      - Omochumne
      - Secumne
      - Walagumne
      - Cosumne
      - Sololumne
      - Turealumne
      - Saywamine
      - Newichumne
      - Matchemne
      - Sagayayumne

- Californians
  - Sacramento Valley Languages
    - Eastern Dialects
      - Muthelemne
      - Sopotatumne
      - Talatiu
    - Western Dialects
      - Puzlumne
      - Yasumne
      - Pujuni
      - Sekumne
      - Kisky
      - Yalesumne
      - Huk
      - Yukal
      - Tsamak
      - Nemshaw
  - Napobatin
  - Napa ....
    - Napa
    - Myacoma
    - Calayomane
    - Caymus
    - Uluca
    - Suscol
  - Mustitul
  - Tulkay
  - Suisun
  - Karquines
  - Tomales
  - Lekatuit
  - Petaluma
  - Guiluco
  - Tulare
  - Hawhaw
  - Coconoon
  - Yocut
  - Matalan
  - Salse
  - Quirote
  - Olhone
  - Runsien
  - Eslene
  - Ismuracan
  - Aspianaque
  - Sakhone
  - Chalone
  - Katlendaruca
  - Poytoqui
  - Mutsun
  - Thamien
  - Chowchilla
  - Meewoc
  - Tatché
  - San Miguel
  - Santa Cruz
- Shoshones
  - Shoshone ....
    - Shoshone
    - Wihinasht
    - Bannack
    - Shoshokee

- Shoshonis
  - Utah
    - Utah
    - Uintaūte
    - Goshute
    - Piute
    - Pahute
    - Paiulee
    - Washoe
    - Sampitche
    - Mono
  - Comanche
  - Moqui
  - Kizh
  - Netela
  - Kechi
  - Chemehuevi
  - Cahuillo
- Pueblos
  - Queres
    - Kiwomi
    - Cochitemi
    - Acoma
  - Tegua or Tezuque
  - Picoris
  - Jemez
  - Zuñi
- New Mexicans
  - Yuma
    - Yuma
    - Maricopa
    - Cuchan
    - Mojave
    - Diegeño
    - Yampais
    - Yavipais
  - Chevet
  - Cajuenche
    - Cajuenche
    - Jalliquamai
  - Tamajab
  - Benemé
    - Tecuiche
    - Teniqueche
  - Covaji
  - Noche
- Lower Californians
  - Cochimí
    - Laymon
    - Ika
  - Guaicuri
    - Cora
    - Monqui
    - Didiù
    - Liyùe
    - Edù
    - Uchitie
  - Pericú

- Pima
  - Pima Alto
    - Pápago
    - Sobaipuris
  - Pima Bajo
- Northern Mexicans
  - Ópata
    - Eudeve
    - Teguis
    - Teguima
    - Coguinachie
    - Batuca
    - Sahuaripa
    - Himeri
    - Guazaba
    - Jova
  - Cahita
    - Mayo
    - Yaqui
    - Tehueco
  - Zoe
  - Guazave
  - Batuca
  - Aibino
  - Ocoroni
  - Vocaregui
  - Zuaque
  - Comoporis
  - Ahome
  - Mocorito
  - Petatlan
  - Huite
  - Ore
  - Macoyahui
  - Tauro
  - Troes
  - Nio
  - Cahuimeto
  - Tepave
  - Ohuero
  - Chicorata
  - Basopa
  - Tarahumara
    - Varogio
    - Guazapare
    - Pachera
  - Concho
  - Toboso
  - Julime
  - Piro
  - Suma
  - Chinarra
  - Irritilia
  - Tejano
  - Tubar
  - Tepehuana

- Northern Mexicans
  - Acaxée ....
    - Topia
    - Sabaibo
    - Xixime
  - Zacateco
  - Cazcane
  - Mazapile
  - Huitcole
  - Guachichile
  - Colotlan
  - Tlaxomultec
  - Tecuexe
  - Tepecano
- Central Mexicans
  - Cora ....
    - Muutzicat
    - Teakualitzigti
    - Cora, or Ateakari
  - Aztec, Mexican, or Nahuatl
  - Otomí.........
    - Otomí
    - Mazahua
  - Pame
  - Meco, or Serrano
  - Yuê
  - Yemê
  - Olive
  - Xanambre
  - Pisone
  - Tamaulipec
  - Tarasco
  - Matlaltzinca
  - Ocuiltec
- Southern Mexicans
  - Miztec ....
    - Tepuzculano
    - Yangüistlan
    - Miztec baja
    - Miztec alta
    - Cuixlahuac
    - Tlaxiaco
    - Cuilapa
    - Mictlantongo
    - Tamazulapa
    - Xaltepec
    - Nochiztlan
  - Chocho, or Chuchone
  - Amusgo
  - Mazateo
  - Cuicatec
  - Chatino
  - Tlapanec
  - Chinantec
  - Popoluca
  - Zapotec.......
    - Zaachilla
    - Ocotlan
    - Etla
    - Netzicho

- SOUTHERN MEXICANS
  - Zapotec
    - Serrano de Itztepec
    - Serrano de Cajonos
    - Beni Xono
    - Serrano de Miahuatlan
  - Mije
  - Huave
- MAYA-QUICHÉ
  - Huastec
    - Tetikilhati
    - Chakalmati
    - Ipapana
    - Tatimolo, or Naolingo
  - Totonac
  - Chiapanec
  - Tloque
  - Zotzil
  - Zeldal-quelen
  - Vebetlateca
  - Mam
  - Achie
  - Guatemaltec
  - Cuettac
  - Hhirichota
  - Pokonchi
  - Caechicolchi
  - Tlacacebastla
  - Apay
  - Poton
  - Taulepa
  - Ulua
  - Quiché
  - Cakchiquel
  - Zutugil
  - Chorti
  - Alaguilac
  - Caichi
  - Ixil
  - Zoque
  - Coxoh
  - Chañabal
  - Chol
  - Uzpantec
  - Aguacatec
  - Quechi
  - Maya
- MOSQUITO
  - Carib
  - Mosquito
  - Poya
  - Towka
  - Seco
  - Valiente
  - Rama
  - Cookra
  - Woolwa
  - Toonglas

Mosquito.	Lenca
	Smoo
	Teguca
	Albatuina
	Jara
	Toa
	Gaula
	Motuca
	Fansasma
	Sambo
Cent. Amer.	Coribici
	Chorotega
	Chontal
	Orotiña
Costa Rica	Blanco
	Tiribi
	Talamanca
	Chiripo
	Guatuso
Isthmian	Nicoya
	Cerebaro
	Chiriquí
	Burica
	Veragua
	Paris
	Escoria
	Biruqueta
	Nata
	Urraca
	Chiru
	Chame
	Chicacotra
	Sangana
	Guarara
	Cutara
	Panamá
	Chuchura
	Chagre
	Chepo
	Cueba
	Quarecua
	Chiape
	Ponca
	Pocora
	Zumanamá
	Coiba
	Ponca
	Chitarraga
	Acla
	Careta
	Darien
	Abieiba
	Abenamechey
	Dabaiba
	Birú

Isthmian	Tule
	Cholo
	Doracho
	Cimarron
	Bayano
	Cimarron
	Manzanillo, or San Blas
	Mandingo
	Cuna
	Cunacuna
	Choco
	Caomane
	Urabá
	Idiba
	Paya
	Goajiro
	Motilone
	Guaineta
	Cocina

CHAPTER II.

HYPERBOREAN LANGUAGES.

Distinction between Eskimo and American—Eskimo Pronunciation and Declension—Dialects of the Koniagas and Aleuts—Language of the Thlinkeets—Hypothetical Affinities—The Tinneh Family and its Dialects—Eastern, Western, Central, and Southern Divisions—Chepewyan Declension—Oratorical Display in the Speech of the Kutchins--Dialects of the Atnahs and Ugalenzes Compared—Specimen of the Koltshane Tongue—Tacully Gutturals—Hoopah Vocabulary—Apache Dialects—Lipan Lord's Prayer—Navajo Words—Comparative Vocabulary of the Tinneh Family.

The national and tribal distinctions given in the first volume of this work will, for the most part, serve as divisions for languages and dialects; I shall not therefore repeat here the names and boundaries before mentioned, except so far as may be necessary in speaking of languages alone. As a rule those physical and social distinctions which indicate severalness among peoples, are followed, if indeed they are not governed by the severalness of dialects, that is, the diversities of language operate as powerfully as the aspects of nature or any other causes, in separating mankind into tribes and nations; hence it is that in the different divisions of humanity are found different dialects, and between dialects physical and geographical divisions.[1]

As I have said in another place the Eskimos are the anomalous race of the New World; and this is no less true in their language than in their physical characteristics. Obviously they are a polar people rather than an American or an Asiatic people.[2] They cling to the seaboard; and while the distinction between them and the inland American is clearly drawn, as we descend the strait and sea of Bering, cross the Alaskan peninsula and follow the shores of the Pacific eastward and southward, gradually the Arctic dialect merges into that of the American proper. In our Hyperborean group, whose southern bound is the fifty-fifth parallel, the northern seaboard part is occupied wholly by Eskimos, the southern by a people called by some Eskimos and by others Koniagas, while further on the graduation is so complete and the transition from one to the other so imperceptible that it is often difficult to determine which are Indians and which Eskimos. In treating of their manners and customs, I separated the littoral Alaskans into two divisions, calling them Eskimos and Koniagas, but in their languages and dialects I shall speak of them as one. No philologist familiar with the whole territory has attempted to classify these Hyperborean tongues; different writers refer the languages of all to such particular parts as they happen to be familiar with. Thus the Russian priest Veniaminoff divides the Eskimo language into six dialects, all belonging to the Koniagas, on the

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[1] See vol. i., p. 42 et seq. of this work.

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[2] 'Ces deux langues....sont absolument la même que celle des Vogules, habitants de la Tartarie, et la même que celle des Lapons.' *Monglave*, in *Antiq. Mex.*, tom. i., div. i., p. 65. 'Les Esquimaux d'Amérique et les Tchoutchis de l'extrémité nord de l'Asie orientale....il est aisé de reconnaitre qu'ils appartiennent á une même famille.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 330. 'The whole arctic shore of North America is possessed by the Esquimaux and Greenlanders, who speak an original tongue called Karalit.' *McCulloch's Researhes in Amer.*, p 36. 'The Arctic region is mainly covered by dialects of a single language—the Eskimo.' *Latham's Comp. Phil.*, vol. viii., p. 384. 'Der Amerikanische Sprachtypus, die Eskimo-Sprache, reicht hinüber nach Asien.' *Buschmann, Spuren der Aztek Spr.*, p. 711. 'Alle Eskimos sprechen im Wesentlichen dieselbe Sprache.' *Baer. Stat. u. Ethno.*, p. 280. 'The language of the Western Esquimaux so nearly resembles that of the tribes to the eastward.' *Beechey's Voyage*, vol., ii., p. 311. *Sauer's Billings' Ex.*, p. 245. *Kotzebue's Voyage*, vol. iii., p. 314; *Franklin's Nar.*, vol. i., p. 30; *Dease and Simpson*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc., Jour.*, vol. viii., p. 222. *Seemann's Voy. Herald*, vol. ii., p. 63. But Vater does not believe that the language extends across to Asia. 'Dass sich wohl ein Einfluss der Eskimo-Sprache, aber nicht diese selbst über die zwischen Asien and Amerika liegenden Inseln erstreckt.' *Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., pp. 458, 423.

Kadiak Islands and the adjacent territory. The fact is Veniaminoff dwelt in southern Alaska and in the Aleutian Isles, and knew nothing of the great inland nations to the north and west. To the people of Kadiak he gives two dialects, a northern and a southern, and carries the same language over to the main land adjacent.[3] The Russian explorer Sagoskin, to the Chnagmute dialect of Veniaminoff, unites the Kwichpagmute and Kuskoquigmute under the collective name of Kangjulit, of which with the Kadiak he makes a comparative vocabulary establishing their identity.[4] In like manner Baer classifies these northern languages, but confines himself almost exclusively to the coast above Kadiak Island.[5]

Kotzebue says that a dialect of this same language is spoken by the natives of St Lawrence Island.[6] Yet if we may believe Mr Seemann, all these dialects are essentially different. The Eskimo language, he writes, "is divided into many dialects, which often vary so much that those who speak one are unable to understand the others. The natives of Kotzebue Sound for instance have to use an interpreter in conversing with their countrymen in Norton Sound; towards Point Barrow another dialect prevails, which however is not sufficiently distinct to be unintelligible to the Kotzebue people."[7]

According to Vater and Richardson the Eskimo language as spoken east of the Mackenzie River appears to have a softer sound, as for instance, for the western ending *tch* the eastern tribes mostly use *s* and sometimes *h*. The German sound *ch*, guttural, is frequently heard among the western people. Nouns have six cases, the changes of which are expressed by affixed syllables.

[3] *Veniaminoff, Ueber die Sprachen des russ. Amer.*, *in Erman, Archiv.*, tom. vii., No. 1, p. 126 et seq.

[4] *Sagoskin, Tagebuch*, in *Russ. Geog. Gesell.*, *Denkschr.*, tom. i., p. 359 et seq.

[5] 'Alle diese Völkerschaften reden eine Sprache and gehören zu einem und demselben Stamme, der sich auch weiter nördlich längs der Küste.... ausdehnt.' *Baer*, *Stat. u. Ethno.*, p. 122.

[6] *Kotzebue's Voyage*, vol. ii., p. 175.

[7] Of the similarity between the Kadiak and Alaska idiom Langsdorff says: 'In a great degree the clothing and language of the Alaksans, are the same as those of the people of Kodiak.' *Voy.*, vol. ii., p. 236. *Seemann's Voy. Herald*, vol. ii., pp. 68-69.

These are in the singular *mut*, *mik*, *mit*, *me*, and *kut*, and in the plural *nut*, *nik*, *nit*, *ne*, and *gut*. *Ga*, *go*, *ne*, *ait*, *anga*, *ara*, etc., affixed to the nominative, denote a possessive case. As:—*kivgah*, a servant; *kivganga*, my servant; *kivgane*, his servant; etc. *Arsu* and *arsuit* are diminutive endings and *soak*, *sudset*, and *sudsek* augmentatives. Adjectives are also declinable. Nouns can be transposed into verbs by affixing *evok* and *ovok*, and the adjective is altered in the same manner.

The third person singular of the indicative is taken as the root of the verb, and by changing its termination it may be used as a noun. The infinitive is formed by the postposition *nek*. The verb has numerous inflections.

'To be' or 'to have,' both possessing a similar signification, are expressed by *gi* or *vi*—as *nunagiva*, it is his land.

Richardson gives the following declension of a noun, transitively and intransitively (?):

TUPEK, A TENT.

		SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
Nom.	tr.	tupek	tuppak	turket
	intr.	turkib		
Gen.		turkib	tuppak	turket
Dat.	tr.	tuppek	tuppak	turket
	intr.	tuppermut	tuppangnut	tuppernut
Acc.	tr.	tuppak	tuppak	turkinut
	intr.	tuppernik	tuppangnit	turkit
Abl.	tr.	tuppermit	tuppangnit	tuppermit
	intr.	tuppermut	tuppangnut	turkinnut [8]

Some claim that the languages of Kadiak and the Aleutian Islands are cognate, others deny any relationship. Stephen Glottoff, one of the first to visit Kadiak Island, states positively that the inhabitants of Unalaska and particularly a boy from the western Aleutian Isles could not understand the people of Kadiak.[9] Captain Cook thought there existed a phonetic similarity between the speech of the Unalaskas and the people of Norton Sound, which opinion appears to be correct.[10] So disarranged have the aboriginal tongues in this vicinity become since the advent of the Russians that little dependence can be placed on latter-day investigations. Dall admits the speech of the two peoples to be dissimilar yet their language he believes to be one.[11] Vater, more cautious, thinks that there is perhaps some Eskimo influence noticeable among the Koniagas.[12] Baer gives Admiral von Wrangell's opinion, which also inclines towards such a connection, but he himself expresses the opposite belief, citing in support of this that the physical appearance of the Koniagas differs entirely from that of the Eskimo race.[13] Buschmann gives, as the result of careful investigations and comparisons, the opinion that the language of Unalaska is distinct from that of Kadiak, and supports it by the statements of travelers, as for instance that of the mate Saikoff, given in the *Neue Nordische Beiträge*, tom. iii., p. 284, who says that the two are totally different.

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[8] *Richardson's Jour.*, vol. ii., p. 364 et seq; *Veniaminoff*, in *Erman, Archiv*, tom. iii., No. i., pp. 142–43; *Beechey's Voyage*, vol. ii., p. 366; *Vater, Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., p. 458 et seq; notes on the Chugatsh dialect at Prince William Sound in *Cook's Voy. to Pac.*, vol. ii., pp. 374–6, and *Portlock's Voy.*, pp. 254–5.

[9] 'Er konnte die Sprache dieser Insulaner nicht....verstehen.' *Neue Nachrichten*, p. 105.

Throughout the whole Aleutian Archipelago there are but two dialects, one of which is spoken on the peninsula, on Unalaska, and a few islands contiguous, while the other—by Veniaminoff called the Atkha dialect—extends thence over all the other Aleutian Isles. In neither dialect is there any distinction of gender; but to make up for this deficiency, besides the plural, a dual is used. Substantives have three cases:—*adakch*, the father; *adam* or *adaganilyak*, of the father; *adaman*, to the father; *adakik* or *adakin*, both fathers; *adan*, the fathers; *adanik*, to the fathers. Verbs are conjugated by means of terminals. They are divided into three classes, active, medium, and passive. Negation is expressed by the syllable *öljuk* added to the root of the verb; sometimes also by

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[10] *Cook's Voy. to Pac.*, vol. ii., p. 522.

[11] *Dall's Alaska*, pp. 377–8.

[12] 'Dass sich wohl ein Einfluss der Eskimo-Sprache aber nicht diese selbst über die zwischen Asien and Amerika liegenden Inseln erstreckt.' *Vater, Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., 458.

[13] 'Der Bewohner von Unalaschka kann den von Kadjack gar nicht verstehen.' *Baer, Stat. u. Ethno.*, pp. 123–288–9.

ljaka, *ljaga*, or *gana*. *Sjuköng*, I take; *sjunakching*, I took; *sjuljakakching*, I take not; *sjunag'öljuting*, I took not; *sjuda*, take; *sjuljagada*, or *sjuganachtchin*, take not.

The eastern Aleuts enunciate very rapidly, without dividing their words distinctly, making it very difficult for a stranger to understand them. In Unalaska their speech is more drawling, while on Atkha Island the natives pronounce each word very distinctly. The western Aleuts and the people on Umnak also speak rather slowly—drawling.[14] Dall states that the chief difference between the Atkha and Unalaska dialects consists in the formation of the plural of nouns. The former for this purpose employ the terminal letters *s*, *sh*, or *ng*. For diminutives the Atkhas use the ending *kutshak* and the Unalaskas *dak*.[15]

On the next page I insert a vocabulary of Eskimo, Kuskoquigmute, Malemute, Aleut, and Kadiak tongues.

Turn now to the Thlinkeets, who extend along the coast southward from Mount St Elias, as Holmberg says, to the Columbia River;[16] Chlebnikoff, to the forty-first parallel; Vater, to Queen Charlotte Island;[17] and Veniaminoff, to the Stikeen River; the latter affirming, at the same time, that there is but one dialect spoken among them all.[18] The nations mentioned by Captain Bryant as speaking this language are the Chilkats, Sitkas, Hoodsinoos, Auks, Kakas, Elikinoos, Stikeens, and Tungass.[19]

From all accounts the Thlinkeets possess the most

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[14] 'Dass....sich das aleutische Idiom....als ein eigner, von dem grossen eskimoischen ganz verschiedener Sprachtypus erweist.' *Buschmann*, *Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, p. 702 et seq. Veniaminoff's examples are as follows: active, he took; medium, he took me; passive, he was born. In *Erman*, *Archiv.*, tom. iii., No. 1, pp. 136–8: *Veniaminoff*, *Sapiski ob Ostrovach Oonalaskinskacho Otjela*, tom. ii., pp. 264-71.

[15] *Dall's Alaska*, p. 386: *Vater*, *Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., pp. 459-460.

[16] 'Von St Eliasberge bis hinunter zum Columbia-strome.' *Holmberg*, *Ethno. Skiz.*, p. 9.

[17] 'Sie erstrecken sich von Iakutat südlich bis zu den Charlotten-Inseln.' *Vater*, *Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., p. 219.

[18] 'Von Ltu bis Stachin, und hat fast nur einen Dialect.' *Veniaminoff*, in *Erman*, *Archiv.*, tom. vii., No. i., p. 128.

[19] *Bryant's Jour.*, in *Amer. Antiq. Soc.*, *Transact.*, vol. ii., p. 302. The Tungass language 'as Mr. Tolmie conjectured, is nearly the same as that spoken at Sitga.' *Scouler*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc.*, *Jour.*, vol. xi., p. 218.

COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY.

	ESKIMO.	KUSKOQUIGMUTE.	MALEMUTE.	ALEUT.	KADIAK.
Man	tuak	yugut	enuk	toioch	sewk
Woman	....	agnak	okanok	aiyagar	....
Fire	ignik or ignuck	knik	iknik	kignak	knok
Fresh Water	emik	....	....	....	....
Salt Water	tarreoke	....	....	....	....
Water	....	mik	immik	taangak	taangak
Earth	....	nuni	nuneh	tshekak	noona
Stone	angmak	....	....	....	....
Dog	kenma or kooneack	annakhukkta	kiyukmuk	uikuk	pewatit
Knife	sequetat	chivichuk	chowik	omgazshizshik	tshangielk
Sun	baittsaach maisak or neiya	akhtah	shukeenyuk	akathak	madzahak
I	woonga	hwihka	wunga	keen	chooi
Thou	....	lpit	illewit	ingaan	chlput
Eat	ashadlooik or ishadlooweet	neega	nugerunger	kaangen	pittooaga
Yes	a	you	wah	aang	aang
No	naga, nau, tuum, nao, aunga	chashituk	peechuk	maselikan	pedok
One	tegara or adaitsuk	atauchik	atowsik	attakon	alcheluk
Two	milleitsungnet	malkhok	malruk	alluk	malogh
Three	pingettsatsungnet or pingeyook	païnaïvak	pinyusut	kankoon	pingaien
Four	tsetummat or setumet	t'chamik	setemat	shitshin	stamen
Five	tadglémat adreyeet or taleema	talimik	telemat	tahang	taliman
Six	arkbunna aghwinnak akkaooinelget	akhvinok	aghwinuleet	attoon	agovinligin
Seven	aitpa achwinnighipagha mullaroonik or bolruk	ainaákhvanam	mahluditaghwinuleet	olung	malchongun
Eight	penayua penniyooik pegesset	pinaiviak	pinyusunilaghwinuleet	kamtshing	inglulgin
Nine	seetumna teeidimmik	chtamiakvanam	koolinotyluk	sitching	kollemgaien
Ten	tadleema or kólit	kullnuk	kooleet	hasuk	kollen
Eleven	....	....	....	attakathamatkich	alchtoch

barbarous speech found anywhere in the Pacific States. Whether this arises from the huge block of wood with which the Thlinkeet matrons grace their under lip, which drives the sound from the throat through the teeth and nose before it reaches the ear of the listener, I do not pretend to say; but that it is hard, guttural, clucking, hissing, in short everything but labial, there is no doubt. All who have visited them, whether German, English, French, or Spanish, agree in this particular. Marchand describes it as excessively rude and wild. Most of their articulations are accompanied by a strong nasal aspiration, with strenuous efforts of the throat; particularly in producing the sound of a double *r*, which is heavy and hard. Many of their words commence with a strongly guttural *k* sound and this same sound is frequently heard three times in one word. Dr Roblet who accompanied Marchand, says that, notwithstanding all this, the language is very complete, possessing a multitude of words, the natives being at no loss to give a name to everything.[21] La Pérouse, who makes a similar report, gives as an example of its harshness the word *khlrleies*, hair.[22] In Veniaminoff's vocabulary are found such words as *thlkluník*, healthy, and *katlhth*, ashes, literally unpronounceable. The frequently occurring sound *tl* has led several authors to suppose a relationship with the Aztec tongue; as for example Vater, who made a small comparative table which I insert to show directly the contrary to what he wished to prove.

Setting aside the *tetl*, *te*, stone, of which I have made previous mention, had the words been selected to prove a want of affinity between the two languages they could not have been more to the point. Buschmann asserts, moreover, that several of the Mexican words are mis-

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[20] Taken from *Beechey's Voyage*, vol. ii.; *Baer, Stat. u. Ethno.*; *Dall's Alaska*; *and Sauer's Billings' Ex.*

[21] *Marchand*, *Voyage*, tom. ii., pp. 109-110.

[22] *La Pérouse*, *Voy.*, tom. ii., p. 238. 'Their language is harsh and unpleasant to the ear.' *Portlock's Voy.*, p. 293. 'It appears barbarous, uncouth, and difficult to pronounce.' *Dixon's Voy.*, p. 172. 'La dificil pronunciacion de sus vozes ...pues las forman de la garganta con un movimiento de la lengua contra el paladar.' *Bodega y Quadra, Nav.*, MS., pp. 46-47.

	AZTEC.	THLINKEET.
Mother	nantli	attli
Brother	teachcauh	achaik or achonoik
Face	xayacatl	kaga
Forehead	yxquatl	kakak
Strong	velitilizcotl	itlzin
Depth	vecatlyotl	kattljan
Stone	tetl	te
Earth	tlalli	tljaknak or tlatka
Duck	canauhtli	kauchu
Star	citlati	tlaachztl [23]

quoted.[24] A few instances have been discovered by the same writer, where the Thlinkeet tongue appears to be verging towards the Tinneh. Among others he mentions the Thlinkeet words *te*, stone, *zyyn*, muskrat, comparing the latter with the Dogrib *tzin*; the Thlinkeet *achschat*, woman, wife, with the Umpqua *sch'at*; the Thlinkeet *tjé*, *teik*, road, with the Tacully *tee*.[25] La Pérouse pretends that they do not use and can hardly pronounce the letters *b*, *f*, *j*, *d*, *p*, and *v*. Most words commence with *k*, *t*, *n*, *s*, or *m*, the first named being the most frequently used; no word commences with an *r*.[26] Veniaminoff again says that it would take thirty-eight letters or combinations to write the distinct sounds which are expressed in the Thlinkeet language. The personal pronouns are *khat*, or *khatsh*, I; *bae*, *be*, or *belch*, thou; *b* or *bch*, he; *ban* or *bantch*, we; *iban* or *ibantch*, you; *as* or *astch* or *youtas* or *youastch*, they. The verb 'to do' is conjugated as follows:

PRESENT INDICATIVE	FIRST FUTURE	SECOND FUTURE
etakhani	ekbkazyani	enkbzini

IMPERFECT	PERFECT
etakhanegin	ekhbzini or ekhbzinnigin [27]

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[23] *Vater, Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., pp. 212-13; *Holmberg, Ethno. Skiz.*, p. 16.

[24] 'Von der ganzen Liste bleibt allein The, Stein als ähnlich.' *Buschmann, Pima u. Koloschen Sprache*, p. 386. 'Zwischen ihnen und der mexicanischen in Wörtern und Grammatik keine Verwandtschaft existirt .. gänzlich vom Mex. verschieden sind.' *Buschmann, Ortsnamen*, p. 69. 'Je n'ai trouvé aucune ressemblance entre les mots de cette langue et celle des ....Mexicains.' *La Pérouse, Voy.*, tom. ii., p. 240.

[25] *Buschmann, Pima u. Koloschen Sprache*, p. 388.

[26] *La Pérouse, Voy.*, tom. ii., pp. 238-9.

[27] *Veniaminoff, Sapiski ob Ostrovach Oonalashkinskacho Otjela*, tom. iii., pp. 149-51. No translation is given.

Vater has a Lord's prayer communicated by Baranoff, director of the late Russian possessions in America. It reads as follows:

Ais waan, wet wwetu tikeu; ikukastii itssagi
Father our, who art in the clouds; honored be name
bae; faa atkwakut ikustigi ibee; atkwakut attüitugati
thine; let come kingdom thine, be done will
bee ikachtekin linkitani zu tlekw. Katuachawat
thine as we in heaven and on earth. Food
uáan zuikwülkinichat akech uáan itat; tamil uáan
our needful give us to-day; absolve us
tschaniktschak aagi zu uáan akut tugati ajat; ilil
debts ours as also we give debtors ours; not lead
uan zulkikagatii táat anachut uan akalléelchwetach.
us into temptation but deliver us from the evil Spirit.
Tü.
So.[28]

Next come the Tinneh, a people whose diffusion is only equaled by that of the Aryan or Semitic nations of the old world. The dialects of the Tinneh language are by no means confined within the limits of the Hyperborean division. Stretching from the northern interior of Alaska down into Sonora and Chihuahua, we have here a linguistic line of more than four thousand miles in length extending diagonally over forty-two degrees of latitude; like a great tree whose trunk is the Rocky Mountain range, whose roots encompass the deserts of Arizona and New Mexico, and whose branches touch the borders of Hudson Bay[29] and of the Arctic and Pacific oceans.[30] In the north immense compact areas are covered by these dialects; towards the south the line holds its course steadily in one direction, while at the same time on either side are isolated spots, broken fragments as it were, of the Tinneh tongue, at wide distances in some cases from the central line. A reference to the classification given at the end of the preceding chapter, will show the separation of the Tinneh family into four divisions,—the eastern, western, central and southern. The eastern division embraces the dialects spoken between Hudson Bay and the Mackenzie River; the western, those of the Kutchins and Kenai of interior Alaska and the Pacific Coast in the vicinity of Mount St Elias and Copper River; the central, those of the Tacullies of New Caledonia, the Umpquas of Oregon, and the Hoopahs of California; the southern, those of the Apaches of New Mexico, Arizona, and Northern Mexico.

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[28] *Vater*, *Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., p. 225.

[29] 'Dimensionen, in welchen er ein ungeheures Gebiet im Innern des nördlichen Continents einnimmt, nahe an das Eismeer reicht, und queer das nordamerikanische Festland durchzieht: indem er im Osten die Hudsonsbai, im Südwesten in abgestossenen Stämmen am Umpqua-Flusse das stille Meer berührt.' *Buschmann*, *Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, p. 323. 'This great family includes a large number of North American tribes, extending, from near the mouth of the Mackenzie, south to the borders of Mexico.' *Dall's Alaska*, p. 428. 'There are outlyers of the stock as far as the southern

Near the sources of a branch of the Saskatchewan River are the Sursees, who have been frequently classed with the Blackfeet, but Mackenzie had before this stated that they speak a dialect of the Tinneh.[31] Umfreville who visited these people, compares their language to the cackling of hens, and says that it is very difficult for their neighbors to learn it.[32]

Glance first at the dialects round Hudson Bay, and

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parts of Oregon. More than this, there are Athabascans in California, New Mexico and Sonora.' *Latham's Comp. Phil.*, vol. viii., p. 393. 'Dass er in seinem Hauptgürtel von der nördlichen Hudsonsbai aus fast die ganze Breite des Continents durchläuft; und dass er in abgesonderten, in die Ferne geschleuderten Gliedern, gen Süden nicht allein unter dem 46ten (Tlatskanai und Kwalhioqua) und 43ten Grade nördlicher Breite (Umpqua) das stille Meer berührt, sondern auch tief im Inneen in den Navajos den 36ten Grad trifft....während er im Norden und Nordwesten den 65ten Grad und beinahe die Gestade des Polarmeers erreicht.' *Buschmann, Athapask. Sprachstamm*, p. 313. See also vol. i., pp. 114, 143–9.

[30] *Gibbs*, in *Smithsonian Rept.*, 1866, p. 303.

[31] 'The Sarsees who are but few in number, appear from their language, to come on the contrary from the North-Westward, and are of the same people as the Rocky-Mountain Indians ...who are a tribe of the Chepewyans.' *Mackenzie's Voyages*, pp. lxxi.–lxxii.

[32] *Vater*, *Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., p. 252; *Gallatin*, in *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Transact.*, vol. ii., p. 19. The Sarsi, Sussees 'speak a dialect of the Chippewyan (Athapascan), allied to the Tahkali.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 219.

thence towards the west. The northern dialects are exceedingly difficult to pronounce, being composed largely of gutturals. Richardson compares some of the sounds to the Hottentot cluck, and Isbister calls them "harsh and guttural, difficult of enunciation and unpleasant to the ear."[33] They differ mainly in accentuation and pronunciation, and it therefore does not require that philological research which is necessary with the farther outlying branches of the family to establish their connection. Richardson says that the Hare and Dog-rib dialects differ scarcely at all even in their accents; and again that the Sheep dialect is well understood by the Hare Indians. Latham affirms that the "Beaver Indian is transitional to the Slavé and Chepewyan proper." Of the Coppermine people, Franklin writes that their language is "essentially the same with those of the Chipewyans." Ross Cox says that the language of the Slowacuss and Nascud "bears a close affinity to that spoken by the Chepewyans and Beaver Indians."[34]

From a paper in the collection of M. Du Ponceau, cited by Mr Gallatin, there appears to be in the grammar of these northern dialects a dual as well as a plural. Thus *dinné*, a person; *dinné you*, a man; *dinné you keh*, two men; *dinné you thlang*, many men. Again we have *sick keh*, my foot; *sick keh keh*, my feet. The Chepewyan declension is as follows:

My two hats, *sit sackhallé keh;* thy two hats, *nit sackhallé keh;* his two hats, *bit sackhaleé keh*, or *noneh bid tsakhalle keh;* their two hats, *hoot sackhallé keh;* two pieces of wood, *teitchin keh;* much, or many pieces of wood, *teitchin thlang;* my son, *see azé;* my two sons, *see azé keh;* thy two sons, *nee azé keh;* his two sons, *bee azé keh;* their two sons, *hoo bee azé keh;* my children,

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[33] 'They speak a copious language, which is very difficult to be attained.' *Mackenzie's Voyages*, p. 114. 'As a language it is exceedingly meagre and imperfect.' *Richardson's Jour.*, vol. ii., pp. 3, 28.

[34] *Richardson's Jour.*, vol. ii., pp. 3, 7; *Franklin's Nar.*, vol. ii., p. 76. 'Hare Indians, who also speak a dialect of the Chipewyan language.' *Id.*, p. 83. Rocky Mountain Indians differ but little from the Strongbow, Beaver, etc. *Id.*, p. 85. *Latham's Comp. Phil.*, vol. viii., pp. 388, 391; *Id.*, vol. iii., p. 393; *Cox's Adven.*, p. 323.

see azé keh thlang, or *siskainé*. Thus we see that the dual ending is *keh* (which also means foot), and that of the plural, *thlang*. Possessive pronouns are: first person, *si*, *sit* or *nee;* second person, *nit* or *nee;* third person, his or their, *bit*, *bee*, *noot*, or *hoo*.

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB I SPEAK, YAWS'THEE.

PRESENT.		IMPERFECT.	
I speak,	yaws'thee	I spoke,	yawaylt'hee
Thou speakest,	yawnelt'hée	Thou spakest,	yayolt'hée
He speaks,	yawlt'hée	He spoke,	yalthee
We speak,	yawoult'hée	We spoke,	tayaolthee
You speak,	tayoult'hée	You spoke,	tayahelthee
They speak,	tayathee	They spoke,	tayolthee [35]

At the end of this chapter may be found a comparative vocabulary, comprising words selected from these and other dialects, belonging to this family.

Crossing over to the country drained by the Yukon, we find the great Kutchin nation and to their north-east the Kenai. The Kutchins, according to Jones, are "divided into about twenty-two different tribes, each speaking a dialect of the same language." Hardisty affirms that "the Loucheux proper is spoken by the Indians of Peels River, thence traversing the mountains, westward down Rat River, the Tuk-kuth, and Van-tah-koo-chin, which extend to the Tran-jik-koo-chin, Na-tsik-koo-chin, and Koo-cha-koo-chin of the Youcon."[36] The connection of the Kutchin language with the Tinneh has been, by early travelers, denied, and this denial re-echoed by writers following them;[37] but later philological investigations have established the relationship beyond a question. Furthermore, to corroborate this fact there are persons, well acquainted with these people and their language, having lived in their country and traded with them for years, who are positive that the Kutchin is a dialect of the Tinneh. Some of them even affirm that the eastern Kutchin dialect bears a closer relationship to that of their neighbors, the Hares and Slavés, than do some of the dialects of the western Kutchins to each other, yet it is certain that all the Kutchin tribes of the Yukon and its tributaries understand one another, accentuation being the principal distinction between them.

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[35] *Gallatin*, in *Amer. Antiq. Soc.*, *Transact.*, vol. ii., pp. 215-16, 269.

[36] *Richardson's Jour.*, pp. 377-413; *Latham's Native Races*, pp. 293-4; *Jones*, in *Smithsonian Rept.*, 1866, p. 320; *Hardisty*, in *Id.*, p. 311.

[37] 'They speak a language distinct from the Chipewyan.' *Franklin's Nar.*, vol. ii., p. 83. 'The similarity of language amongst all the tribes (Athabascans) that have been enumerated under this head (the Loucheux excepted) is fully established. It does not appear to have any distinct affinities with any other than that of the Kinai.' *Gallatin*, in *Amer. Antiq. Soc.*, *Transact.*, vol. ii., p. 20. 'The language of the latter (Loucheux) is entirely different from that of the other known tribes who possess the vast region to the northward of a line drawn from Churchill, on Hudson's Bay, across the Rocky Mountains, to New Caledonia.' *Simpson's Nar.*, p. 157. 'The Degothees or Louchenx, called Quarrellers by the English, speak a different language.' *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iii., p. 542.

A greater divergence from the stock language is observable in the dialect of the Tutchone Kutchin, which, with those of the Han Kutchin, the Slavé of Francis Lake and Fort Halkett, the Sicannis, the Abbato-tinneh of the Pelly and Macmillan Rivers, and the Nehanne of forts Liard and Simpson, might almost be called a dialectic division of the Tinneh language.[38]

Richardson, following Murray, cautiously traces these relationships in the following words: "More resemblances, he thinks, might be traced through the Mountain Indian speech (Naha-'tdinnè or Dtchè-ta-ut-'tinnè) than directly between the Kutchin and Dog-rib tongues. The Han-Kutchi of the sources of the Yukon, speak a dialect of the Kutcha-Kutchi language, yet they understand and are readily understood by the Indians of Frances Lake and the banks of the Pelly. Now these converse freely with the Naha- or Dtché-ta-ut 'tinnè, and other Rocky Mountain tribes, whose language resembles the Dog-rib tongue, and who are, in fact, acknowledged members of the Chepewyan nation. Again, the Frances Lake Indians understand the Netsilley, or Wild Nation, who trade at Fort Halkett, on the River of the Mountains; these again are understood by the Sikānis; and the Sikānis by the Beaver Indians, whose dialect varies little from that of the Athabascans, the longest-known member of the 'Tinnè nation."[39]

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[38] *Hardisty*, in *Smithsonian Rept.*, 1866, p. 311.

[39] *Richardson's Jour.*, vol. i., pp. 400–1; *Hooper's Tuski*, p. 270.

The Kutchins pride themselves on their oratorical powers, making long, windy, and allegorical speeches remarkable alike for native wit and eloquence. In public speaking their delivery is unique and effective; commencing in a low monotonous tone the voice slowly rises to a crescendo, then increases to a forte, and finally rolls forth in grand fortissimo, at which point, accompanied by striking gestures, it continues until sheer exhaustion compels the orator to pause for breath. The speech closes with a "most infernal screech," as Hardisty calls it, which is supposed to be a clincher to the most abstruse argument.

It was among these people, in the vicinity of the junction of the Tananah with the Yukon River that the before-mentioned broken Slavé jargon originated. Before the arrival of foreigners, the necessity of a trade, or intertribal, language was felt and met, the dialect spoken on the Liard River forming the basis. With the arrival of Russians, French, and English successively, each one of these nationalities contributed of its words to form the general jargon. Dall says that it is in use among all western Eskimos who have intercourse with the Tinneh. The European element in their jargon is very slight, much less than in the Chinook jargon, from the fact that but few Europeans have ever come in contact with the inland tribes of Alaska even in an indirect way.

Following the Tinneh tongue southward from Central Alaska, we strike the Pacific seaboard at Cook's Inlet and Prince William Sound, where we find the Kenai, with six or more dialects, stretching along the shores of the Ocean as far as Copper River. The word Kenai, or as they are sometimes called the Thnaina,[40] meaning men, in signification and sound is almost identical with the word Tinneh, Dinneh, Tinné, Dinay, Tinna, with many other variations applied to this family.[41] According to Sagoskin the Ingaliks, Unakatanas, and others of the Yukon and Nulato rivers call themselves Ttynai-chotana.[42] Veniaminoff, a high authority on matters coming under his immediate observation, draws erroneous conclusions from his comparisons of Kenai dialects. The Kenai language, he says, is divided into four dialects; the Kenai proper, the Atnah spoken by the Koltshanes and the people of Copper River, the Kuskoquim, and the Kwichpak.[43] Baron von Wrangell is of the opinion that the Kenai are of Thlinkeet stock, affirming that although their idiom is different yet it comes from the same root;[44] but Dall believes that it might be "more properly grouped with the Tinneh."[45] The dialect of the Ugalenzes, Buschmann confidently asserts, belongs to the Tinneh family, although its connection with the Kenai is not strongly marked, while slight traces of the Thlinkeet tongue are found in it, but not the least shadow of the Aztec as Vater imagined.[46] Long words are of frequent occurrence in the speech of the Ugalenzes; as for example, *chakljtschejalsga*, work; *tekssekonachalek*, enemy; *kakujasliatenna*, to divide; *aukatschetohatle*, to take away.

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[40] *Holmberg, Ethno. Skiz.*, pp. 6–7; *Baer, Stat. u. Ethno.*, p. 97; *Vater, Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., p. 228; *Dall's Alaska*, p. 430; *Latham's Nat. Races*, p. 292.

[41] *Buschmann, Athapask. Sprachstamm*, p. 223 ;*Krusentern, Woerter-Sammlung*, p. xi.

The Atnah dialect has also been classed with the Thlinkeet by Baer, who inserts a small comparative vocabulary to show the similarity, but in it few similar words are found, while between the Atnah and the

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[42] 'So nennen die Seeküstenbewohner Ulukag Mjuten Inkiliken, und diese letzten nennen sich selbst entweder nach dem Dorfe, oder im allgemeinen Ttynai-Chotana.' *Sagoskin, Tagebuch*, in *Russ. Geog. Gesell., Denkschr.*, p. 321.

[43] *Veniaminoff*, in *Erman, Archiv*, tom. vii., No. i., p. 128.

[44] 'Ihre Sprache ist zwar von der der Koloschen verschieden, stammt aber von derselben Wurzel ab.' *Baer, Stat. u. Ethno.*, p. 97.

[45] *Dall's Alaska*, p. 430.

[46] 'Ich bleide dabei stehn sie für eine athapaskische Sprache zu erklären.' *Buschmann, Spuren der Aztek Spr.*, p. 687. 'Two tribes are found, on the Pacific Ocean, whose kindred languages, though exhibiting some affinities both with that of the Western Eskimaux and with that of the Athapascas, we shall, for the present, consider as forming a distinct family. They are the Kinai, in or near Cook's Inlet or River, and the Ugaljachmutzi (*Ougaluchmioutzy*) of Prince William's Sound.' *Gallatin*, in *Amer. Antiq. Soc., Transact.*, vol. ii., p. 14.

Ugalenze the connection is quite prominent, as for instance;

	ATNAH	UGALENZE
Heaven	jnat	jaa
Ice	ttön	ttetz
Stone	ttzesch	ttza
Fox	nakattze	nakattze
Eagle	ttschkulăk	tkotschkalak
Blood	tell	tedlch
Fat	chchă	chche
Come here	any	anatschtja [47]

In like manner the Kenai dialect has been classed with the Thlinkeet;[48] but here the preponderance of evidence is with the Tinneh. Buschmann claims it as his discovery that the Kenai belong to the Tinneh family.[49] The Kenai dialect is very difficult to pronounce, so much so that even the neighboring people with their harsh, nasal, and guttural idioms, find great trouble in enunciating it clearly. Some of the combinations of consonants are really very curious,[50]—*aljtnjan*, earth; *kyssynj*, woman; *mljchny*, to drink; *keljkatj*, to eat; *ktaaltatlni*, to shoot; *kydykntjassnissj*, I hear; *tschatscheeintschichku*, do not be afraid; *kazikatejityssny*, I know not.

Baer makes the Ingalik cognate with Kenai, Atnah, and Thlinkeet;[51] an affinity is also detected between the Inkalit and the Kenai, Atnah, and Unalaska dialects;[52]

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[47] 'Dieses Volk gehört gleich den Ugalenzen zu einem und demselben Stamme mit den Koloschen ... Auch in der Sprache giebt es mehrere Wörter, die auf eine gemeinschaftliche Wurzel hindeuten.' *Baer*, *Stat. u. Ethno.*, p. 99.

[48] 'Gehört zu demselben Stamme wie die Galzanen oder Koltschanen, Atnaer und Koloschen. Dieses bezeugt nicht nur die noch vorhandene Aehnlichkeit einiger Wörter in den Sprachen dieser Völker (eine Aehnlichkeit, welche freilich in der Sprache der Koloschen kaum noch merkbar und fast gänzlich verschwunden ist).' *Baer*, *Stat. u. Ethno.*, p. 103.

[49] 'Die Kinai, Kenai oder Kenaizen wurden bisher shon als ein Hauptvolk und ihre Sprache als eine hauptsächliche des russichen Nordamerika's betrachtet. Sie umziehen in ihren Wohnungen an jener Küste die grosse Kinai-Bucht oder den sogenannten Cooks-Fluss. Ihr Idiom galt bisher als eine selbstständige und ursprüngliche Sprache, Trägerinn mehrerer anderer. Nach meinen Entdeckungen ist es ein Glied des grossen athapaskischen Sprachstammes, und seine Verwandten im russischen Nord-westen sind andere Glieder desselben.' *Buschmann*, *Athapask. Sprachstamm*, p. 223.

[50] 'Die Kenai-Sprache ist, wegen der Menge ihrer Gurgellaute, von allen Idiomen des russichen Amerika's am schwierigsten auszusprechen. Selbst die Nachbarn der Kenajer, deren Sprachen schon ein sehr geschmeidiges Organ erfordern, sind nicht im Stande, Wörter des Kenajischen rein wiederzugeben.' *Veniaminoff*, in *Erman*, *Archiv*, tom. vii., No. i., p. 128.

[51] *Baer*, *Stat. u. Ethno.*, p. 119.

[52] 'Sie sprechen eine Sprache, die ganz verschieden ist von der an der See-

while Sagoskin numbers both the Ingalik and the Inkalit among the members of the Tinneh family.[53] Like those of their neighbors these two dialects are harsh and difficult of pronunciation, as for instance in the Inkalit, *tschugljkchuja*, a fox.

From the earliest times it has been known that the Koltshanes could converse freely with the Atnahs and Kenai, and the relationship existing between these dialects has long been recognized.[54] As a specimen of the Koltshane tongue, I present the following: *tschiljkaje*, eagle; *nynkakit*, earth; *ssyljtschitan*, cold; *sstscheljssilj*, warm; *tschilje*, man.

To the Tacullies of our central Tinneh division, whose language Hale separates into eleven dialects, Latham adds the Sicannis, and other writers the Umpquas and the Hoopahs.[55] The northern dialects of this division are represented as composed of words harsh and difficult to pronounce, while the southern dialects are softer and more sonorous, yet robust and emphatic. Mr Hale felt the necessity of adopting a peculiar style of orthography to represent the sounds of these words. The Greek *chi* he employed to reproduce the Tacully gutturals, which he says are somewhat deeper than the Spanish *jota*, probably nearly akin to the German *ch* in *acht und achtzig*. With *t chi l* he aims to convey a sound which "is

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küste gebräuchlichen Sprache der Aleuten von Kadjack; der Dialect der Inkaliten ist ein Gemisch aus den Sprachen der Kenayer, Unalaschken und Atnaer....auch die Anwigmüten und Magimüten sind Inkaliten.' *Baer, Stat. u. Ethno.*, pp. 120-1.

[53] 'Der zwei Stämme des Volkes Ttynai, hauptsächlich der Inkiliken und der Inkaliten-jug-elnut.' *Sagoskin, Tagebush*, in *Russ. Geog. Gesell., Denkschr.*, tom. i., p. 352; *Whymper's Alaska*, p. 175.

[54] 'Die näher wohnenden gehören zu demselben Stamme wie die Atnaer und Kenayer und können sich mit ihnen, obgleich sie einen anderen Dialect sprechen, verständigen.' *Baer, Stat. u. Ethno.*, p. 101.

[55] *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 62; *Mackenzie's Voyages*, p. 284. 'Their language is very similar to that of the Chipewyans, and has a great affinity to the tongues spoken by the Beaver Indians and the Sicaunes. Between all the different villages of the Carriers, there prevails a difference of dialect, to such an extent, that they often give different names to the most common utensils.' *Harmon's Jour.*, pp. 285-6, 379, 193, 196; *Ludewig's Ab. Lang.*, p. 178. 'Les Indiens de la côte ou de la Nouvelle Calédonie, les Tokalis, les Chargeurs (*Carriers*), les Schouchonaps, les Atnas, appartiennent tous à la nation des Chipeuhaians.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 337; *Gallatin*, in *Amer. Antiq. Soc., Transact.*, vol. ii., p. 20. 'A branch of the great Chippewyan (Athapascan) stock.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 202.

a combination uttered by forcing out the breath at the side of the mouth between the tongue and the palate."[56] In the following words instead of the Greek *chi*, I write *kh*, and for *t chi l*, *sch*. *Schling*, dog; *schluk*, fish; *sutschon*, good; *kwun*, fire; *kukh*, house; *schhell*, mountain; *tse*, stone; *kuschkai*, run.

Hale is the only author who gives any information of the two tribes Tlatskanai and Kwalhioqua. The Kwalhioquas dwell on the north bank of the Columbia, near its mouth; but between them and the river there runs a wedge of Chinook territory. The former are to be found south of the river, on a narrow strip extending north and south. Being nearly related to the Tacully, these languages also belong to the Tinneh family. The only vocabulary obtainable is given by Mr Hale. Round the headwaters of the river Umpqua live the people of that name, speaking a language related to the two last mentioned, but which, if we may believe Mr Hale, is "much softer than the others."

Scouler, who has made a curious classification of the languages of north-western America, places the Umpqua in the same family with the Calapooya and Yamkally under the general name of Cathlascon.[57] The southernmost dialect of this division is that of the Hoopahs, on Trinity River. Upon the authority of Mr Powers, "the Hoopa language is worthy of the people who speak it—copious in its vocabulary; robust, sonorous, and strong in utterance; of a martial simplicity and rudeness in construction." Again he writes, "as the Hoopas remind one of the Romans among savages, so is their language something akin to the Latin in its phonetic characteristics: the idiom of camps—rude, strong, laconic. Let a grave and decorous Indian speak it deliberately, and every word comes out like the thud of a battering-ram against a wall. For instance let the reader take the words for 'devil' and 'death'—*keetoanchwa* and *cheechwit*—and note the robust strength with which they can be uttered. What a grand roll of drums there is in that long, strong word, *conchwilchwil.*" Mr Powers gives the following declension: I, *hwe;* father, *hoota;* my father, *hwehoota;* you, *nine;* your father, *nineta;* mother, *necho;* death, *cheechwit;* your mother's death, *nincho cheechwit.*[58]

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[56] *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 533.

[57] *Scouler*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc., Jour.*, vol. xi., p. 225; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 117.

On the western slope of Mount Shasta, there is the Wi-Lackee language, which bears a close likeness to the Hoopah; on Mad River is the Lassic and on Eel River the Siah, both probably Hoopah dialects, and on Smith River in Del Norte County, the Haynaggi, Tolewah and Tahahteen, also presumably Hoopah and Wi-Lackee dialects. The following comparative table of the numerals in the Tolewah, Hoopah, and Wi-Lackee dialects, will serve to illustrate their relationship.

	TOLEWAH.	HOOPAH.	WI-LACKEE.
One	chla	chla	clyhy
Two	nacheh	nach	nocka
Three	tacheh	tach	tock
Four	tencheh	tinckh	tenckha
Five	swoila	chwola	tusculla
Six	ostáneh	hostan	cooslac
Seven	tsayteh	ochkit	coosnac
Eight	lanésh tnata	cahnem	coostac
Nine	chla ntuch	nocósta	coosténckha
Ten	neh sun	minchla	kwang enta

In the southern and last division of the Tinneh family are found the great Apache and Navajo nations, with their many dialects. The Apaches may be said to inhabit or rather to roam over the country, commencing at the Colorado desert and extending east to the Rio Pecos, or from about 103° to 114° west long., and from Utah Territory into the states of Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo Leon, and Texas, or from about 38° to 30° north lat. Hardly two authors agree in stating the number and names of the different tribes belonging to this nation.[59] The names by which they are known among themselves are, according to Orozco y Berra: *Vinni ettinen-ne*, *Segatajen-ne*, *Tjuiccujen-ne*, *Iccujen-ne*, *Yutajen-ne*, *Sejen-ne*, *Cuelcajen-ne*, *Lipajen-ne*, for which the Mexicans have substituted, such words as Apaches, Tontos, Chiricaguis, Gileños, Mimbreños, Faraones, Mescaleros, Llaneros, Lipanes, and Navajos.[60] The nations that make up this great people are the Chiricaguis in north-eastern Sonora; Coyoteros in the Gila country; Faraones, west of New Mexico in the Sierras del Diablo, Chanate, and Pilares; Gileños at the eastern base of the Sierra de los Mimbres south of the Rio Gila; the people of the copper mines on both banks of the Rio Grande, ranging west to the Coyoteros and Pinaleños, and also into Chihuahua and Sonora, and at Lake Guzman west of Paso del Norte; the Lipanes, or Ipandes, in Texas;

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[58] *Powers*, in *Overland Monthly*, vol. ix., pp. 157–8; *Gibbs*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iii., p. 422; *Turner*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. iii., pp. 87–5. 'Ich habe später die *Hoopah* Sprache wirklich für eine athapaskische angenommen.' *Buschmann*, *Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, p. 576.

[59] *Bartlett's Pers. Nar.*, vol. i., p. 325. 'Desde el Real de Chiguagua, cruzando al Poniente, hasta el rio Gila, y subiendo al Norte, hasta el Moqui,

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y Nuevo México, y Provincias de Texas y Quahuila; y revolviendo al Sur remata en el sobredicho Real.' *Arricivita*, *Crónica Seráfica*, p. 338; *Vater*, *Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., p. 177; *Mühlenpfordt*, *Mejico*, tom. i., pp. 212-3; 'Extend from the black mountains in New México to the frontiers of Cogquilla.' *Pike's Explor. Trav.*, (Phil. 1810,) appendix, p. 10; *Turner*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. iii., p. 83; *Malte-Brun*, *Précis de la Géog.*, tom. vi., p. 446; *Pope*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. ii., p. 13; *Buschmann*, *Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, p. 298; *Ludewig's Ab. Lang.*, p. 8. 'Se extienden en el vasto espacio de dicho continente, que comprenden los grados 30 á 38 de latitud Norte, y 264 á 277 de longitud de Tenerife.' *Cordero*, in *Orozco y Berra*, *Geografía*, p. 369; *Villa-Señor y Sanchez*, *Theatro*, tom. ii., pp. 393, et seq. 'Tota hæc regio, quam Novam Mexicanam vocant, ab omnibus pene lateribus ambitur ab *Apachibus*.' *Laet*, *Novus Orbis*, p. 316; *Venegas*, *Noticia de la Cal.*, tom. ii., 553; *Orozco y Berra*, *Geografía*, p. 40.

[60] *Orozco y Berra*, *Geografía*, p. 369. 'La nacion apache es una misma aunque con las denominaciones de Gileños, Carlanes, Chilpaines, Xicarillas, Faraones, Mescaleros, Natales, Lipanes, etc. varia poco en su idioma.' *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iv., tom. iii., p. 10. 'Los Apaches se dividen en cinco parcialidades como son: Tontos ó Coyoteros, Chiricahues, Gileños, Faraones, Mescaleros, Llaneros, Lipanes, Xicarillas y otras.' *Barreiro*, *Ojeada*, appendix, p. 7. Browne mentions the Gila Apaches, and as belonging to them Mimbrenas, Chiricahuas, Sierra Blancas, Pinal llanos, Coyoteros, Cominos, Tontos, and Mogallones.' *Apache Country*, p. 290; *Vater*, *Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., pp. 177-8; *Mühlenpfordt*, *Mejico*, tom. i., p. 211. 'The Apache; from which branch the Navajos, Apaches, Coyoteros, Mescaleros, Moquis, Yabipias, Maricopas, Chiricaquis, Chemeguabas, Yumayas (the last two tribes of the Moqui), and the Nijoras, a small tribe on the Gila.' *Ruxton's Adven. Mex.*, p. 194; *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1857, p. 298; 1858, pp. 205-6; 1854, p. 189; 1861, p. 122; 1862, p. 238; 1863, p. 108; 1864, p. 156; 1865, p. 506; 1869, p. 234; *Humboldt*, *Essai Pol.*, tom. i., p. 289. 'Los apaches se dividen en nueve parcialidades ó tribus.' *Pimentel*, *Cuadro*, tom. ii., p. 251. 'Since acquiring the Apache language, I have discovered that they (Lipans) are a branch of that great tribe, speaking identically the same language, with the exception of a few terms and names of things existing in their region and not generally known to those branches which inhabit Arizona and New Mexico.' *Cremony's Apaches*, p. 21.

the Llaneros, north-east of Santa Fé, and northerly of the Rio Rojo de Natchitoches or Rio Pecos; Mescaleros, in the Sierras del Diablo, Chanate, Pilares, and on both banks of the Rio Tuerco, above its confluence with the Rio Grande; the Natages, or Natajes, in Texas near the Lipanes; the Pelones, in Coahuila; the Pinaleños, in the Sierras del Pinal and Blanca; the Tejuas, east of the Rio Grande, in the Gila country; the Tontos, in north-eastern Sonora, in the north-east near the Seris in the Pimeria Alta, and south of the Maricopas and the Rio Gila; the Vaqueros in the eastern part of New Mexico; the Mimbreños, in the Sierra de los Mimbres, west of Paso del Norte, and in the south-western end of New Mexico, on the northern boundary of Chihuahua.[61] The Xicarillas, whose dialect forms the principal connecting link between the Apache language and the Tinneh family, live on the Rio de los Osos, west of the Rio Grande; also in the Moro Mountains and along the Cimarron.[62] All the Apache tribes speak dialects but slightly varying from one another, and all can converse easily together. Different accentuations and some peculiar vocal appellations are, for the most part, all that constitute severalness in these dialects. Don José Cortéz states that "the utterance of the language is very violent, but it is not so difficult to speak as the first impression of it would lead one to suppose; for the ear, becoming accustomed to the sound, discovers a cadence in the words." "It has great poverty, both of expression and words." It appears as well that the harsh gutturals so constantly heard among the northern members of the Tinneh family, frequently occur in the Apache dialects.[63] Bartlett writes, "it sounds like a combination of Polish, Chinese, Choctaw, and Dutch. Grunts and gutturals abound, and there is a strong resemblance to the Hottentot click. Now blend these together, and as you utter the word, swallow it, and the sound will be a fair specimen of an Apache word."[64] Apache affiliations have been surmised by different writers, with nearly all their neighbors, and even with more distant nations. Arricivita hints at a possible relationship with the Otomí, because an Otomí muleteer told him that he could converse with the Apaches.[65] The Shoshone and Comanche dialects have also been referred to the Tinneh trunk, but in reality they belong to the Sonora vernacular, a discovery first made by Turner, and proved by Buschmann.

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[61] *Buschmann, Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, p. 303, et seq. 'El intermedio del Colorado y Gila, ocupan los yavipaistejua, y otros yavipais; al sur del Moqui son todos yavipais, que es lo mismo que apaches, donde se conoce el gran terreno que ocupa esta nacion.' *Garcés, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii., tom. i., p. 352; *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, Feb. 18, 1864. Padilla mentions the following nations with the Apaches: 'Apaches, Pharaones, Natagees, Gilas, Mescaleros, Cosninas, Quartelejos, Palomas, Xicarillas, Yutas, Moquinos.' *Conq. N. Galicia, MS.*, p. 785; *Cortez, Hist. Apache Nations*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. iii., pp. 118–20. 'The Apaches, the Navahoes, and the Lipans, of Texas, speak dialects of the same language. The Jicarillas, (Hic-ah-ree-ahs) Mescaleros, Tontos, and Coyotens, are all bands of Apaches; and I am induced to think the Garoteros are also an offshoot from the Apache tribe.' *Lane*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 689.

[62] 'A distancia de cinco leguas, al mesmo rumbo (north of Taos), está una Nacion de Indios, que llaman Xicarillas.' *Villa-Senor y Sanchez, Theatro*, tom. ii., p. 420; *Davis*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1869, p. 255. Xicarillas, Apache Indians of northern New Mexico. Their language shows affinity with the great Athabascan stock of languages. *Buschmann, Spr. N. Mex. u. der Westseite des B. Nordamer.*, p. 274; *Id.*, *Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, pp. 318–9; *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 203.

Col. Cremony, who was interpreter for the United States Mexican boundary commission, and hence conversant with the Apache language, gives some valuable grammatical notes. "Their verbs" he says "express the past, present and future with much regularity, and have the infinitive, indicative, subjunctive and imperative moods, together with the first, second and third persons, and the singular, dual and plural numbers. Many of them are very irregular, and depend upon auxiliaries which are few. In all that relates to special individuality the language is exacting; thus, *shee* means I, or me; but *shee-dah* means I myself, or me myself; *dee* means thee or thou; but *dee-dah* means you yourself especially and personally, without reference to any other being. When an Apache is relating his own personal adventures he never says *shee* for I, because that word, in some sense, includes all who were present and took any part in the affair but he uses the word *shee-dah*, to show that the act was wholly his own. The pronouns are: *shee*—I; *shee-dah*—I myself; *dee*—thee or thou; *dee-dah*, thee thyself; *aghan*—it, he, her, or they. The word *to-dah* means no, and all their affirmatives are negatived by dividing this word so as to place the first syllable in front and the second in the rear of the verb to be negatived. For example, *ink-tah* means, sit down, but to say, do *not* sit down, we must express it *to-ink-tah-dah*; *nuest-chee-shee*, come here; *to-nuest-chee-shee-dah*, do *not* come here; *anah-zont-tee*, begone; *to-anah-zont-tee-dah*, do *not* begone."[66]

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[63] *Cortez, Hist. Apache Nations*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. iii., p. 120. 'Hablan un mismo idioma, y aunque varia el acento y tal cual voz provincial, no influye esta diferencia que dejen de entenderse recíprocamente.' *Orozco y Berra, Geografía*, p. 369.

[64] *Bartlett's Letter*, in *Literary World*, April 24, 1852, pp. 298–9. 'It abounds equally with guttural, hissing and indistinctly uttered mixed intonations. ...It abounds in the sound of *tz*, so common in the Shemitic languages, of *zl* of *d* and the rough *rr*....It may be suggested that its proper affinities are to be found in the Athpasca.' *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., pp. 202–3.

[65] 'Le preguntó que si acaso entendia la lengua de los Apaches, y satisfizo con que era la misma Otomite que él hablaba, y solo con la diferencia de que ellos variaban la significacion de muchos vocablos que en la suya querian decir otras cosas: pero por el contexto de las otras palabras, facilmente se entendian.' *Arricivita, Crónica Seráfica*, p. 339.

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB TO BE, AH GHONTAY.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

I am,	tak-she	We are,	tan-ah-hee-ah-aht-tee
Thou art,	tan-dee-ah-aht-tee	You are,	nah-hee-ah-aht-tee
He is,	tah-annah	They are,	aghan-day-aht-tee

IMPERFECT.

I was,	tash-ee-ah-ash-ee
Thou wast,	dee-ah-alt-een
He was,	tah-annah-kah-on-yah,
We were,	akannah-sin-kah
You were,	nah-hee-dah-a-kan nah-dash-shosh
They were,	aghan-do-doh-ah-kah-gah-kah

FIRST FUTURE.

I shall be,	she-ah-dosh-'n-dahl	We shall be,	nah-he-do-gont-ee-dahl
Thou wilt be,	dee-ay-goh-ay-dahl	You will be,	nah-he-nah-hat-han-dahl
He will be,	ando-ay-gah-ee-dahl	They will be,	nah-hayt-han-dahl

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB TO DO, AH GOSH LAH.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

I do,	she-ash-lah	We do,	tah-nah-hee-ah-ghont-lah
Thou dost,	tan-dee-aghon-lah	You do,	nah-hee-ah-ghast-lah
He does	tah-pee-ay-il-lah	They do,	tah-goh-pee-ah-goh-lah

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[66] *Cremony's Apaches*, p. 239; *Id.*, in *Overland Monthly*, Sept. 1868, pp. 336–7.

IMPERFECT.

I did,	tah-she-ash-lah	We did,	tah-nah-kee-and-lah
Thou didst,	dee-and-lah	You did,	nah-hee-alt-lah
He did,	pee-ind-lah	They did,	goh-pee-ah-goh-nind-lah

FIRST FUTURE.

I shall do,	tash-ee-ah-dosh-leel
Thou wilt do,	dee-ah-goh-dont-leel
He will do,	tah-pee-aye-dahl-teel
We shall do,	tah-nah-he-ah-go-dont-leel
You will do,	nah-he-ah-dash-leel
They will do,	go-pee-ah-guill-dah-leel

PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE.

If I do,	she-ash-lah-nah-ah	If we do,	tah-nah-hee-ant-lah
If thou do,	dee-alt-in-dahl	If you do,	nah-hee-alt-lah
If he do,	tah-pee-ayilt-in-dahl	If they do,	go-pee-ah-wilt-ee

IMPERATIVE.

Do thou, eah-and-lah

PRESENT PARTICIPLE,

Doing, ah-whee-lah

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB TO EAT, ISH SHAN.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

I eat,	she-ish-shan	We eat,	tah-nah-de-hit-tahn
Thou eatest,	deah-in-nah	You eat,	nah-he-naloh-in-day
He eats,	aghan-iz-yan	They eat,	goh-pee-goo-iz-yan

PERFECT.

I have eaten,	she-ohz-yan
Thou hast eaten,	dee-schlee-ohn-nah
He has eaten,	aghan-ohnz-yan
We have eaten,	tah-nah-hee-al-ke-dah-ohn-tan
You have eaten,	nah-he-ahz-yan
They have eaten,	goh-pee-go-yohnz-yan

FIRST FUTURE.

I shall eat,	she-go-ish-shan
Thou wilt eat,	dee-doh-in-mah-dahl
He will eat,	aghandoh-iz-yan
We shall eat,	tah-nah-hee-hin-tahn-dahl
You will eat,	nah-he-goh-an-shan
They will eat,	goh-pee-goh-iz-yan-dahl

IMPERATIVE.

Eat thou,	tan-dee-in-nah	Let them eat, tah-goh-pee-niz-yan

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB TO SLEEP, IL HOOSH.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

I sleep,	she-ish-hoosh	We sleep,	tah-nah-he-il-hoosh
Thou sleepest,	dee-ilt-hoosh	You sleep,	nah-he-il-hoosh
He sleeps,	aghan-it-hoosh	They sleep,	go-pee-will-hoosh

PERFECT.

I have slept,	she-al-kee-dah-ish-hash
Thou hast slept,	dee-al-kee-dah-ish-hash
He has slept,	aghando-ish-hash
We have slept,	tah-nah-he-al-kee-dah-il-gash
You have slept,	nah-he-al-kee-dah-al-hoosh
They have slept,	go-pee-al-kee-dah-go-il-gash

FIRST FUTURE.

I shall sleep,	she-do-ish-hoosht-tahl
Thou wilt sleep,	dee-do-dohl-goosh
He will sleep,	aghando-il-hoosht-dahl
We shall sleep,	tah-nah-he-do-il-goosh-tahl
You will sleep,	nah-he-doh-al-hoosh-tahl
They will sleep,	go-pee-go-will-hoosh-tahl

IMPERATIVE.

Sleep thou,	dee-ilh-hoosh
Sleep you,	nah-hee-doh-al-hoosh
Sleep they,	go-pee-go-il-hoosh

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB TO LOVE, IN KAY GO ISHT LEE.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

I love,	sheah-in-kay-go-isht-lee	We love,	tan-ah-hee-in-kay-go-it-lee
Thou lovest,	deah-vick-kay-go-int-lee	You love,	nah-he-vick-kay-at-lee
He loves,	aghan-ee-kay-go-it-lee	They love,	goh-pee-vick-kay-go-it-lee

IMPERFECT.

I loved,	she-in-kay-go-isht-leeth-lay
Thou lovedst,	dee-vick-kay-go-int-leeth-lee
He loved,	aghan-vick-kay-go-it-leelth-lee
We loved,	tan-ah-hee-vick-kay-int-leelth-lee
You loved,	nah-he-vick-kay-at-leelth-lee
They loved,	go-pee-vick-kay-go-leelth-lee

FIRST FUTURE.

Thou wilt love,	dee-vick-kay-go-isht-lee-dahl
He will love,	aghan-vick-kay-go-it-lee-dahl
I shall love,	she-in-kay-go-isht-lee-dahl
We shall love,	tah-nah-he-vick-kay-go-it-tlee-dahl
You will love,	nah-he-vick-kay-at-tlee-dahl
They will love,	goh-pee-vick-kay-go-it-tlee-dahl

IMPERFECT POTENTIAL.

I should love,	she 'dn-vick-kay-go-isht-leel-dahl
Thou shouldst love,	dee 'dn-vick-kay-go-isht-leel-dahl
He should love,	aghan-vick-kay-ich-klee-dahl
We should love,	tah-nah-he-vick-kay-go-in-klee-dahl
You should love,	nah-he-vick-kay-go-in-klee-dahl
They should love,	goh-pee-vick-kay-go-in-klee-dahl

IMPERATIVE.

Love thou,	vick-kay-go-it-lee
Love you,	nah-he-vick-kay-at-lee
Let them love,	goh-pee-vick-kay-go-it-lee

NUMERALS.

One	tash-ay-ay	Sixteen	host-kon-sah-tah-hay
Two	nah-kee	Seventeen	host-ee-sah-tah-hay
Three	kah-yay	Eighteen	tan-pee-sah-tah-hay
Four	in-yeh	Nineteen	'n·ghost·ah·sah·tah·hay
Five	asht-lay	Twenty	natin-yay
Six	host-kon-nay	Thirty	kah-tin-yay
Seven	host-ee-day	Forty	tinsh-tin-yay
Eight	hah-pee	Fifty	asht-lah-tin-yay
Nine	'n-ghost-ay	Sixty	host-kon-tin-yay
Ten	go-nay-nan-nay	Seventy	host-ee-tin-yay
Eleven	klats-ah-tah	Eighty	san-vee-tin-yay
Twelve	nah-kee·sah-tah	Ninety	'n-ghost-ah-tin-yay
Thirteen	kah-yay-sah-tah	One hundred	tah-len-too-ooh
Fourteen	tin-sah-tah-hay	One thousand	go-nay-nan-too-ooh
Fifteen	asht-lay-sah-tah-hay	Two thousand	nah-tin-ee-too-ooh

The following sentences will serve as specimens to show the construction of this language.

Whence come you? *hash-ee-ohn-dahl?*
I come from afar, *an-dah-she-oh-thal.*
I am a friend, *tah-in-joon-ay-ish-lee.*
What do you want? *ee-ya-althe-ee 'n?*
There are wood, water, and grass, *tooh-tlo-chee-gon-lee.*
Go and watch the enemy, *niñ-dah-bin-naht-hah-aden-he.*
Take notice of them, *gon-joon-ay-go-hah-den-ee.*
Of what nation are they? *yah-indah-aht-ee?*
Where is their camp? *hah-ay-vee-goat-hah?*
Note well their position, *gon-joon-ay-go-nel-he-hayago-ah-tay-na-lee.*
They are near by, *goh-pee-ach-han-nay-she-go.*
I do not believe it, *too-vah-osht-lah-dah.*
Show me the road, *in-tin-dee-she-chee-toh-golt-chee.*
Mine, *shee.*
It is mine, *es-shee.*
Thine, *dee.*
It is his or hers, *ah-koon-pee.*
It is not mine, *too-she-dah.*
It is not thine, *too-in-dee-dah.*
It is not his or hers, *too-pee-dah.*
These, *tee-hay-ah.*
Those, *ah-wayh-hay-yah.*

As a further illustration, I give a speech made by General Carleton during an interview with the Mescaleros, which was translated and written down at the time by Col. Cremony.

Nah-heedn day nah goodnltay;	Your people are bad;
toogo take headah;	they have not kept faith;
bayay geah gontay;	they are treacherous;
schlee nahhah goh inay een;	they have stolen our horses;
nahgah godilt say;	they have murdered our people;
nahhannah gwinheay endah ah tay;	they must make amends;
too nahhan neet ee dah;	they must cease troubling us;
tah nakee ahendah adenh dee;	they must obey our orders;

nah schleen nahhannah weedah ayl; han eganday
they must restore our animals; they must

nahhannah goee dalt yeal; enday nahhah hitjash
give up the murderers; they must give us

toohayago andadah; alkeedah llaynah ildee; eschlanay
hostages; let them remember past times; they were

vaygo daht eel; saylth lee goh-pee; taat hooay takee
numerous and powerful; they held all the sierras; they occupied all

anah goh kah; tah golkahay takay ikay goon lee;
the water-holes; they were masters of the plains;

tash lainah too nelchedah. Ako ahn day hahdah?
none made them afraid. Where are they now?

Eeyah veeahkah tsay nogoshee 'n nilt ee? Nakay eeah
Why do they hide behind rocks? Where is their

haddah? Bahyay kay 'n nilt ee? She aghan iltisch
possession? Why do they hide like coyotes? I will tell

in dee. taykay indah nash lee; taykay ay
them why; they have been enemies to all other people; they have made

veeakah nah hindah; tahnahhe elchindah nah hee;
all other people their enemies; they have made enemies of each other;

tannahee eedaltsay ayveeahkah hee nahindah; too nah
they have lived by robbery and murder; they have

yah seedah; tah nalkoneeay vickaygo tee en nahseego;
not worked; idleness breeds want;

tee en nahseego chin nah hilt yeeay; chevilheeaygo
want breeds hunger; hunger

vilkonyeago takhoogo ont yeal; yont hooaygo anaht eel;
and idleness breed crime; they have committed crimes;

takhoogo ninis yah; aghon ahltay koohaygo naht lee;
the punishment has fallen on them; their thousands have become hundreds;

elchinalcheego vickeah golt seel; nahee vah ahtee
we speak harsh truths; we speak so only for

elchinahtee; naschayhay too ahnah lahdah;
their good; we have no vengeance in our hearts;

Elchinalcheego inklees andah 'n june; nah kashee
Our talk is hard but good; let them

vanan an keeays; anahtay kahdayah too wakhahdah;
reflect upon it; let them change their ways;

innee nahl ash lah; ilk jeel eego andah 'n june.[67]
let them cultivate the earth; let them be a strong but a good people.

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[67] Prepared at Fort Sumner, Bosque Redondo, on the Pecos River, New Mexico, in 1863, as certified by Brig. Gen. James H. Carleton, U. S. A., and

Mr Dorr, writing in the *Overland Monthly*, makes an erroneous assertion that the Apache and Zuñi languages are the same, "differing only in accent, intonation, and cadence, they understand each other without difficulty. The Zuñi, or Apache language is very flexible and *suave*, and may at some time have been the Court language of the ancient races. It is often as expressive of fine shades of distinction as even the Greek itself. It preserves—in the *adyta* of its wonderful radicals—the traditional duality of the human race: its dual, as well as singular and plural, forms of speech."[68]

Vater intimates a relationship between the Apaches and the Pawnees, and that chiefly on the ground of a similarity in the names Pawnees and Lipanes.[69]

Pimentel gives a Lord's Prayer in the Lipan dialect, which will serve as a specimen of the language:

'Cutall nezlló ezllá anel ti qui Llatá; 'setezdanela net agá nautela; nosesene nda tendajé lle agá tandé: tanzanenda agá atanclaju, senegui ti ezllza glezi, aj ullú ti lle lata; Lle tulatan nezllé ja lagé tatichi anizané tatichi en gucecen dé joullé vandaezhé lenegui ajullú da yé nachezonllé tenagé vandaezhec en ne zto agatenjá tendá tlez ti tezchupanen da glicóa genechi te najacengli Gaache lyé net.'[70]

The Navajos, or Apache Navajos, of New Mexico, like the northern Tinneh, call themselves Tennai, men. Their dialect approaches the Xicarilla Apache, and Mr Eaton even asserts that it is about the same.[71] Pike mentions the Nanahaws, which name is probably intended for Navajos, as no other account can be found of such a people.

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the only Apache grammar known to exist at this date. *Cremony's Vocabulary and Grammar of the Mescalero Apache Language*, MS.

[68] *Dorr's Ride with the Apaches*, in *Overland Monthly*, vol. vi., p. 343.

[69] *Vater*, *Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt. iii., p. 179.

[70] *Pimentel*, *Cuadro*, tom. ii., p. 251, and in *Coleccion Polidiómica Mexicana que contiene La Oracion Dominical*; *por la Sociedad Mex. Geog. y Estad.*, *México* 1860.

[71] 'The Apaches call the Navajoes Yú-tah-kah. The Navajoes call themselves, as a tribe, Tenúai (man.). The appellation Návajo, was unquestionably given them by the Spaniards.' *Eaton*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iv., pp. 217–8; *Möllhausen*, *Tagebuch*, p. 229. 'Gehört ebenfalls zur Familie der Apaches.' *Id.*, *Reisen*, tom. ii., p. 236.

COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF THE TINNEH FAMILY.

	STONE.	FIRE.	WATER.	DOG.	SUN.	KNIFE.	MAN.	EYE.	ONE.	TWO.	THREE.
Apache....	zeyzai	kou	toah	zeetzaian	skeemai	pesh	ailee	konda	tahse	nahkee	tai
Apache Coppermine	tzi	con	t'hochon	klinchane	chigonakai	pes	n'de	sleenda	tashte	naki	ta-i
Atnah.......	tzesch	tkchon	ttuu	tchlikja	noai		tkichlj	ssnega	schtschel-kai	nateakcha	taakei
Beaver......			too	tlee			tiné				
Chepewyan..	thaih	counn	tto	thling	sakh	bess	'tinné	naw	slachy	nakhe	takke
Dogrib....	thai	cun	to	kling	ssa	paas	tchelaqui	ztennhae	'nthlaré	nakhké	khtarre
Hoopah....	tsha	hoh	tahnahn	schlunh	hontsah	salstha	quaietai	hunnah	tlah	nahe	tahek
Inkilik......		ttakuna	tu	klikhk	nooja	tschawyk	ttynnaij	noga	kissleka	inteka	tokak
Inkalit......	luohna	kchun	te	klikhk	nooi	tschawyk	tynni	noga	kissleka	inteka	toka
Kenai........	kaljniki	tasi	miljtni	chlika	channoo	kisjaki	tynni	ssnaga	zelkei	techa	tokchke
Koltshane...	tzi		tokatschj	liki	naaitschete		tschilje	tschintagi	ilite	lakeji	takei
Kutchin......	tchi	khon	tchu	tleine	r'seyé	r'si	tengi		tihlagga	nakhei	thieka
Kwalhioqua..						tschoho					
Loucheux....			tchu			tlay	tenghie				
Navajo....	tsai	tcou	toe	kleechahee	chohaeha	pesh	tennai	hunnah	tathlai	naki	tanh
North'n Ind..		odelchat	ictoo	anelwosh		pace	tinneh	naw	she	chellatelle	elthoi
Apache Pinaleño...	tschayer		to		yaheye	paysche	payyahnay	chindar			
Sursee......		coo		tley		marsh		senourvoh	vttegar	vkkeer	tankey
Tacully.......	tse	coun	tou	sleing	tsa	téisch	dinay	nah	etscha	nangkakh	taki
Tenan Kutchin...	utsih		chu	klankoyah	soh		tinji	sintaga			
Tlatskanai.	zeyzay	khtane	to	schling	taosse	tekhe	khanae	nakhai	schlié	natoke	tage
Ugalenze.....	tza	takak	kaja	chaua	katakyl	zachlj	togoju	kalljag	tlchinke	gantte	toolkoa
Umpqua.....	seh	khong	tkho	schlinge	scha	natlmi	toene	naye	aitschla	nakhok	taak
Unakatana..	luohna	khun	tu	klikhk	taltohna		tena lo	sunoga			
Xicarilla.....		cone	ko	klinchaah			tinday	pindah			
Apache Mescalero..	teesch	kunh'	too-ooh	neechschlee	shoonnahaye	pesh	enday	shindah	tash-ayay	nahkee	kahyay

CHAPTER III.

COLUMBIAN LANGUAGES.

THE HAIDAH, ITS CONSTRUCTION AND CONJUGATION—THE NASS LANGUAGE AND ITS DIALECTS—BELLACOOLA AND CHIMSYAN COMPARISONS—THE NOOTKA LANGUAGES OF VANCOUVER ISLAND—NANAIMO TEN COMMANDMENTS AND LORD'S PRAYER—AZTEC ANALOGIES—FRASER AND THOMPSON RIVER LANGUAGES—THE NEETLAKAPAMUCK GRAMMAR AND LORD'S PRAYER—SOUND LANGUAGES—THE SALISH FAMILY—FLATHEAD GRAMMAR AND LORD'S PRAYER—THE KOOTENAI—THE SAHAPTIN FAMILY—NEZ PERCÉ GRAMMAR—YAKIMA LORD'S PRAYER—SAHAPTIN STATE AND SLAVE LANGUAGES—THE CHINOOK FAMILY—GRAMMAR OF THE CHINOOK LANGUAGE—AZTEC AFFINITIES—THE CHINOOK JARGON.

Returned from the south, whither we were led by the Apache branch of the Tinneh family, let us examine the languages of our Columbian group. Next along the sea-board, south of the Thlinkeets, are the Haidahs and Kaiganies, whose language is spoken on the southern part of the Prince of Wales Archipelago, and on Queen Charlotte Island. This language is sometimes called Haidah, and sometimes Kaiganie,[1] and although many tribes belong to these nations, I find among them no dialectic difference, except that between the Haidahs of Queen Charlotte Island and the Kaiganies of the Prince of Wales Archipelago.

Marchand claims that this language is understood by the Thlinkeets and other eastern tribes;[2] Capt. Dixon thinks it is a distinct and separate tongue;[3] Scouler makes one large northern family, which he says spreads "from the Arctic Circle to the northern extremity of Quadra and Vancouver's Island;"[4] Radloff's comparative researches incline him to the opinion that, although there may be a few similarities in words between this and other idioms, as, for example, the Thlinkeet, they are yet insufficient to prove identity.[5]

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[1] 'Die Kaigan-Sprache wird auf der Insel Kaigan und den Charlotten Inseln....gesprochen.' *Veniaminoff*, in *Erman*, *Archiv*, tom. vii., No. i, p. 128.

Some of those who have heard the Haidahs speak, say that their language is uncouth and difficult to articulate, abounding in consonants, and with a labial and dental pronunciation;[6] others affirm that it does not possess the hard aspirated consonants so frequently found in the Thlinkeet language, that it is richer in vowels and softer, though, like the Thlinkeet, it is wanting in labials, in the dental *r*, and in the guttural *l*, while the Haidah has the clear *l*.[7] The Haidah language lacks the letters *b*, *p*, *f*, and the dental *r*; neither its substantives nor adjectives have any gender, and to express the feminine the word *dshetta*, woman, is added. *Itlk dshetta*, wife of the chief; *ha*, dog; *ha dshetta*, slut. Neither is there any particular expression for the plural. *Kjéganei*, my house; *kjeganei tljönxl lágun*, my three houses are good; *tön dsha*, thy wife; *tön dsha s'töng hána*, thy two wives are both pretty. Two exceptions have been mentioned;—*gjeà*, mast; *gjeàng hlöhnhl*, three masts; *hütü*, man (homo); *hútei*, men. Substantives are not declined, but remain unchanged in all cases. *Hantl*, water; *hall hantl*, bring water; *tlu*, boat; *tlu tön gistasa*, I give thee a boat; *katt*, deer; *katt hutsu ziggin*, I have a small deer; *slei*, hand; *hall tön slei*, give thy hand. Pronouns are either distinct words, or are prefixes to substantives and verbs. Prefixes also denote the possessive case. To the former class belong *htlä*, I; and *tonga*, thou. To the latter belong *te*, *ti*, *de*, *di*, *zi*, *kje*, *teea*, *tl*, *t*, mine, all of which are used in the first person singular. Second person singular, *töng*, *tön*, *ten*, thine; second person plural, *töllöng*, yours.

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[2] 'En parlant du langage de *Tchinkitâiné*, j'ai rapporté d'avance les termes numériques employés aux îles de *Queen-Charlotte*, tels que le capitaine *Chanal* a pu les recueillir *á Cloak-Bay;* il observe que quelques-uns de ces termes sont communs aux autres parties de ces îsles qu'il a visitées, ainsi que quelques autres termes qu'il a pu saisir, et par lesquels les Naturels expriment les objets suivanes.....Cette similitude des termes numériques et d'autres termes, employés également par les diverses Tribus, séparées les unes des autres, qui occupent la partie de côtes des îles de *Queen-Charlotte* que le Capitaine *Chanal* a visitée, me semble démontrer, contre l'opinion hasardée du Rédacteur du Journal de *Dixon*, que ces Tribus communiquent habituellement entre elles: cette identité du langage pourroit encore prouver que les Peuplades qui habitent ces îles ont une origine commune.' *Marchand*, *Voyaye*, tom. ii., p. 216.

[3] 'There are at least two or three different languages spoken on the coast, and yet probably they are all pretty generally understood; though if we may credit the old Chief at Queen Charlotte's Islands, his people were totally ignorant of that spoken by the inhabitants to the Eastward.' *Dixon's Voy.*, p. 240.

[4] *Scouler, in Lond. Geog. Soc., Jour.*, vol. ii., pp. 218, 220.

[5] *Radloff, Sprache der Kaiganen*, in *Mél. Russes*, tom. iii., liv. v., p. 575; *Green*, in *Amer. Antiq. Soc.*, *Transact.*, vol. iii., p. 302.

[6] *Dixon's Voy.*, p. 240.

[7] 'Es fehlen dem Kaigáni (Haidah) jene harten aspirirten Consonanten, die dem Thlinkít so geläufig sind, es ist vocalreicher und weicher. Dagegen theilt est mit dem Thlinkít den Mangel der Labialen, des dentalen *r*, wie auch der Verbindung des l mit Dentalen, Gutturalen und Sibilanten, während jenem, dagegen das reine l des Kaigani ganz fremd ist.' *Radloff*, *Sprache der Kaiganen*, in *Mél. Russes*, tom iii., liv. v., pp. 575–6.

Of the conjugation of the verb, the following may serve as example: Present indicative—I am hungry, *tekutke;* thou art hungry, *töng khúttus;* he is hungry, *law khúttung;* we are hungry, *itl khúttung;* you are hungry, *töllöng khúttus;* they are hungry, *únnas khúttung.* Root words are not of great length. The larger part are words of one or two syllables; some are of three or four, but these are rare; nevertheless, words may be agglutinated to any length.[8]

The Nass language is spoken with very slight differences by the Nass, Hailtzas, and Sebassas, who dwell around Observatory Inlet, Millbank Sound, and the islands of Pitt Archipelago, respectively. Harsh sounds and gutturals predominate.[9] The personal pronouns are, —*nookwa*, I; *cusho*, thou; *nesho*, mine; *cusho*, thine; *nookwintok*, we; *kycusko*, ye; *caigh qua*, he; *elee caigh qua*, they.[10]

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[8] *Id.*, pp. 569–607.

[9] *Green*, in *Amer. Antiq. Soc.*, *Transact.*, vol. ii., p. 302. 'Náss... in custom and language, resemble the Sabassa.' *Dunn's Oregon*, p. 279. *Buschmann*, *Spr. N. Mex.*, *u. der Westseite des b. Nordamer.*, p. 398, et seq.

[10] *Scouler*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc.*, *Jour.*, vol ix., p. 234.

Dunn gives a few sentences, which I insert as specimens: *whealey lowels kussú*, where are you going? *howmithlem pooquialla iltsouk*, do you understand our language? *lowels, cah cúnter cah míllah*, go shoot deer.[11]

In the immediate vicinity of the Nass are two other languages, the Bellacoola and Chimsyan, of which hardly anything is known. Tolmie supposes the Chimsyan to be related to the Tacully language, but Buschmann, on comparing the vocabularies, could not find the affinity. The Rev. Mr Good informs me that the Chimsyan tongue extends inland as far as Fraser and Stuart Lake.[12] Compare the following words:

	BELLACOOLA.	CHIMSYAN.
I	untsh	newyo
Thou	eno	noone
Mine	untshil	nawhawae
We	unshto	neuhami
Ye	ĕnooh	neumi
He	teechtil taigh	qua
They	teech til tin no mo taight	queet
Man	tlimsdah	tzib
Woman	chinash	unaach
Knife	teech tah	ilth-a-peesh
Water	kull ah	use
Stone	quils tolomick	loap
Sun	skin nuch	kium uk
Moon	tlooki	kium ugum aat uk
Good	teeah	aam
Bad	ushee	atuchk

The Hailtzas and the Bellacoolas have the following words in common;—*watz*, dog; *poe*, halibut; *tlah*, black bear; *nun*, grizzly bear.[13]

On Vancouver Island a multitude of dialects are spoken, and various and contradictory classifications have been made, none of which, in my opinion, are correct. From the evidence, dialetic diversity prevails to such an extent that almost every petty tribe has its idiom; so that, even if affinities do exist, sufficient to justify a classification into languages and dialects, so meagre is our knowledge that it is impossible in many instances to say which are languages and which dialects. Hence in my classification I cannot do better than to make of the Nootka one language, and give a list of the dialects on the island, with all the information concerning them at my command. Four languages of the island,—the Quackoll in the north, the Cowichin on the east, the Clallam at the south, and the Makah on the west, are said to be "totally distinct from each other, both in sound, formation, and modes of expression." The one last mentioned is said to bear some affinity to the language spoken at the mouth of the Columbia River,[14] and is called by Sproat the Aht language, for which he claims in like manner that it "can be traced through all the tribes on the ocean coast, as far south as the mouth of the Columbia." The Comux, which people he locates on the east coast between the Cowichins and Quackolls, migrated thither, he says, from the main land, and the tribes "do not readily understand one another's language;" from all of which we may infer that in reality there is only one language, of which these four are the chief dialects.[15] Yet this is partially contradicted by Grant, who affirms that the Cowichins and Clallams can communicate with each other, though not very easily, but that the Makahs and Quackolls cannot converse with each other or with any of the other nations.[16] Another authority, who certainly ought to be entitled to an opinion, having been a captive among these nations for some years, also intimates that in reality there was only one language dominant on the island. After enumerating the different tribes he concludes; "all of whom speak the same language. But the Newchemass who come from a great way Northward, and from some distance inland, speak quite a different language, although it is well understood by those of Nootka."[17]

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[11] *Dunn's Oregon*, p. 358.

[12] *Scouler*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc., Jour.*, vol. ix., p. 221.

[13] *Id.*, p. 230, et seq.

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[14] *Grant's Vanc. Isl.*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc., Jour.*, vol. xxvii., pp. 295–6.

[15] *Sproat's Scenes*, p. 311.

[16] *Grant's Vanc. Isl.*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc., Jour.*, vol. xxvii., p. 295.

[17] 'The inhabitants of Nootka Sound and the Tlaoquatch, who occupy the south-western points of the island, speak the same language' *Scouler*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc., Jour.*, vol. xi., p. 224; *Jewitt's Nar.*, pp. 74–77; *Hale's*

National differences appear to consist more in pronunciation than in grammatical construction. Thus the articulation of the Klaizzahts is hoarser and more guttural than that of the people of Nootka Sound.[18] Dialectic differences sometimes go so far that the several bands of the same tribe find difficulty in making themselves understood; as for instance the Nitinaht tribes when conversing with one another, have frequently to repeat their sentences differently accented to make them intelligible. The chief peculiarity of the Nitinaht dialect is the transmutation of the letters *m* and *n*, which are in universal use throughout the island, for which it substitutes *b* and *d*. Thus for *mamook*, to work, the Nitinahts say *baboik*; *nismah*, country, they pronounce *dissibach*, and so on.[19]

As compared with that of the Thlinkeets, the Nootka language is neither harsh nor disagreeable. Its most curious feature is the predominance of labials and dentals over gutturals. The Nootkas possess fine oratorical powers, lending assistance to their words by shaking their head, gesticulating forcibly, and even jumping at each other. A singular sound, and one which it is hardly possible to express by any combination of letters, happens in many of their words. Spreading the corners of the mouth to their widest extent, and raising the point of the tongue against the palate, they expel the air from the sides of the mouth, at the same time bring-

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Ethnog., in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 220; *Meares' Voy.*, pp. 229-32; *Douglas' Report*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc.*, *Jour.*, vol. xxiv., p. 246. At Point Discovery, Vancouver met people some of whom 'understood a few words of the Nootka language.' *Voyage*, vol. i., p. 228. 'The distinct languages spoken by the Indians are few in number, but the dialects employed by the various tribes are so many, that, although the inhabitants of any particular district have no great difficulty in communicating with each other, ...'. *Mayne's B.C.*, p. 244; *Sproat's Scenes*, p. 311. The Rev. Mr Good divides and locates the languages of Vancouver Island and the opposite shore on the mainland, as follows. The first language, he says, runs along the coast from Nitinaht to Nootka Sound; the second prevails from Sooke to Nanaimo, and across the Sound up to Bird Inlet on the main land, thence following up the Fraser River as far as Yale; this he names the Cowichin. On the island north of Cowichin he locates the Comux and adjoining it the Ucleta; finally starting at Fort Rupert and following the north coast of the island and also on the opposite shore of the main land is the Quackoll.

[18] *Jewitt's Nar.*, p. 75.

[19] *Sproat's Scenes*, p. 132.

ing the tongue down strongly, which obviously produces a sound altogether foreign to the English vocabulary. Captain Cook says of this sound, "it is formed, in a particular manner, by clashing the tongue partly against the roof of the mouth, with considerable force; and may be compared to a very coarse or harsh method of lisping," and he attempts to give the sound by the letters *lszthl*. Many words end with this sound, and also with a *tl*, *z*, or *ss*;—as *opulszthl*, sun; *onulszthl*, moon; *kahsheetl*, dead; *teeshcheetl*, to throw a stone; *kooomitz*, a human skull; *quahmiss*, fish-roe. Captain Cook further remarks upon their language that it "can only be inferred, from their method of speaking, which is very slow and distinct, that it has few prepositions or conjunctions; and, as far as we could discover, is destitute of even a single interjection, to express admiration or surprize."[20]

Furthermore, I may add, there is no case, nor gender, nor tense, and number is expressed only in the personal pronoun and in the inflection of verbs. In the first persons singular and plural, verbs end in *a* or *mah*; in the second persons, *huk* or *ayts*; and in the third persons, in *mah*, *win*, or *utlma*. Sometimes these endings go over to the adverb which accompanies the verb, and they are subject to phonetic rules, according to which syllables are sometimes changed or left out altogether. We have *wik*, not; and *kumotop*, to understand; *wikahkkumotop* or *wimmutomah*, I do not understand; the latter mode being a change for the sake of euphony. Plurals, and particularly frequentative plurals, are expressed by duplication: as *mahte* or *mahs*, house; *mahtmahs*, all the houses. Different classes of words appear to have different terminals: for example, instruments end with *ik*,—*hukkaik*, a knife; *hissik*, a saw. Colors end in *uk* or *ook*,—*eyyoh-*

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[20] 'El idioma de estos naturales es tal vez el mas áspero y duro de los conocidos. Abundan mucho en él las consonantes, y las terminaciones en *tl* y *tz*, constando el intermedio y el principio de los vocablos de aspiraciones muy fuertes.' *Sutil y Mexicana*, *Viage*, p. 147. 'Their language is very guttural, and if it were possible to reduce it to our orthography, it would very much abound with consonants.' *Sparks' Life of Ledyard*, p. 72; *Cook's Voy. to Pac.*, vol. ii., pp. 334–6.

quk, green; *kistokkuk*, blue; *klayhook*, purple; *kleesook*, white; *toopkook*, black. *Hissit*, red, forms an exception. Trees and plants end in *pt*,—*kowwhipt*, *seewhipt*, *ootsmupt*, *klakkupt*, etc. Verbs end in *shitl*, *shetl*, and *chitl*, although some exceptions occur. Another distinctive ending is *up*,—*châtayup*, to cut off with a knife; *kââsup*, to hurt or wound; *hyyusatyup*, to diminish; *ashsup*, to break a string or cord; *quoyup*, to break a stick, etc.[21] As a specimen of the language, I give the first three of the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer, in the dialect of the Nanaimos.[22]

NUTSA.

Owa tonowa quinet ta eesaila tseetsel seeam, ohi tanca tseetsel seeam.

EESAILA.

Owa tanowa seeise ta seeathl sta ta stem nay quo tseetsel, sta ta stem aitna tomuck, e sta ta stem nay ta ka, kokoo taswa tseetsel seeam owa tanowa cappausom e stayweeil ta sta, ohi tanca tseetsel seeam. Towhat oyas kullstuck, tanca ouseete tanca quaquat e towhat ighstuck tanca e oyas shatlm tanswan squell oseete tanca igh lalamat.

TLEEUGH.

Owa tanowa heewaulim ta squish quo tseetsel seeam oseete tseetsel seeam quaquasaum towhat oyas sta.

TA KALHEM TA JESUKIT.

Saulth man nay quo tseetsel igh telneemelth oyas stlay stuck ta statsn squish. Tel-neemelth ohi stlay tanowa sthee seeam nay toumuck tomuck. Igh taswa mestiu shatlm ta squell aitna tomuck sta ta tseetsel mestiu. Tana quial e muck squial mistook ta saulth saulthan. Igh tanowa nahi tataeuk whawa telneemelth e ta saulth kull squiaxits sta telneemelth nahi tataeuk whunem toumuck mestiu kull squiaxits whawa telneemelth. Igh telneemelth owanam ethlkalth ta kull, igh tanowa awistuck etha igh. Ohi tanowa oonans sthee seeam, tanowa ohi sthee quamqum telneemelth ohi cappausom high quo tanowa oyas oyas. Amen.

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[21] *Sproat's Scenes*, p. 124, et seq.

[22] For a copy of which I am indebted to Mr J. H. Carmany of the *Overland Monthly*.

From certain interpretations placed upon the ancient Aztec manuscripts, it was by some inferred that the origin of that people must be sought in the north; hence speculative philologists have, from time to time, discovered many fancied resemblances between the language of the aboriginal Mexicans and those of various northern nations. Thus, in the speech of the Nootkas, a distinct phonetic resemblance, and the frequent occurrence of the ending *tl* were sufficient evidence to Vater and others that a relationship exists between the Aztecs and the Nootkas. Prescott, following his predecessors, fell into the same error. Humboldt, although struck with the similarities mentioned, yet pronounced them different tongues,[23] while Buschmann, who has examined the subject more than all others combined, denies all such relationship.[24]

Coming over to the main land we find, for the most part, in each of the many inlets and canals a separate language. Between these languages, from perpetual intertribal intercourse, it is impossible to determine, in some instances, what relationship, if any, exists. Several of the languages of the island we find also on the main land adjacent. The Clallams are found on both sides of Juan de Fuca Straits; and nearly related to the Cowichins, who are found as well on the main land near the mouth of Fraser River as on the island, are the Noosdalums of Hood Canal, one language being but a dialect of the other.

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[23] 'En examinant avec soin des vocabulaires formés à Noutka et à Monterey, j'ai été frappé de l'homotonie et des désinences mexicaines de plusieurs mots, comme, par exemple, dans la langue des Noutkiens.... Cependant, en général, les langues de la Nouvelle-Californie et de l'île de Quadra, diffèrent essentiellement de l'aztèque.' *Humboldt*, *Essai*. *Pol.*, tom. i., p. 321. 'Sprachähnlichkeiten....hat man, wie auch nachher bey der Betrachtung der Mexikanischen Sprache aus einander gesetzt werden soll, an dieser Nordwest-Küste am Nutka-Sunde und bey den Völkern in der Nähe der Russischen Colonien gefunden.' *Vater*, *Mithridates*. tom. iii., pt iii., p. 76. 'In the neighborhood of Nootka, tribes still exist whose dialects, both in the termination and general sound of the words, bear considerable resemblance to the Mexican.' *Prescott's Mex.*, vol. iii., p. 399.

[24] 'So gewinnt die Nutka-Sprache, durch eine reiche Zahl von Wörtern und durch grosse Züge ihres Lautwesens, einzig vor allen anderen fremden ....in einem bedeutenden Theile eine täuschende Ähnlichkeit mit der aztekischen oder mexicanischen; und so wird die ihr schon früher gewidmete Aufmerksamkeit vollständig gerechtfertigt. Ihrer mexicanishen Erscheinung fehlt aber, wie ich von meiner Seite hier ausspreche, jede Wirklichkeit.' *Buschmann*, *Spr. N. Mex. u. der Westküste des b. Nordamer.*, p. 371.

Respecting the languages spoken in the interior of British Columbia, the Rev. Mr Good, who has spent fifteen years among the inland nations, and who is fully conversant with their languages, gives me the following information: From Yale to Lilloet, on the Fraser River, thence from Bonaparte to Nicola River, the Neetlakapamuch, or Thompson River, language is spoken. From Douglas, along the Harrison River and lake, to its confluence with the Fraser, as far as Chilicothe, and again from Lillooet northward to Clinton, the Stlatelemuck, or Lillooet, language prevails. Next, from Bonaparte River northward to William Lake, to Shushwap Lake, around Lake Kamloops, and for some distance on the Thompson River, the Suwapamuck, or Shushwap, tongue prevails; and finally, from Nicola Lake to Kamloops, and southward as far as Columbia River, the Chitwout, or Similkameen, language is used. Mr Good further asserts that, although there are four distinct languages, they are nevertheless in some degree affiliated. From the same gentleman, I also obtained the following grammatical notes and specimens of the Neetlakapamuch tongue. Personal pronouns are,—I, *ens*; thou, *awee*; he, *cheneelt*; we, *nemeemult*; you, *aweepeeaps*; they, *chinkoast*.

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB TO GIVE.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

I give,	ens nahktinna	We give,	nemeemult nahktam
Thou givest,	awee nahktatta	You give,	aweepeeaps nahktattose
He gives,	cheneelt nahktass	They give,	chinkvast nahkteeiks

IMPERFECT.

I gave, huinahktlam

FIRST FUTURE.

I shall give,	huinahkchin

IMPERATIVE.

Give me,	nahkchams	Give us,	nahkteea

Mamans inserted in a word, signifies a desire to do a thing; thus, *winaskin* means to go; and *winasmamankin*, I am wishing to go. The syllable *weltin*, affixed to a word, expresses that a thing has been done effectively;—*tlokhtinnaweltin*, I have fastened it well, or thoroughly. *Tuta* is a negative preposition.

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

Takamote nemeemult skatzazact whohakn nil
Our Father who art in
kakhtomew. Axseeas chutam clas squest awee. Eyah
heaven. Good to be done the name thine. Good
huntohs stakums asait cunamah axclahaks swonakum
make haste all men come truly
eah tuksmite Jesu Cree huntoseamal. Awee kaseah
good children of Jesus Christ make haste. Thy will
eah ah chuwo naanatomew, clah seeatahah L'angels
good done on earth, as the angels
archkhwamo incheah nilkahtomew. Takamose nuk
do there heaven. All and
stakum a tseetlekut nahkteea nemeemult stakums as
every day give us all our
skhlayans. Altla quonquonstyea nemeenult takamote
food. And forgive us all
nemeemult outkest, tseeah nemeemult quonquonstama
our evil, as we forgive
takamote tooal saitcunama aks weetsikteese tekest whoa
all of men who accomplish any evil to
nemeemult. Atahmose tah hoshaman as masteel
us. Never let the evil one lead
nemeemult axkhokestumtum a quonteese akest. Kamult
us to wish to lay hold of any evil. But
akklokpistyip nemeemult takamote too a kest wilkakow.
deliver us all that is evil far from us.
Shutenmeenwawee takamose atomew. Shutenmeenwa-
Thine all the world. Thine

wee	takamose	azozoht.	Shutenmeenwawee	takamose
all		strength.	Thine	all

asyameet.	Taeah	asklakameemus	astinansouse,
worship.	Good	evermore	to come,

asklakameemus	astinansouse.	Axseahs.
evermore	to come.	Amen.

Proceeding southward to Puget Sound, we have the Shimiahmoo, Nooksak, Lummi, Samish, Snohomish, and others; and around Cape Flattery, the Classet. The Makah, Classet, or Klaizzaht, I have spoken of already, in connection with the language of Vancouver Island, and it also appears that the Clallam, S'klalum, or as they call themselves, Nusklaiyum, is also connected with the Vancouver Island language.[25] It is probably the same which Dr Scouler has called the Noosdalum. The Lummi, or Nukhlumi, and the Shimiahmoo have also some affinity with the Sanetch dialect of Vancouver Island, and the languages of the Skagits and Samish approach that of the Nisquallies. Yet while the Clallam and Lummi show certain affinities to the Nootka dialect, they nevertheless clearly belong to the Salish, or Flathead family.[26]

We now come to the great interior Salish family, although I shall have occasion again to refer to the coast language in this vicinity. The northernmost Salish language is the Shushwap, or Atnah, which approaches near to its neighbor the Salish proper;[27] then there are the Kullespelm, or Pend d'Oreille, the Spokane, the

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[25] They spoke the same language as the Nootkas. *Vancouver's Voy.*, vol. i., p. 218.

[26] 'The affinities of the Clallam and Lummi are too obvious to require demonstration.' *Gibbs' Clallam and Lummi Vocab.*, p. vii. 'The Tsihaili-Selish languages reach the sea in the part opposite Vancouver's Island. Perhaps they touch it to the north also.' *Latham's Comp. Phil.*, vol. viii., p. 401; *Gairdner*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc.*, *Jour.*, vol. xi., p. 255.

[27] 'Les Indiens de la côte ou de la Nouvelle Calédonie, les Tokalis, les Chargeurs (Carriers), les Schonchouaps, les Atnas appartiennent tous à la nation des Chipeouaïans.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 337. 'The Atnah language has no affinity to any with which I am acquainted.' *Mackenzie's Voyages*, p. 258.

Soaiatlpi, and the Okanagan, which with others spoken on the Columbia show close affinities.

The Salish proper, or Flathead, is harsh and guttural. The letters *b, d, f, r, v,* do not exist in this language. The plural of substantives is formed in different ways: first, by duplicating the root—*skoi*, mother; *skoikoi*, mothers: second by duplicating and dropping a vowel from the root—*skaltmigu*, man; *sklkaltmigu*, men; *esmòck*, mountain; *esmòkmck*, mountains: third, by duplicating a consonant in the middle of the word—*skòlchemùs*, eyelid; *skòlchammùs*, eyelids: fourth, by prefixing the syllable *ul*—*nackoèmen*, thief; *ulnakoèmen*, thieves: and lastly there are divers formations, as *es'schíte*, tree; *szlzlíl*, trees, forest; *s'm'èm*, woman (mulier); *pèlplgui*, women. Diminutives are expressed by placing *l* before the root, as, *s'm'èm*, woman; *slm'èm*, small woman; *lùk*, wood; *llùl'lk*, a small piece of wood. Augmentatives are formed by prefixing the syllable *kutn*, or *kuti*, when the word commences with an *s* or *l*, thus, *skagae*, horse; *kuti-skagae*, a great horse; *sm'ot*, smoke; *kuti-sm'ot*, a great smoke. There are pronouns, personal, possessive, demonstrative, relative, interrogative, and indefinite. According to Mengarini the personal pronoun has two forms, absolute and copulative, the exact meaning attached to these terms not being explained.

	ABSOLUTE.	COPULATIVE.
I	koie	ko
Thou	anúi	ku
He	znilz	
We	kaémpile	kae
You	mpilèpstemp	p, or mp
They	zní'ilz	

As examples of the others there are possessives,—mine, *in*; thine, *an*; his,—*s*; ours, *kao*; yours,—*mp*; theirs,—*s*: demonstratives,—this, *iè*; that, *zi*: interrogative,—who, *suèt*: and indefinite,—some one, *chnáksi*.

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB TO BE ANGRY.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

I am angry,	tnes aimt-i	We are angry,	kaes aimt-i
Thou art angry,	kues aimt-i	You are angry,	pes aimt-i
He is angry,	es aimt-i	They are angry,	es aímt-i

PERFECT.

I have been angry, tn-aimt or tnes aimt

FIRST FUTURE.

I shall be angry, nem tn aimt

IMPERATIVE.

Be angry, aimt sch

PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE.

If I be angry,	tiks aimt-i	If we be angry,	kaeks aímt-i
If thou be angry,	kuks aimt-i	If you be angry,	pks aimt-i
If he be angry,	ks aimt-i	If they be angry,	ks aíimt-i

IMPERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE.

If I were angry, k neu tn aimt

OPTATIVE.

If I might be angry, komi tn aimt

Following is a Lord's Prayer, the nationality not given:

Kae l'eu l's'chichmáskat u ku l'zii, asku èst kuks
Our father in heaven who liveth, thy name of thee
gamènchltm; ku kl chèltich s esià sp'us; aszntèls ks
be loved; thou be Lord of all hearts; thy will
kólli iè l stóligu, ezgail l's'chichmáskat. Kae guizlilt
be done this on earth, as in heaven. Us give to-day
iè tlgoa lu kaesiapzínm. Kaelkolgoèllilt lu kae gulguílt
what we need. Us forgive our debts,
ezgail lu tkaempilè kaes kolgoelltm, lu e épl gulguílt l
as we forgive (those) who have debts with
kaempilè. Kae olkschílilt ta ka keskuèstm lu tèie; u kai
us. Us assist not at any time receive evil; but us
gulguillilt lu tel teié. Komi ezgail.
preserve uninjured from evil. Be it so.[28]

The above is taken from the grammar of Mengarini, written in Latin; following is a Lord's Prayer of the Pend d'Oreilles, from Father De Smet, who wrote in French:

Kyleeyou, Itchitchemask, askwees kowaaskshamen-
Our father of heaven, that your name be respected
shem ailetzemilkou yeelskyloog; ntziezie telletzia spoo
by all the earth; reign in all the
oez. Assinteels astskole, yelstoloeg etzageel
hearts. That your will be done on earth as also

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[28] *Mengarini, Selish Gram.*

Itchichemask.	Hoogwitzilt	yettilgwa	lokaitssia	petzim.
in heaven.	Give us	now	all our	necessaries.

Knwaasksmeemiltem	klotayie	kloitskeyen	etzageel
Forgive us	the evil	which we have done,	as

kaitsskolgwelem	klotoiye	kloitskwen	klielskyloog.
we forgive	(the evil)	to those who	us have offended.

Koaxalock	shitem	takaakskwentem	klotaiye;
Accord to us	assistance	to evade	evil;

kowaaksgweeltem	klotaiye.	Komieetzegeel.
but deliver us	from evil.	So be it.[29]

Also belonging to this family are the languages spoken by the Skitsuish, Pisquouse, Nsietshaws, Nisquallies, and Chehalis. The Nsietshaw differs more than the others from the Salish proper, which is the stock language of this family, and particularly in not possessing any labials; the letters *m* and *b* being changed to *w*, and *p* to *h*. Thus, in the Chehalis and Nisqually languages, we have, *numan*, son; *tomokh*, earth; *pansototsi*, winter; which, in the Nsietshaw, are pronounced respectively, *nuwon*, *tawekh* and *hansototsi*. The Chehalis is spoken in three dialects, the Chehalis proper, the Quaiantl, and the Queniauitl.[30]

The languages of the Salish Family, particularly that of the Chehalis, are rich in words, by means of which everything coming within their knowledge may find expression; they are not easily acquired by strangers; it is difficult for the different nations and tribes to make themselves understood to one another. This is owing principally to the many localisms in vogue among them, of which there is a good specimen in the Chehalis language. Thus, *tolneuch* means west-wind, off shore, toward the sea, or to the west. Now, if the Chehalis are leaving the shore in a canoe, and one of them wants to tell his mate to put her head off shore, he will say *tolneuch*, but if in a hurry, *neuch neuch*. *Claathlum* signifies east-wind, also ashore; this they transpose into *clath clath*.[31] The Clallum and Lummi languages have another peculiarity, which is a certain nasal sound at the commencement and ending of words like a strong nasal *ns*; also a broad *a* sound as in far, path. The sounds of the letters *v*, *r*, *z*, are wanting.[32] The frequently occurring ending *tl* has also led to speculation, and to a search for Aztec affinities among these languages, but nothing except this phonetic similarity has been discovered. This *tl* ending is very common. Swan says that, "sometimes they will, as if for amusement, end all their words with *tl*; and the effect is ludicrous to hear three or four talking at the same time, with this singular sound, like so many sitting hens.'[33] East of the Salish, the Kitunaha, Kootenai, or Coutanie language is spoken. Authorities differ widely in describing this language. Parker calls it "open and sonorous, and free from gutturals, which are common in the language of the surrounding tribes;" while Capt. Palliser affirms that it is " most guttural and unpronounceable by a European, every word appearing to be brought from their lowest extremitiēs with difficulty."[34] The following Lord's Prayer, taken by a Frenchman will give a better idea of the language than any description:

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[29] 'Nationes que radicaliter linguam Selicam loquuntur sunt saltem decem: Calispelm, (vulgo) *Pends d'oreilles du Lac Inférieur*. Slkatkomlchi, *Pends d'oreilles du Lac Superieur*. Selish, *Têtes Platles*. Sngomènei, Snpoilschi, Szk'eszilni, *Spokanes*. S'chizni, *Cœurs d'alène*. Sgoièlpi, *Chaudières*. Okinakein, Stlakam *Okanagan*.' *Mengarini, Selish Gram.*, p. 120. 'Their language is the same as the Spokeins' and Flatheads'.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 307. 'The Spokanes speak the same dialect as the Flatheads and Pend d'Oreilles.' *Chapman*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1866, p. 201; *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 237. 'The Flatheads are divided into numerous tribes, each having its own peculiar locality, and differing more or less from the others in language, customs, and manners.' 'The Spokan Indians are a small tribe, differing very little from the Indians at Colville either in their appearance, habits, or language.' *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 173, 307. 'The Pend' d'Oreilles are generally called the Flatheads, the two clans, in fact, being united.... Still, the two races are entirely distinct, their languages being fundamentally different. The variety of tongues on the west side of the (Rocky) mountains is almost infinite, so that scarcely any two tribes understand each other perfectly. They have all, however, the common character of being very guttural; and, in fact, the sentences often appear to be mere jumbles of grunts and croaks, such as no alphabet could express in writing.' *Simpson's Overland Jour.*, vol. i., p. 146.

[30] *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., pp. 535–7.

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[31] *Swan's N. W. Coast*, p. 315.

[32] *Gibbs' Clallam and Lummi Vocab.*, p. 7.

[33] 'In the northern districts of the great chain of Rocky Mountains which were visited by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, there are several nations of unknown language and origin. The Atnah nation is one of them. Their dialect appears, from the short vocabulary given by that traveller, to be one of those languages which, in the frequent recurrence of peculiar consonants, bears a certain resemblance to the Mexican.' *Prichard's Nat. Hist. Man*, vol. ii., p. 550; *Swan's N. W. Coast*, pp. 315-6.

Katitoe naitle naite, akiklenais zedabitskinne
Our father, who art in heaven, may thy name be great

wilkane. Ninshalinne oshemake kapaik akaitlainam.
and honored. Be thou the master of all hearts.

Inshazetluité younoamake yekakaekinaitte.
May thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.

Komnakaike logenie niggenawaishne naiosaem miaitéke.
Grant us this day all our wants.

Kekepaime nekoetjekoetleaitle ixzeai, iyakaikakaaike
Forgive us all the evil we have done, as we forgive

iyazeaikinawash kokakipaimenaitle. Amatikezawes
all the evil done unto us. Strengthen us

itchkestshimmekakkowêlle akatakzen. Shaeykia-
against all evil, and deliver us from it. May it

kakaaike.
be so.[35]

The languages of the Sahaptin family are spoken along the Lewis and Snake Rivers and their tributaries, as far as the foot of the Rocky Mountains. The Walla Walla, Palouse, Yakima, Kliketat, and Sahaptin proper, some of them widely divergent from the mother tongue, are of this family.[36] The Walla Walla differs from the Sahaptin proper not more than the Portuguese from the Spanish. Father Pandosy made a grammar of the Yakima language, under which he ranges the whole Sahaptin family, dividing it into dialects, as the Walla Walla, the Tairtla, the Roilroilpam, or Kliketat, and the Palouse.[37]

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[34] 'Der Prinz bezeugt (Bd. ii, 511) dass der behauptete Mangel an Gurgellauten ein Irrthum ist; er bemerkt: dass die Sprache durch den ihr eignen "Zungen-schnalz" für das Aussprechen schwierig werde, und dass sie eine Menge von Gutturaltönen habe. Man spreche die Wörter leise und undeutlich aus; dabei gebe es darin viele schnalzende Töne, indem man mit der Zungenspitze anstösst; auch gebe es darin viele dumpfe Kehllaute.' *Prince Max zu Wied*, in *Buschmann*, *Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, p. 661. 'Their language bears no affinity whatever to that of any of the western nations. It is infinitely softer and more free from those unpronounceable gutturals so common among the lower tribes.' *Cox's Adven.*, p. 233; *Blakiston's Rept.*, in *Palliser's Explor.*, p. 73; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 307.

[35] *De Smet's Oregon Miss.*, p. 409.

[36] Tribes speaking the Kliketat language: Whulwhypum, Tait-inapum, Yakima, Walla Wallapum, Kyoose, Umatilla, Peloose, Wyampam; the Yakimas and Kliketats or Whulwhypum....speaking the Walla-Walla language, otherwise known as the Kliketat. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 244, 232. 'The Kyeuse resemble the Walla-Wallas very much ...Their language and customs are almost identical.' *Kane's Wand.*, p. 280. The Pend d'Oreilles 'speak the same language' (Nez Percé.) *Hutchins*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1863, p. 456, The Palouse Indians 'speak the same language.' *Cain*, in *Id.*, 1860, p. 210.

In the Nez Percé language, the following letters only are found: *h*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *s*, *t*, *w*, *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, but the missionaries having introduced some new words, it was found necessary to add *b*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *v*, *z*. Agglutination is carried to a great length, and long words are very frequent. In fact, wherever a sentence can be expressed by joining one word to another, it is done, leaving out letters in places, for the sake of euphony. The following is a fair illustration: *hitautualawihnankauna*, he traveled past in a rainy night. Analysed, *hi* expresses the third person singular; *tau*, a thing done at night; *tuala*, something done in the rain; *wihnan*, to travel on foot; *kau* is derived from the verb *kokauna*, to pass by; *na* expresses the indicative mood, aorist tense, direction from the speaker. The plural of substantives is formed by duplicating the first syllable: *pitin*, girl; *pipitin*, girls. Or when the word commences with a vowel, the vowel is sometimes repeated: *atwai*, old woman; *aatwai*, old women. Exceptions to this rule are made in words expressing family relations, the prefix *ma* being employed in such cases, as *pika*, mother; *pikama*, mothers. If *p* terminates the word, it is omitted, as *askap*, plural *askama*. To express gender, the words *hama*, male, and *aiat*, female, are employed,

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'The Wallah-Wallahs, whose language belongs to the same family.' 'The Wallah-Wallahs and Nez Perces speak dialects of a common language, and the Cayuses have abandoned their own for that of the latter.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 416, 425; *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., pp. 213, 542. 'The nation among which we now are call themselves Sokulks; and with them are united a few of another nation, who reside on a western branch, emptying itself into the Columbia a few miles above the mouth of the latter river, and whose name is Chimnapum. The language of both these nations differs but little from each other, or from that of the Chopunnish who inhabit the Kooskooskee and Lewis's river.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 12. 'The language of the Walla-Wallas differs from the Nez Percés'. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 137.

[37] *Pandosy's Yakama Lang.*, p. 9.

but the substantive remains unchanged. Nouns are declined either by changing their terminals, or by affixes:

Nom.	a house	init
Gen.	of a house	ininm
Acc.	house	inina
1st Dat.	to or for a house	initph
2d Dat.	in on, or upon a house	initpa
1st Abl.	with a house	initki
2d Abl.	from a house	initpkinih
3d Abl.	for the purpose of a house	initain

Comparison,—*tahs*, good; *tahs kanmakanm*, better; *tahsni*, best. Personal prounouns,—*in*, I; *im*, thou; *ipi*, he, or she; *nun*, we; *ima*, ye; *imma*, they. Of the verb numerous variations are made. They are divided into three classes, neuter, active transitive, and active intransitive. The two neuter verbs are *wash*, to be; and *witsasha*, to become. Active intransitive verbs cannot be followed by any accusative.

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB TO BE.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

	DIRECTION FROM.	DIRECTION TOWARDS.
I am,	in wash	
Thou art,	im a wash	im a wam
He is, it is his,	ipi hiwash, ipnim ush	ipi hiwam
We are,	nun washih	
You are,	ima ath washih	ima ath washinm
They are, it is theirs,	imma hiushih, imman aushih	imma hiushinm
	RECENT PAST TENSE.	
I have just been,	waka	wamka
Thou hast just been,	a waka	a wamka
He has just been, it has just been his,	hiwaka, awaka	hiwamka
We have just been,	washeka	washinmka
You have just been,	ath washeka	ath washinmka
They have just been, it has just been theirs,	kinsheka, ausheka	hiushinmka [38]

The following gramatical notes will serve to illustrate the Yakima and some of the other languages of the Sahaptin family.

SINGULAR.

Nom.	the horse	kussi-nan
Gen.	of the horse	kussi-nmi
Dat.	to the horse	kussi-ow
Acc.	the horse	kussi-nan
Voc.	O horse	na-kussi
Abl.	for the horse	kussi-ei

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[38] *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 542, et seq.

PLURAL.

Nom.	the horses	kussi-ma
Gen.	of the horses	kussi-ma mi
Dat.	to the horses	kussi-ma-miow
Acc.	the horses	kussi ma-man
Voc.	O horses	na-kussi-ma
Abl.	for the horses	kussi-ma-miei

In the Palouse and Walla Walla languages the affix *nan* is changed into *na*. Personal pronouns,—I, *ink*, *nes*, *nesh*, or *sh*; of me, *enmi*; to me, *enmiow*; me, *inak*; for me, *enmiei*; we, *namak*, *natés*, *nanam*, *aatés*, or *namtk*; of us, *nééemi*; to us *néémiow*; us, *némanak*; for us, *néémiei*. The Walla Wallas leaves off the *k* from the affix *ak*; thus, instead of *inak*, me, they say *ina*, and instead of *namak*, we, *nama*.

	YAKIMA.	WALLA WALLA AND PALOUSE.
He	penk	penk
Of him	pin-mink	pinmin
To him	pin-miwk	pinmiow
Him	pin-nim	pinminnan
For him	pin-mikaiei	pinmiei
They	pmak	pma
Of them	pe-mink	pamin
To them	pe-miwk	pamiwk
Them	pe-minak	pamanak
For them	pe-mikaiei	pamikaiei

In one dialect the terminal *ak* is changed into *ei*.

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB TO HAVE.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

I have,	nesh wa, or wash nesh
Thou hast,	mesh wa, or wash mesh
He has,	penk awa, or pinmink awa
We have,	natesh wa, or wash natesh
You have,	matesh wa, or wash matesh
They have,	pa wa, or pemink awa

PERFECT AND PLUPERFECT.

I had, or have had,	nesh wacha

FIRST FUTURE.

I shall have,	nesh wata

As a specimen of agglutination there is the word *ipinashapatawtrahliktamawarsha*, he himself makes night disagreeably tiresome long wait; that is, he keeps one long waiting for him at night.

YAKIMA LORD'S PRAYER.

Neemi	Psht,	imk	nam	wamsh	Roiemich-nik;
Our	Father	thou	who	art	high on the side (heaven);

shir nam 'manak p'a t-maknani tarnei wanicht; shir
well thou they (indef.) should respect the name; well
ewianawitarnei emink miawarwit; shir nammanak pa
should arrive thy chieftainship; well thee they
twanenitarnei, ichinak techampa, tenma, prw,
should follow here earth (on) inhabitants (the) will
amakwsrimmanak pa twanenishamsh roiemipama
thou as thyself they follow high of the (heaven)
tenma. Nemanak nim t-kwatak kwalissim maisr
inhabitants (the). Our (us) give us food always to-morrow
maisr. Nemanak laknanim chélwitit: aateskwsri
to-morrow. Our (us) forget sins: us as
namak t'normaman laknánisha chélwitit anakwnkink
we others forget sins have by which
neémiow pa chelwitia. R-t-to anianim nemanak
us have offended. Strong make our (us)
temna; t-kraw krial. Nemanak eikrenkem chelwitknik.
heart; that it fall not. Us snatch bad from the side.
Ekws iwa neemi temna.
So it is our heart.[39]

The Nez Percés make use of two languages, one the native language proper, or, as a European might say, the court language, and the other a slave language, or jargon. They differ so much, that a stranger fully conversant with one cannot understand the other. This jargon originated, probably, from intermixing prisoners of war of different nationalities who were enslaved, and their languages mingled with each other, and with that that of their conquerors. The pure-blooded Nez Percés all understand the jargon, learning it when children, together with their own proper language. Nor is this all. The jargon is more or less modified by each of the several languages, or dialects, in which it is spoken. The employés of the fur companies, who first came in contact with the Sahaptins, were greatly annoyed by this multiformity; as, for example, one Nez Percé coming to sell a beaver skin would say, *tammecess taxpool*, I wish to sell a beaver; another would say, *towèyou weespoose*, I wish to trade a beaver; and a third would say, *e'toupa e'yechæ*, I wish to trade a beaver.

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[39] *Pandosy's Yakama Lang.*

The following short vocabulary will show some of the differences between the Nez Percé language and the jargon:

	NEZ PERCÉ	JARGON.
Man	kewas	winch
Woman	eyatt	tealacky
Boy	tachnutsem	tuchnoot
Girl	tochanough	peten
No	waatown,	tsya
Knife	waltz	whapallmeh,
Horse	she came	koosy
Hair	tootanick	kookoo
Eyes	shelaw	Atchass.[40]

Professor Rafinesque, out of twenty-four Sahaptin words, claims to have found six bearing close affinities to the English, but Buschmann says that of these twenty-four, many are not Sahaptin at all.[41] The Waiilatpu language, conterminous with the Sahaptin, is spoken in two dialects, the Cayuse and Mollale. The Cayuses mingle frequently with the Sahaptins, and therefore many words of the latter have been adopted into their tongue. They mostly understand and speak the Sahaptin, and frequently the Walla Walla, and this not from any relationship in the several languages, but from intercourse.[42]

Like their neighbors, the Cayuses employ two languages; one in the transaction of the common affairs of life, and the other on high state occasions, such as when making speeches round the council fire, to determine questions of war and peace, as well as all other intertribal affairs. That is to say, the Sahaptins use their court language on all ordinary, as well as extraordinary occasions, keeping the jargon for their servants, while the Cayuses employ the baser tongue for common, and the higher for state occasions.

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[40] *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., p. 313, et seq.

[41] *Rafinesque, Atlantic Jour.*, p. 133, quoted in *Buschmann, Spuren der Aztek Spr.*, p. 615. 'Ich habe diese Wörter Rafinesque's zu einem Theil ganz verschieden von den *Sahaptan* gefunden.' *Ib.*

[42] *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol vi., p. 561.

The Cayuses were eloquent speakers; their language abounded in elegant expressions, and they well knew how to make the most of it. When first known to Europeans, it was fast fading away, and subsequently merged into the Sahaptin; so fleeting are these native idioms.[43]

The Chinook language is spoken by the different tribes inhabiting the banks of the Lower Columbia and adjacent country. This family is divided into many dialects, which diverge from the mother tongue as we ascend the river; in fact, the upper tribes have mostly to employ an interpreter, when they communicate with those on the lower part of the river. The chief diversities of this language are the Chinook proper, the Wakiakum, Cathlamet, and Clatsop, and the various dialects mentioned by Lewis and Clarke as belonging to those inhabiting this region at the time of their expedition, but which cannot now be positively identified with any of the languages known to us. Two of the last-mentioned dialects, the Multnomah and the Skilloot, the explorers describe as belonging to the Chinook.[44] Among all the languages of north-western America, except perhaps that of the Thlinkeets, the Chinook is considered in its construction the most intricate; and in its pronunciation the most difficult. No words are to be found in the English vocabulary which can accurately describe it. To say that it is guttural, clucking, spluttering, and the like conveys but a faint conception of the sound produced by a Chinook in his frantic effort to unburden his mind of an idea. He does not appear to have yet discovered the use of the lips and tongue in speaking, but struggles with the lower part of the throat to produce sounds for the expression of his thoughts. Some declare that the speech of the Thlinkeets, whose language like that of the Chinook contains no labials, is melody in comparison to the croakings of the Chinooks. Ross says that "to speak the Chinook dialect, you must be a Chinook."[45] Indeed, they appear to have become tired of their own language and to have voluntarily abandoned it, for, to-day, the youthful Chinook speaks almost wholly Chehalis and the jargon. The employés of the fur companies, voyageurs, trappers and traders, who were accustomed to master with little difficulty the aboriginal tongues which they encountered, were completely nonplussed by the Chinook. A Canadian of Astor's company is the only person known to have acquired it so as to speak it fluently. During a long illnes he was nursed by the Chinooks, and during his convalescense devoted his entire time to perfecting himself in their tongue.[46]

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[43] 'The Skyuse have two distinct languages: the one used in ordinary intercourse, the other on extraordinary occasions; as in war counsels, &c.' *Farnham's Travels*, p. 153. 'The Cayuses have abandoned their own for that of the Nez Perces.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 416, 425. 'Their language bears some affinity to the Sahaptin or Nez-Percé language.' *Ludwig's Ab. Lang.*, p. 199; *Coke's Rocky Mts.*, p 295; *Kane's Wand.*, p. 279. 'Their original language, now almost extinct.. .having affinity to that of the Carriers, of North Caledonia, and the Umpqua Indians of Southern Oregon.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 249–50.

[44] 'The language of the bands farther up the river departed more and more widely from the Chinook proper, so that the lower ones could not have understood the others without an interpreter.' *Gibbs' Chinook Vocab.*, p. 4. 'The vocabulary given by Dr. Scouler as "Chenook" is almost altogether Chihalis. His "Cathlascon"... is Chinook.' *Id.*, p. 5. 'Des *Tchinooks*, d'où est sortie la langue-mère de ces sauvages.' *Saint-Amant, Voyages*, p. 381. 'Cathlamahs speak the same language as the Chinnooks and Clatsops.' *Lewis and Clarke's Travels*, p. 424. Chinooks 'in language.... resemble the Clatsops, Cathlamahs, and indeed all the people near the mouth of the Columbia.' *Id.*, p. 426. 'The Chinooks, Clatsops, Wahkiacums and Cathlamahs....resembled each other in person, dress, language.' *Irving's Astoria*, pp. 85, 336. Chinooks, Clatsops, Cathlamux, Wakicums, Wacalamus, Cattleputles, Clatscanias, Killimux, Moltnomas, Chickelis.... resemble one another in language. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 87–88. 'The *Chinook* language is spoken by all the nations from the mouth of the Columbia to the falls.' *Franchère's Nar.*, p. 262.

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[45] 'The language spoken by these people is guttural, very difficult for a foreigner to learn, and equally hard to pronounce.' *Ross' Adven.*, p. 101. 'Decidedly the most unpronounceable compound of gutturals ever formed for the communication of human thoughts, or the expression of human wants.' *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., p. 133. 'I would willingly give a specimen of the barbarous language of this people, were it possible to represent by any combination of our alphabet the horrible, harsh, spluttering sounds which proceed from their throats apparently unguided either by the tongue or lip.' *Kane's Wand.*, p. 182. 'It is hard and difficult to pronounce, for strangers; being full of gutturals, like the Gaelic. The combinations *thl*, or *tl*, and *lt*, are as frequent in the Chinook as in the Mexican.' *Franchère's Nar.*, p. 262. 'After the soft languages and rapid enunciation of the islanders, the Chinooks presented a singular contrast in the slow, deliberate manner in which they seemed to choke out their words; giving utterance to sounds, some of which could scarcely be represented by combinations of known letters.' *Pickering's Races*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., p. 23. 'It abounds with gutturals and "clucking" sounds, almost as difficult to analyse as to utter.' *Gibbs' Chinook Vocab.*, p. 5.

Here the sounds of the letters *f*, *r*, *v*, and *z* do not exist, the pronunciation is generally very indistinct, and *ç* and *s*, *k* and *g*, *d* and *t*, are almost always confounded.

In the first person of the dual and plural of pronouns, the person present and addressed is either included or excluded according to the form used.

Personal pronouns in the Watlala dialect are:

SINGULAR.		DUAL.		PLURAL.	
I	naika	We (two) (exc.)	ndaika	We (ex.)	nçtaika
		We (two) (incl.)	tkhaika	We (incl.)	olkhaika
Thou	maika	You (two)	mdaika	You	mçaika
He	iakhka	They (two)	içtakhka	They	tkhlaitçka

Of the possessive pronouns the following will serve as examples. They are joined to the noun *itukutkhle*, or *itukwutkhle*, house.

	SINGULAR.
My house	kukwutkhl
Thy house	meokwitkhl
His house	iakwitkhl

	DUAL.	PLURAL.
Our house (exc.)	ndakwitkhl	ntçakwitkhl (exc.)
Our house (incl.)	tkhakwitkhl	olkhakwitkhl (incl.)
Your house	mdakwitkhl	mçakwitkhl
Their house	içtakwitkhl	tkhlakwitkhl

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB TO BE COLD.

PRESENT INDICATIVE, SINGULAR.	
I am cold,	naika tçinokhkeakh
Thou art cold,	maika tçiçomkeakh
He is cold,	iakhka tçikeakh
DUAL.	
We (two) are cold (exc.),	ndaika tçiçontkeakh
We (two) are cold (incl.),	tkhaika tçiçtkeakh
You (two) are cold,	mdaika tçimokeakh
They (two) are cold,	ictakhka tçiçtkeakh
PLURAL.	
We are cold (exc.),	ntçaika tçicontçkeakh
We are cold (incl.),	olkhaika tçilokeakh
You are cold,	mçaika tçiçomçkeakh
They are cold,	tkhlaitçka tçiçotkhlkeakh

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[46] 'The ancient Chenook is such a guttural, difficult tongue, that many of the young Chenook Indians can not speak it, but have been taught by their parents the Chehalis language and the Jargon.' *Swan's N. W. Coast*, p. 306; *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 562. 'The very difficult pronunciation and excessively complicated form of the Chinook has effectually prevented its acquisition, even by missionaries and fur traders.' *Gibbs' Chinook Vocab.*, p. 5.

IMPERFECT.

Yesterday I was cold,	takotkhl naika tçinotkeakh

FIRST FUTURE.

By and bye I shall be cold,	atkhlke naika tçiçonkhatka
I shall be cold,	naika onçkhatka tçiç

THE VERB TO KILL.

I kill thee,	aminowagua
I kill him,	tçinowagua
I kill you (dual),	omtkinowagua
I kill them (dual),	oçtkinowagua
I kill you (pl.),	omçkinowagua
I kill them,	otkhlkinowagua
You kill him,	omçkiwagua
You kill them,	otkhlkiwagua

Dialectic differences particularly among the upper Chinooks, or Watlalas, are found principally in words; grammatical forms being alike in both.[47] Kane remarks as a peculiarity that this language contains "no oaths, or any words conveying gratitude or thanks."[48]

Moving again southward to the Willamette Valley, I find the Calapooya language, and for the first time a soft and harmonious idiom. Although the guttural *kh* sometimes occurs, it is more frequently softened to *h*. The consonants are *ç*, or *s*, *f*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *ng*, *p*, or *b*, *t*, or *d*, *q*, and *w*. Unlike the Sahaptin and Chinook there are neither dual nor plural forms in the Calapooya language.

The personal pronouns are:

I	tsi, or tsii
Thou	maha, or maa
He	koka, or kak
We	soto
You	miti
They	kinuk

My father	tsi simna
Thy father	maha kaham
His father	kok inifam
Our father	soto tufam
Your father	miti tifam
Their father	kinuk inifam

My mother	tsi sinni
Thy mother	maha kanni
His mother	kok ininnim
Our mother	soto tunnim
Your mother	miti tinnim
Their mother	kinuk ininnim

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[47] *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol., vi., p. 562, et seq.

[48] *Kane's Wand.*, p. 183.

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB TO BE SICK, ILFATIN.

PRESENT NEUTER.	
I am sick,	tsi ilfatin
Thou art sick,	intsi ilfatin
He is sick,	ilfatin
We are sick,	tsiti ilfaf
You are sick,	intsip ilfaf
They are sick,	kinuk in ilfaf
NEGATIVE.	
I am not sick,	wangk tsik ilfatit
IMPERFECT.	
I was sick yesterday,	ilfatin tsi kuyi
Thou wast sick yesterday,	imku ilfatin
He was sick yesterday,	hu ilfatin
FIRST FUTURE.	
To-morrow I shall be sick,	midji tallfit tsii

The following example will serve to illustrate the great changes verbs undergo in their conjugations;—*ksitapatsitup maha*, I love thee; *tsitapintsuo kok*, I love him; *himtapintsiwata tsii kak*, he loves me: *hintsitapintsiwata tsii*, dost thou love me?[49]

The Yamkally is spoken at the sources of the Willamette River. A comparison of the Yamkally and Calapooya vocabularies shows a certain relationship between them.[50]

I have said that certain affinities are discovered between the Waiilatpu and Mollale, and also between the Watlala and Chinook; in these, as well as in the Calapooya and Yamkally, Buschmann discovers faint traces of the Aztec language. Others have discovered a fancied relationship between the language of the Mexicans and those of more northern nations, but Mr Buschmann believes that, descending from the north, the peoples mentioned, whose lands are drained by the Columbia, are the first in which the Aztec, in dim shadows, makes its appearance. These similaritie, he discovered not alone by direct comparisons with the Aztec, but also by detecting resemblances between these Columbian dialects and those of certain nations which he calls his Sonora group and its affiliations, all of which contain elements of the Aztec tongue. Yet Mr Buschmann does not therefrom claim any relationship between the Aztecs and Columbians, but only notices these few slight assimilations.[51]

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[49] *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 566, et seq.

[50] 'Yamkallie, Kallapuiah. Oregon Indians of the plains of the Wallamette, speaking a language related to that of the Cathlascons and Haeeltzuk.' *Ludewig's Ab. Lang.*, p. 202. 'Gross die Verwandtschaft der Kalapuya und des Yamkallie; aber an verschiedenen Wörtern fehlt es nicht.' *Buschmann, Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, p. 628.

Herewith is a comparative table, containing a few similar words:

Comparative Table, showing Similarities between the Columbian and Mexican Tongues.

English.	Waiilatpu.	Mollale.	Watlala.	Chinook.	Calapooya.	Aztec.	Sonora Family.
Yes	i	ia	a	ah	he, aw		e, ha
Tooth	tenif				tanti	tlantli	
Red			tkhlpal	tkhlpolpol		tlapalli	
Wind			ikkhala	itskhakh	ikhala	ehecatl	heicala
Black			tkhlol	tkhlalukh		tlilli	
Water			wematkhl	webatkhl		atl	
I				naika	nĕe		ne
Chief	iatoiang	iakant					iout, iauta

The Chinook jargon is employed by the white people in their intercourse with the natives, as well as by the natives among themselves. It is spoken throughout Oregon, Washington Territory, on Vancouver Island, and extends inland into Idaho and some parts of Montana. It is more than probable that, like other languages *de convenance*, it formed itself gradually, first among the natives themselves, and that in the course of time, in order to facilitate their intercourse with the aborigines, trappers and traders adopted and improved it, until it was finally brought into its present state. Indeed, so great was the diversity of languages in this vicinity, and so intricate were they, that without something of this kind there could have been but little intercourse between the people.

A somewhat similar mixture I have already mentioned as existing in Alaska. Father Paul Le Jeune gives a short account of a jargon in use between the

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[51] 'Höchst merkwürdig sind einzelne unlängbare aztekische und zweitens einzelne sonorische Wörter, welche ich in diesen Sprachen aufgefunden habe.' *Buschmann, Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, p. 629.

French and the Indians, in the north-eastern part of America, as early as the year 1633.[52] In Europe a similar mixture, or patois, prevails to this day, the lingua franca, used by the many nationalities that congregate upon the shores of the Mediterranean. In China, and in the East Indies, the so-called pigeon English occupies the same place; and in various parts of Central and Southern America, neutral languages may be found. To show how languages spring up and grow, Vancouver, when visiting the coast in 1792, found in various places along the shores of Oregon, Washington, and Vancouver Island, nations that now and then understood words and sentences of the Nootka and other tongues, some of which had been adopted into their own language.

When Lewis and Clarke, in 1806, reached the coast, the jargon seems to have already assumed a fixed shape, as may be seen from the sentences quoted by the explorers. But not until the arrival of the expedition sent out by John Jacob Astor does it appear that either English or French words, of which it contains a large percentage, were incorporated. Very few, if any, of the words of which the jargon is composed, retain their original shape. The harsh, guttural, and unpronounceable native cackling was softened or omitted, thus forming a speech suited to all. In the same manner, some of the English sounds, like *f* and *r*, unpronounceable by the native, were dropped, or transferred into *p* and *l*, while all grammatical forms were reduced to the fewest and plainest rules possible.[53] But even in this jargon, there are what may be called dialectic differences; for instance, many words used at the Dalles, are quite unintelligible at the mouth of the Columbia and at Puget Sound. It has often been asserted that the jargon was invented or originated by the Hudson's Bay Company, but although the fur company undoubtedly greatly aided its development, and assisted in perfecting it, it is well known, first, that this jargon existed before the advent of Europeans, and secondly, that languages are not made in this way.

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[52] 'This system of jargons began very early, and has, doubtless, led to many errors. As early as 1633, the Jesuit Father Paul Le Jeune wrote: "I have remarked, in the study of their language, that there is a certain jargon between the French and Indians, which is neither French nor Indian; and yet, when the French use it, they think they are speaking Indian, and the Indians using it, think they speak good French."' *Hist. Mag.*, vol. v., p. 345.

[53] *Gibbs' Chinook Dic.*, p. 6; *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, June 15, 1866. 'Chinook is a jargon which was invented by the Hudson's Bay Company for the purpose of facilitating communication with the different Indian tribes. These were so numerous, and their languages so various, that the traders found it impossible to learn them all, and adopted the device of a judicious mixture of English, French, Russian, and several Indian tongues, which has a very limited vocabulary; but which, by the

Mr Gibbs states the number of words to be nearly five hundred, and after a careful analysis of the language, has arrived at the following conclusion as to the number contributed by the several nationalities:

Chinook and Clatsop	200	words
Chinook, having analogies with other languages	21	"
Interjections common to several	8	"
Nootka, including dialects	24	"
Chehalis, 32, and Nisqually, 7	39	"
Kliketat and Yakima	2	"
Cree	2	"
Chippeway (Ojibway)	1	"
Wasco (probably)	4	"
Calapooya (probably)	4	"
By direct onomatopœia	6	"
Derivation unknown, or undetermined	18	"
French, 90, Canadian, 4	94	"
English	67	" [54]

As before mentioned, foreign words adopted into the jargon vocabulary are changed to suit the taste of the

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help of signs, is readily understood by all the natives, and serves as a common language.' *Milton and Cheadle's N. W. Passage*, p. 344. 'The jargon so much in use all over the North Pacific Coast, among both whites and Indians, as a verbal medium of communicating with each other, was originally invented by the Hudson's Bay Company, in order to facilitate the progress of their commerce with Indians.' *Stuart's Dictionary of Chinook Jargon*, p. 161. 'Chinook is a jargon, consisting of not more than three or four hundred words, drawn from the French, English, Spanish, Indian, and the fancy of the inventor. It was contrived by the Hudson's Bay Company for the convenience of trade.' *Brunot*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1871, p. 124. Sproat disputes the invention of the jargon, and says: 'Such an achievement as the invention of a language, is beyond the capabilities of even a chief factor.' *Scenes*, p. 139. 'I think that, among the Coast Indians in particular, the Indian part of the language has been in use for years.' *Swan's N. W. Coast*, p. 307. *Hale's Ethnog*, in *U.S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 635, et seq.

[54] *Gibbs' Chinook Dic.*, pp. vii.-viii. 'All the words thus brought together and combined in this singularly constructed speech are about two hundred and fifty in number.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 636. 'Words undoubtedly of Japanese origin are still used in the jargon spoken on the coast called Chinook.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 217.

speaker, as in the word Français, being unable to pronounce the *f*, *r*, and *n*, for Frenchman they say *pasaiuks*, and for French, *pasai*. The few words formed by onomatopœia, are after this fashion;—*tumtum*, heart, an imitation of its beating; *tintin*, bell; *tiktik*, watch; *liplip*, to boil, from the sound of boiling water, and so on.

Neither article nor inflections are employed. *Okok*, this, at times takes the place of the English the. As a rule, plurals are not distinguished, but sometimes the word *haiu*, many, is used. Adjectives precede nouns, as in English,—*lasuai hakatshum*, silk handkerchief; *masatsi tilikum*, bad people. The comparative is expressed, for example, in the sentence, I am stronger than thou, by *wek maika skukum kakwa naika*, thou not strong as I. Superlative,—*haias oluman okok kanem*, very old that canoe. There are only two conjunctions, *pi*, derived from the French *puis*, which denotes and, or then; and *pos*, from *suppose*, meaning if, in case that, provided that. The particle *na* is at times used as an interrogative.[55]

The Lord's Prayer in the Chinook jargon is as follows:

Nesika papa klaksta mitlite kopa saghalie, kloshe
Our Father who stayeth in the above, good

kopa nesika tumtum mika nem; kloshe mika tyee
in our hearts (be) thy name; good thou chief

kopa konoway tilikum; kloshe mika tumtum kopa
among all people; good thy will upon

illahie, kahkwe kopa saghalie. Potlatch konaway sun
earth, as in the above. Give every day

nesika muckamuck. Spose nesika mamook masahchie,
our food. If we do ill,

wake mika hyas solleks, pe spose klaksta masahchie
(be) not thou very angry, and if any one evil

kopa nesika, wake nesika solleks kopa klaska. Mahsh
towards us, not we angry towards them. Send away

siah kopa nesaika konaway masahchie. Kloshe kahkwa.
far from us all evil.[56]

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[55] *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 636, et seq.

[56] *Gibbs' Chinook Dic.*, p. 44.

CHAPTER IV.

CALIFORNIAN LANGUAGES.

Multiplicity of Tongues—Yakon, Klamath, and Palaik Comparisons—Pitt River and Wintoon Vocabularies—Weeyot, Wishosk, Weitspek, and Ehnek Comparisons—Languages of Humboldt Bay—Potter Valley, Russian and Eel River Languages—Pomo Languages—Gallinomero Grammar—Trans-Pacific Comparisons—Chocuyem Lord's Prayer—Languages of the Sacramento, San Joaquin, Napa and Sonoma Valleys—The Olhone and other Languages of San Francisco Bay—Runsien and Eslene of Monterey—Santa Clara Lord's Prayer—Mutsun Grammar—Languages of the Missions Santa Cruz, San Antonio de Padua, Soledad, and San Miguel—Tatché Grammar—The Dialects of Santa Cruz and other Islands.

Notwithstanding the great diversity of tongues encountered in the regions of the north, the confusion increases ten-fold on entering California. Probably nowhere in America is there a greater multiformity of languages and dialects than here. Until quite recently, no attempt has been made to bring order out of this linguistic chaos, owing mainly to a lack of grammars and vocabularies. Within the last few years this want has, in a measure, been supplied, and I hope to be able to present some broader classifications than have hitherto been attempted. Through the researches of Mr Powers, who has kindly placed his materials at my disposal, and the valuable information communicated by Judge Roseborough, the dialects of northern California have been reduced to some sort of system, yet there remains the fact that, in central and southern California, hundreds of dialects have been permitted to die out, without leaving us so much as their name.[1]

In attempting the classification of Californian tongues, no little difficulty arises from the ambiguity of tribal names. So far as appearances go, some peoples have no distinctive name; others are known by the name of their chief alone, or their ranchería; the affiliation of chief, ranchería, and tribe being identical or distinct, as the case may be. Some writers have a common name for all tribes speaking the same, or dialects of the same, language; others name a people from each dialect. Last of all, there are nations and tribes that call themselves by one name, while their neighbors call them by another, so that the classifier, ethnologic or philologic, is apt to enumerate one people under two names, while omitting many.[2]

We have seen in the Columbian languages, as we approach the south, that they become softer and less guttural; this is yet more observable among Californians, whose speech, for the most part, is harmonious, pronounceable, and rich in vowels; and this feature becomes more and more marked as we proceed from northern to southern California. On this point, Mr Powers writes: "Not only are the California languages distinguished for that affluence of vowel sounds, which is more or less characteristic of all tongues spoken in warm climates;

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[1] *Roseborough's Letter to the Author*, MS.; *The Shastas and their Neighbors*, MS. 'The diversity of language is so great, in California, that at almost every 15 or 20 leagues, you find a distinct dialect.' *Boscana*, in *Robinson's Life in Cal.*, p. 240. 'Il n'est peut-être aucun pays où les différens idiomes soient aussi multipliés que dans la Californie septentrionale.' *La Pérouse*, *Voy.*, tom. ii., p. 323. 'One might spend years with diligence in acquiring an Indian tongue, then journey a three-hours' space, and find himself adrift again, so multitudinous are the languages and dialects of California.' *Powers' North. Cal. Ind.*, in *Overland Monthly*, vol. viii., p. 328. 'The diversity is such as to preclude almost entirely all verbal communication.' *Hutchings' Cal. Mag.*, vol. iii., p. 159. 'Languages vary from tribe to tribe.' *Pickering's Races*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., p. 106. 'In California, there appears to be spoken two or more distinct languages.' *McCulloh's Researches in Amer.*, p. 37; *Kotzebue's Voyage*, vol. iii., p. 48; *Id.*, *New Voy.*, vol. ii., p. 98; *Taylor*, in *Bancroft's Handbook Almanac*, 1864, p. 29

[2] See vol i., p. 325; *Roseborough's Letter to the Author*, MS.; *The Shastas and their Neighbors*, MS.; *Hutchings' Cal. Mag.*, vol. iii., p. 159.

but most of them are also remarkable for their special striving after harmony. There are a few languages found in the northern mountains which are harsh and sesquipedalian, and some on the coast that are guttural beyond the compass of our American organs of speech; but with these few exceptions, the numerous languages of the state are beautiful above all their neighbors for their simplicity, the brevity of their words, their melody, and their harmonious sequences."[3]

Throughout California, much attention is paid to the euphony of words; and if, in the inevitable manufacturing process, a syllable does not sound well, or does not exactly harmonize according to the native ear, it is ruthlessly sacrificed. In many languages these elisions are made in accordance with fixed rules, while others, again, obey no other mandate but harmony.

Concerning the languages of northern California, Judge Roseborough writes: "In an ethnological view, the language of these various tribes is a subject of great interest. They seem to be governed by the geographical nature of the country, which has had much influence in directing the migrations and settlement of the various tribes in this state, where they have been found by the whites; and there have been in remote times at least three currents, or lines of migration, namely,—first, one along the coast southward, dispersing more or less towards the interior as the nature of the country and hostile tribes permitted. In so broken and rough a country the migrations must have been slow, and the eddies numerous, leaving many fragments of aboriginal tribes here and there with language and customs wholly dissimilar. Second, that along the Willamette Valley, over the passes of the Calapooya, across the open lands of the Umpqua, southward through Rogue River Valley into Shasta and Scott valleys. As an evidence of this trace I may mention that all the tribes on this line, from the Calapooya mountains southward to the head of Shasta and Scott valleys, speak the same language, and were confederate in their wars with the tribes on Pitt River, who seem to have arrested their progress southward. In this connection I may mention two facts worthy of remark, namely, first, in this cataclysm of tribes, there have been some singular displacements; for instance, the similarity of language and customs of the Cumbatwas and other cognate tribes on Pitt River denotes a common origin with a small tribe found on Smith River, on the northwest coast: and secondly, the traditions of the Shastas settled in Shasta and Scott valleys, the advance of this line of migrations, show that a former tribe had been found in possession of those valleys and mountains, and had been driven out. The remains of their ancient villages, and the arrangements still visible in their excavations confirm the fact, and also the further fact that the expelled tribes were the same, or cognate to those which the whites found in occupation of the Sacramento Valley. For instance, in all of these ancient villages, there was one house of very large dimensions, used for feasts, ceremonious dances, etc., just as we found on the settlement of California, in the valley of Sacramento. The existing tribes in those mountains have no such domicil and no public houses. They say, when asked, that the villages were built and inhabited by a tribe that lived there before they came, and that those ancient dwellers worshiped the great snowy Mount Shasta, and always built their villages in places from which they could behold that mountain. Thirdly, another wave of migration evidently came southward along the Des Chutes River, upon the great plateau of the lakes, which conclusion is borne out by a similarity of languages and customs, as well as by traditions."[4]

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[3] *Powers' Pomo*, MS.

In support of this theory Judge Roseborough states, that the languages spoken on Smith River, and extending thence forty miles along the coast, are radically and wholly different from those of the neighboring tribes. The former are harsh, guttural, irregular, and apparently monosyllabic, while on the other hand, the neighboring tribes inhabiting the coast southward to Humboldt Bay, and along the Klamath as far up as the mouth of the Trinity, speak a language very regular in its structure; copious in its capacity for expressing ideas and shades of thought, and not unpleasing to the ear, being free from harsh and guttural sounds. Of all the languages spoken in this part, that which prevails along the Klamath River, as far up as Happy Camp, and along the Salmon to its sources, is by far the most regular and musical. In fact, for its regular and musical accents it occupies among the Indian tongues of the continent the same preëminence that the Spanish does among the Caucasian languages. For instance, their proper nouns for persons and places are very euphoneous, as, *euphippa*, *escassasoo*, names of persons, and *tahasoofca*, *cheenich*, *panumna*, *chimicanee*, *tooyook*, *savorum*, names of noted localities along the river.

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[4] *Roseborough's Letter to the Author*, MS.

As an example of the copiousness and richness of the coast languages above Humboldt Bay, Judge Roseborough cites the following, for one, two, three, four, they say, *kor*, *nihhi*, *naxil*, *chohnah*; so for to-morrow they say, *kohchamol*; for the day after to-morrow, *nahamohl*; three days hence, *naxamohl*; four days hence, *chohnahamol*. Nor do they stop here; *mare*, being five, and *marunimícha*, fifteen; the fifteenth day from the present is, *marunimícháhamohl*.

Mr George Bancroft in his Indianology erroneously asserts that the sound of our letter *r* does not occur in any of the aboriginal languages of America. A similar assertion has been made with regard to Asiatic tongues, that there is not a people from the peninsula of Hindostan to Kamchatka who make use of this sound. Although this idea is now exploded, evidence goes to show the rarity of the use of the letter *r* in these regions; yet, Judge Roseborough assures me that in these northern Californian dialects the sound of this letter is not only frequent, but is uttered with its most rolling, whirring emphasis; that such words as *arrarra*, Indian; *carrook*, or *cahroc*, up; *eurook*, or *euroc*, down; *seearrook*, across and up; *micarra*, the name of a village; *tahasoofcarrah*, that is to say the village of upper Tahasoofca, are brought forth with an intensity that a Frenchman could not exceed.

On both sides of the Oregon and Californian boundary line is spoken the Klamath language; adjoining it on the north is the Yakon, and on the south the Shasta and the Palaik. A dialect of the Klamath is also spoken by the Modocs. Herewith I give a short comparative table, and although no relationship between them is claimed, yet many of the words which I have selected are not without a similarity.[5]

	YAKON.	KLAMATH.	SHASTA.	PALAIK.
Man	kalt	hisuatsos	awatikoa	yaliu
Woman	tkhlaks	snawats	taritsi	omtewitsen
Mouth	qai	sum	au, or aof,	ap
Leg	sia	tsoks	halaway, or hatis,	atetewa
Water	kilo	ampo	atsa	as
Blood	pouts	poits	ime	ahati
Earth	onitstoh	kaela	tarak	kela
Stone	kelih	kotai	itsa	olisti
Wood	kukh	anko	awa	hau
Beaver	kaatsilawa	pum	tawai	pum
Dog	tskekh	watsak	hapso	watsaqa
Bird	kokoaia	lalak	tararakh	lauitsa
Salmon	tsutais	tsialus	kitari	tsialas
Great	haihaiat	moōnis	kempe	wawa

Along Pitt River and its tributaries are the Pitt River Indians and the Wintoons, of which languages short vocabularies are given.

PITT RIVER.

Man	t'elyou	Hair	teee
Woman	emmetowchan	Eyes	ossa
House	teoomchee	Nose	yame
Tree (pine)	oswoo	Mouth	yanena
Water	oss	Teeth	etesă
Stone	alliste	Legs	săyă
Sun	tsool	Fire	mallis

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[5] 'The Lutuami, Shasti and Palaik are thrown by Gallatin into three separate classes. They are without doubt mutually unintelligible. Nevertheless they cannot be very widely separated.' *Latham's Comp. Phil.*, vol. viii., p. 407. The T-ka, Id-do-a, Ho-te-day, We-o-how, or Shasta Indians, speak the same language. *Steele*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1864, p. 120. The Modocs speak the same language as the Klamaths. *Palmer*, in *Id.*, 1854, p. 262; *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex., Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 218; *Berghaus*, *Geographisches Jahrbuch*, tom. iii., p. 48; *Taylor*, in *Cal. Farmer*, June 8, 1860. 'A branch of the latter (Shoshone) is the tribe of Tlamath Indians.' *Ruxton's Adven. Mex.*, p. 244.

Moon	tchool	Big	walswa
Crow	owwicha	Little	chowkootcha
Dog	chahoom	Dead	deoome
Deer	doshshe	Mountain	akoo
Bear	loehta	Fish	oll [6]

WINTOON.

Yes	ummina	Warm	pela
Woman	darcus	Eyes	toomb
House	boss	Nose	sono
I, or me	net	Mouth	all
Water	mem	Teeth	see
Rain	luhay	Talk	teene
Sun	sash	To kill	kloma
Moon	chamitta	Large	bohama
Night	kenavina, or peno	To fight	cluckapooda
Dog	suco	Dead	menil
Deer	nope	North	wy
Bear	chilch, or weemer,	South	nora [7]

On the lower Klamath, the Euroc language prevails. As compared with the dialects of southern California, it is guttural; there being apparently in some of its words, or rather grunts, a total absence of vowels,—*mrprh*, nose; *chlh*, earth; *ynx*, child. Among other sounds peculiar to it, there is that of the *ll*, so frequent in the Welsh language. Mr Powers says that, "in conversation they terminate many words with an aspiration which is imperfectly indicated by the letter *h*, a sort of catching of the sound, immediately followed by the letting out of the residue of breath, with a quick little grunt. This makes their speech harsh and halting; the voice often comes to a dead stop in the middle of a sentence." He further adds that "the language seems to have had a monosyllabic origin, and, in fact, they pronounce many dissyllables as if they were two monosyllables."

Along the upper Klamath, the Cahroc language is spoken, which is entirely distinct from that of the Eurocs. It is sonorous, and its intonation has even been compared with that of the Spanish, being not at all guttural like the Euroc. The *r*, when it occurs in such words as *chareya*, and *cahroc*, is strangely rolled. The language is copious; the people speaking it having a name for everything, and on seeing any article new to them, if a proper designation is not immediately at hand, they forthwith proceed to manufacture one.

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[6] *The Shastas and their Neighbors*, MS.

[7] *Jackson's Vocab. of the Wintoon Language*, MS.; *Powers' Vocabularies*, MS.

Another guttural language is the Pataway, spoken on Trinity River. Its pronunciation is like the Euroc, and it has the same curious, abrupt stopping of the voice at the end of syllables terminating with a vowel, as Mr Powers describes it. Related to it is the Veeard of lower Humboldt Bay. The numerals in the latter language are: *koh-tseh*, one; *dee-teh*, two; *dee-keh*, three; *deeh-oh*, four; *weh-sah*, five; *chilókeh*, six; *awtloh*, seven; *owit*, eight; *serókeh*, nine; *lokél* ten.[8]

The language known as the Weitspek, spoken at the junction of the Trinity and Klamath rivers, is probably the same which Mr Powers has named the Pataway. It is also said to have the frequently occurring rolling r. The *f*, as in the Oregon languages, is wanting. Dialects of the Weitspek are the Weeyot and Wishosk, on Eel and Mad rivers. This language is understood from the coast range down to the coast between Cape Mendocino and Mad River.[9] The Ehnek, or Pehtsik, language is spoken on Salmon River; thence in the region of the Klamath, are the Watsahewah, Howteteoh, and Nabiltse languages.[10]

COMPARISONS.

	WEEYOT.	WISHOSK.	WEITSPEK.	EHNEK.
Man	ko éh	ko-éh	pagehk	ah wunsh
Arrow	sáhpe	tsahpé	nah qut	kha-wish
Water	merah tche	mer ah ché	pa ha	iss shah
Earth	let kuk	let kuk	chahk	steep
Dog	wyets	wy'ts	chishé	chish ee
Fire	mass	mess	mets	ah
Sun	taum	tahm	wá noush leh	kosh rah
One	koh tse	kohtsa	spinekoh	issah
Two	er ee ta	ritta	nuh ehr	ach bok
Three	er ee ka	rihk	nak sa	kui rahk
Four	re aw wa	ri yah	toh hun ne	peehs
Five	wessa	wéhsah	mahr o tum	ti rah o

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[8] *Powers' Pomo*, MS.

[9] *Gibbs*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iii., p. 422. 'The junction of the rivers Klamath, or Trinity, gives us the locality of the Weitspek. Its dialects, the Weyot and Wishosk, extend far into Humboldt county, where they are probably the prevailing form of speech, being used on the Mad River, and the parts about Cape Mendocino. From the Weitspek they differ much more than they do from each other.' *Latham's Comp. Phil.*, vol. viii., p. 40. 'Weeyot und Wish-osk, unter einander verwandt.' *Buschmann, Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, p. 575.

[10] *Gibbs*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iii., pp. 422–3.

The Chillulah, Wheelcutta, and Kailta were spoken on Redwood Creek, but before the extinction of these people, their languages were merged into that of the Hoopahs by whom they were subjugated. The language of the Chimalquays of New River has also been absorbed by the Hoopah. Of the Chimalquays Powers hypèrbolically remarks "their language was like the mountain city of California, beautiful in its simplicity, but frail."[11]

At Humboldt Bay a language called Patawat is mentioned, and in Round Valley the Yuka. The numerals in the latter tongue are—*pongwe*, one; *opeh*, two; *malmeh*, three; and *omehet*, four. In Potter Valley is the Tahtoo language which Mr Powers thinks may belong to the Pomo or the Yuka.[12] In the Eel River and Russian River valleys as far as the mouth of Russian River and in Potter Valley, the different tribes known by the names of Ukiahs or Yokias, Sanèls, Gallinomeros, Masallamagoons, Gualalas, and Matoles, speak various dialects of the Pomo language, which obtains in Potter Valley and the dialects of which become more and more estranged according to the distance from the aboriginal centre. The Pomo men are good linguists; they readily acquire all the different dialects of their language, which in places differ to such an extent, that unless they are previously learned they cannot be understood. Pomo women are not allowed to learn any dialect but their own.

The following comparative table of numerals will illustrate the relationship of these tribes, among which I include the Kulanapo spoken near Clear Lake, and of which Mr Gibbs has also noticed an affinity to the Russian River and Eel River languages; also, the language spoken by the natives of the Yonios Ranchería in Marin County.[13]

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[11] *Powers' Pomo*, MS.

[12] *Roseborough's Letter to the Author*, MS.; *Powers' Pomo*, MS.

[13] *Gibbs*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iii., pp. 421–2; *Powers' Pomo*, MS.; *Taylor*, in *Cal. Farmer*, March 30, 1860.

	POMO	UKIAH.	SANÉL.	GALINO-MERO.	KULANAPO.	YOKIO.
One	cha	taro	tate	cha	k'hah lih	kalli
Two	co	can	co	aco	kots	hotz
Three	sibbo	sibbo	sibboo	mesibbo	homeka	humka
Four	tack	duhan	ducho	meta	dol	caddol
Five	shal	native	mato	tooshuh	leh ma	lema
Six	padeh	tsadeh	tsadeh	lancha	tsa di	sav
Seven	copah	hoyneit	cóëmar	latco	ku la hots	kolaus
Eight	cowal	cogodol	cogodol	cométa	ko ka dohl	kadol
Nine	shalshal	némgoshum	númoshum	chaco	hah da rol shum	gin
Ten	sala	némpotec	návacotec	chasúto	hah da rul tek	hidelema

On the Gallinomero dialect I make a few grammatical remarks. In conversation the Gallinomeros are rather slovenly and make use of frequent contractions and abbreviations like the English can't and shan't, which makes it difficult for a stranger to understand them. Another difficulty for the student is the convertibility of a number of letters, such as *t* into *ch*, *sh* into *ch*, *i* into *ah*, etc. Nouns have neither number, case, nor gender; the first being only occasionally indicated by a separate word,—*cha ataboónya*, one man; *aco ataboónja*, two men. The genitive is formed by placing the words in juxtaposition,—*atópte meütega*, the chief's brother; the governed word being always prepositive. None of the remaining cases are distinguished; for example,—*chadúna bidácha*, I see the river; *bidácha hoalye*, I go to the river, or, into the river; *bidácha huodúna*, I come out of the river; *didácha toholeéna*, I go away from the river; the accusative may be recognized as being placed immediately after the verb, but there are many exceptions to this rule. Sometimes the accusative is also marked by the ending *ga* or *gen*,—*chechoanoótugen*, I strike the boy; but this is seldom used. Verbs are always regular. There are present, imperfect, and future tenses, and three forms of the imperative, all distinctly marked by tense endings.

	PRESENT INDICATIVE.	IMPERFECT.	FIRST FUTURE.
Do,	tseena	tseeteéna	tseecúwa
Go,	hoalye	hoaleteéna	hoalecúwa
Break,	matsána	matsanteéna	matsancúwa
Kill,	matemána	matemanteéna	matemancúwa
See,	chadúna	chaduteéna	chaducúwa
Fight,	mehailme	mehailmooteéna	mehailmoocúwa

In some instances these endings are changed for the sake of euphony, certain letters being elided. The endings may really be called auxiliary verbs, attached to the principal verb. Thus the imperfect reads, literally, 'would be I go do,' the ending *teena* being nothing but the word *tseena*, with the *s* omitted. In like manner the future is formed, as in *tuddáwa*, to want, which is changed into *ciúwa*.

There is nothing to denote number in the verb, as can be seen in the

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB TO BE.

I am,	ahwa	We are,	áyawa
Thou art,	ámawa	You are,	ámawa
He is,	hámowa	They are,	hámowa

Of the imperative, the following may serve as an example: *hoáleluh*, let me go; *hoalin*, go thou; *hoálegun*, let him go. The verb *chadúna*, to see, may signify either I see, or seeing, or to see, or it may be construed as a substantive—sight; or as an adjective in agglutination, as *chadunatoboónya*, a watchful man. *Chanhódin* is an auxiliary verb and is always prepositive. The pronouns are, *ah*, *ahto*, or *ahmet*, I; *ama*, thou; and *wemo*, *waymo*, *hamo*, or *ámata*, he. The first person of the pronoun is always omitted, except with the verb to be, and the second and third persons frequently. Pronominal adjectives are quite irregular, as *owkey*, from *ah*; *maykey*, from *ama*; *wébakey*, from *wemo*; and they are also used irregularly with nouns. Thus in *medde*, father; *ahmen*, or *owkáhmen*, or *áhmedde*, being equivalent to I father, my father. Here, also, euphony steps in and makes words sometimes wholly unrecognizable, as *ahtótána*, equivalent to *méhand*, and still more different, as *mamówky*, this is for me. Your father is *máykemay*; his father, *wébamen*. Thus it will be seen that *medde* is changed, or abbreviated, into *men*, and *may*. Sometimes the personal pronoun is agglutinated to the verb, and sometimes it is not;—*chechoánomdo* (*chechoána meto*), I strike you; *meto tuddáwa*, I love you. As in many other Pacific States languages, we have here a reverential syllable, which in this language is always prefixed, whereas in others, for instance the Aztec, it is an affix. Speaking of persons related, or of things belonging, to the chief, the reverential *me* or *jin*, is always prefixed; —*owkeybaì*, my wife; *maykeybaì*, your wife; *atópte meëtchen*, the chief's wife; *shinna*, head; *metoshin*, your head; *webashin*, his head; *atópte jinshinna*, the chief's head. All adjectives are really substantives, and are used for both purposes. Thus, *ootu*, boy, also signifies little, or young. Adjectives are generally placed after nouns,—*majey codey*, good day; but there are also many exceptions to this rule. Comparatives are expressed by the particle *pala*, more;—*paleyabdta waymo ahmet*, he is greater than I, *pala* becoming *paléya*, in composition. This is only used by the more intelligent class. A Gallinomero of the lower order would say, *bata waymo ahmet*, great he I. The principal characteristics of the language are euphony and brevity, to which all things else are subservient, but nevertheless, as I have shown already, agglutination is carried to the farthest extent.[14]

As will be seen by the following comparative table, the Pomo language, or rather one of its dialects, the Kulanapo, shows some affinity to the Malay family of languages. Of one hundred and seventy words which I have compared, I find fifteen per cent. showing Malay similarities, and more could perhaps have been found if the several vocabularies had been made upon some one system. As it is, I have been obliged to use a Malay, a Tonga, and other Polynesian vocabularies, taken by different persons, at different times. Without attempting to establish any relationship between the Polynesians and Californians, I present these similarities merely as a fact; these analogies I find existing nowhere else in California, and between them and no other Trans-Pacific peoples.[15]

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[14] *Powers' Notes on Cal. Languages*, MS.

[15] *Gibbs*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iii., p. 428, et seq.; *Hale's Ethnog.*. in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 342, et seq.; *Keppel's Exped.*, vol. i., appendix, p. 14, et seq.; *Martin's Tonga Isl.*, vol. ii.

	KULANAPO.	MALAY	DIALECT OF THE MALAY.
Woman	dah	do	Kayan
Mother	nihk	indi, ini	Sakarran
Husband	dah'k	laki, lake	Malay
Wife	bai le	bini	Malay
Head	kai yah	kapala	Malay
Hair	moo sooh	fooloo	Tonga
Neck	mi yah	gia	Tonga
Foot	kah mah	kaki	Malay
House	kah (calli, Aztec)	falle	Tonga
Sun	lah	láa	Tonga
Fire	poh (Copeh)	apoé	Millanow
Water	k'hah	vy, cawna	Tonga
Mountain	dah no	darud	Suntah
Black	keela keelick	kele	Polynesian
Red	keh dah reh duk	dadara	Malay
Green	doh tor	ota	Polynesian
Dead	mu dal	mati	Malay
I	hah	au	Polynesian
One	k'hah lih	tasi	Polynesian
"	tchah (Yukai)	satu	Malay
Four	dol	tau	Polynesian
Five	leh ma	lima	Malay
Eat	ku hu	kai	Polynesian
Drink	mih	mea inoo	Tonga
To see	el lih (Chocuyem)	ilaw	Tonga
To go	le loom	aloo	Tonga
Bow	pah chee	pana	Malay
Tongue	lehn teep (Chocuyem)	lida	Malay
Leg	co yok (Chocuyem)	ku jak	Suntah

The similarities existing between the Japanese and Chinese, and the Californian languages, appearing from a careful comparison of the same one hundred and seventy words, are insufficient to establish any relationship; the few resemblances may be regarded as purely accidental. Of these words I insert the following, which are all between which I have been able to discover any likeness:

Husband	Japanese	muko	Costaños	makho
Teeth	Chinese	chi	Copeh	see ih
Knife	Japanese	deba	Costaños	tepah
Fire	Chinese	ho	Choweshak	ho
Water	Japanese	sui	Costaños	see ee
Dog	Japanese	chin	Weitspek and Ehnek	chishe
Deer	Japanese	sh'ka	Copeh	siáh

The Choweshak and Batemdakaiee are mentioned as being spoken at the head of Eel River, and the Chocuyem in Marin County, near the Mission of San Rafael. On Russian River, there yet remain to be mentioned the Olamentke, and the Chwachamaju. All these may be properly classed as dialects nearly related to the Pomo family, and some of them may even be the same dialects under different names.[16]

Of the Chocuyem I give the following Lord's Prayer:

Api maco su lilecoe, ma nénas mi aués omai mácono mi taucuchs oyópa mi tauco chaquenit opú neyatto chaquenit opu liletto. Tu maco muye genum ji naya macono sucuji sulia mácono masócte, chague mat opu ma suli mayaco. Macoi yangia ume omutto, ulémi mácono omu incapo. Nette esa Jesus.[17]

In Round Valley, northern California, there is the before-mentioned Yuka language, which is connected with the Wapo, or Ashochemie, spoken near Calistoga, and in the mountains leading thence to the Geysers.[18]

On Yuba and Feather rivers are the Meidoos and Neeshenams of whose language Powers says that "the Meidoo shades away so gradually into the Neeshenam that it is extremely difficult to draw a line anywhere. But it must be drawn somewhere, because a vocabulary taken down on Feather River will lose three fourths of its words before it reaches the Cosumnes. Even a vocabulary taken on Bear River will lose half or more of its words in going to the Cosumnes, which denotes, as is the fact, that the Neeshenam language varies greatly within itself. Indeed, it is probably less homogeneous and more thronged with dialects than any other tongue in California. Let an Indian go even from Georgetown to American Flat, or from Bear River to Auburn, and, with the exception of the numerals he will not at first understand above one word in four, or five, or six. But, with this small stock in common, and the same laws of grammar to guide them, they pick up each others dialects with amazing rapidity. It is these wide variations which have caused some pioneers to believe that there is one tongue spoken on the plains around Sacramento, and another in the mountains; whereas they are as nearly identical as the mountain dialects are. So long as the numerals remain the same, I count it one language; and so long as this is the case, the Indians generally learn each others dialects; but when the numerals change utterly, they often find it easier to speak the English together than to acquire another tongue. As to the southern boundary of the Neeshenam there is no doubt, for at the Cosumnes the language changes abruptly and totally."

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[16] 'Die Indianer in Bodega verstehen nur mit Mühe die Sprache derjenigen welche in den Ebenen am Slawänka-Flusse leben; die Sprache der nördlich von Ross lebenden Stämme ist ihnen völlig unverständlich.' *Baer*, *Stat. u. Ethno.*, p. 75. 'Die Bodegischen Indianer verstehen die nördlichen nicht, sowohl die Sprache als die Art der Aussprache ist verschieden. Die Entfernten und die Steppen-Indianer sprechen eine Menge Dialecte oder Sprachen, deren Eigenthümlichkeit und Verwandtschaft noch nicht bekannt sind.' *Kostromitonow*, in *Id.*, p. 80; *Gibbs*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iii., p. 421. 'Kulanapo und Yukai, verwandt: d. h. in dem beschränkten Grade, dass viele Wörter, zwischen ihnen übereinstimmen, viele andere, z. B. ein guter Theil der Zahlwörter, verschieden sind....Choweshak und Batemdakaiee sehr genau uud im vollkommnen Maasse unter einander, und wiederum beide ganz genau mit Yukai, und auch Kulanapo verwandt....Wichtig ist es aber zu sagen, dass die Sprache Tchokoyem mit dem Olamentke der Bodega Bai und mit der Mission S. Raphael nahe gleich ist.' *Buschmann*, *Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, p. 575. 'The Kanimares speak a different dialect from the Tamalos. The Sonoma Indians also speak different from Tamalos. The Sonomos speak a similar dialect as the Suisuns. The San Rafael Indians speak the same as the Tamalos.' *Taylor*, in *Cal. Farmer*, March 30th, 1860.

[17] *Mofras*, *Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 391.

[18] *Powers' Pomo*, MS.

Along the banks of the Sacramento, two distinct linguistic systems are said to prevail. But to what extent all the languages mentioned in that vicinity are related, or can be classified, it is difficult to say; for not only is there great confusion in names, but what is more essential, vocabularies of most of them are wanting. On the eastern bank of the Sacramento and extending along Feather River, the Cosumnes, and other tributaries of the Sacramento, the following languages are mentioned: Ochecamne, Serouskumne, Chupumne, Omochumne, Siecumne, Walagumne, Cosumne, Sololumne, Turealumne, Saywamine, Newichumne, Matchemne, Sagayayumne, Muthelemne, Sopotatumne, and Talatiu. In all these dialects the word for water is *kik*, but in the dialects spoken on the west bank it is *mómi*. On the western bank are mentioned the dialects of the Pujuni, Puzlumne, Secumne, Tsamak, Yasumne, Nemshaw, Kisky, Yalesumne, Huk, and others.[19] Undoubtedly all these Sacramento Valley dialects are more or less related, but of them we have no positive knowledge except that the Secumne and Tsamak are closely related, while the Puzlumne and Talatiu also show many words in common, but cannot be said to affiliate.[20] In the mountains south of the Yuba, and also on some parts of the Sacramento the Cushna language obtains. On the latter river Wilkes mentions the Kinkla, of which he says that in comparison with the language of the northern nations it may be called soft, "as much so as that of the Polynesians." Repetitions of syllables appear to be frequent as *wai-wai*, and *hau-hau-hau*.[21] In Napa Valley six dialects were spoken, the Myacoma, Calayómane, Caymus, Napa, Uluka, and Suscol.[22] In Solano County the Guiluco language was spoken, of which the following Lord's Prayer may serve as a specimen:

Allá igamé mutryocusé mi zahuá om mi yahuatail cha usqui etra shou mur tzecali ziam pac onjinta mul zhaiíge nasoyate chelegua mul znatzoitze tzecali zicmatan zchiitiilaa chalehua mesqui pihuatzite yteima omahuá. Emqui Jesus.[23]

Near the straits of Karquines, and also in the San Joaquin and Tulare valleys, the Tulare tongue prevailed. In this language, if we may believe M. Duflot de Mofras, the letters *b*, *d*, *f*, *g*, and *r* do not exist, the *r* being changed into *l*, as *maria*, *malia*. Many guttural sounds like *kh*, *tsh*, *lm*, *tp*, *tsp*, *th*, etc., are found, yet softer than the gutturals of the north. Notwithstanding the above statement M. de Mofras gives as a specimen of the Tulare language the following Lord's Prayer, in which the *r* frequently occurs:

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[19] *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., pp. 222, 630; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *Id.*, vol. v., p. 201.

[20] 'Puzhune, Sekamne, Tsamak und Talatui.... Sekumne und Tsamak sind nahe verwandt, die übrigen zeigen gemeinsames und fremdes.' *Buschmann, Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, p. 571. 'Hale's vocabulary of the Talatiu belongs to the group for which the name of Moquelumne is proposed, a Moquelumne Hill and a Moquelumne River being found within the area over which the languages belonging to it are spoken. Again, the names of the tribes that speak them end largely in *mne*, Chupumne, etc. As far south as Tuolumne County the language belongs to this division, viz., 1, the Mumaltachi; 2, Mullateco; 3, Apaugasi; 4, Lapappu; 5, Siyante, or Typoxi band, speak this language.' *Latham's Comp. Phil.*, vol. viii., p. 414.

[21] *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. v., p. 201.

[22] *Montgomery's Indianology of Napa County*, MS.

[23] *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 391.

Appa macquen erinigmo tasunimac emracat, jinnin eccey macquen iunisínmac macquen quitti éné soteyma erinigmo: sumimac macquen hamjamú jinnan guara ayei: sunun macquen quit ti enesunumac ayacma: aquectsem unisimtac nininti equetmini: juriná macquen equetmini em men.

Of the languages spoken at the mission of Santa Inez the following Lord's Prayer is given by M. de Mofras; and this is very likely in the true Tulare language in place of the one above.

Dios caquicoco upalequen alapa, quiaenicho opte: paquininigug quique eccuet upalacs huatahuc itimisshup caneche alapa. Ulamuhu ilahulalisahue. Picsiyug equepe ginsucutaniyug uquiyagmagin, canechequique quisagin sucutanagun utiyagmayiyug peux hoyug quie utic lex ulechop santequiyug ilautechop. Amen Jesus.[24]

The Tulare language is probably the same which was known under the name of Kahweyah in central California and may have some connection with the Cahuillo in the southern part of the state.[25]

Languages in the interior, of which but little more than the name and the region where they were spoken is known, are, on the Tuolumne River the Hawhaw and another which has no particular name; on the Merced River the Coconoon with a dialect extending to King River and to Tulare Lake.[26] Mr Powers makes of the tribes inhabiting Kern and Tulare valleys the Yocut nation, *yocut* signifying an aggregation of people, while

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[24] *Arroyo, Gram. de la lengua Tulareña*, MS., quoted in *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 388, see also pp. 392-3. 'Malgré le grand nombre de dialectes des Missions de la Californie, les Franciscains espagnols s'étaient attachés à apprendre la langue générale de la grande vallée de los Tulares, dont presque toutes les tribus sont originaires, et ils ont rédigés le vocabulaire et une sorte de grammaire de cette langue nommée *el Tulareño*.' *Id.*, p. 387.

[25] *Taylor*, in *Cal. Farmer*, May 25, 1860.

[26] *Johnston*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iv., p. 407. 'Die Sprachen der Coconoons und die vom King's River sind nahe verwandt.' *Buschmann, Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, p. 564.

myee, or *nono*, means man. "It is a singular fact" observes this writer, "that in several of the northern languages *kiya* denotes dog, while in the Yocut, *kiya* is coyote."

From Mr Powers I have also the following vocabularies, which have never before been published.

	CAHROC.	MEIDOO.	PALEGAWONÀP.
Man	awans	midoo	anghanil
Woman	asicitáwa	catee	coyeem
Sun	coosooda	pocum	tahl
Earth	soosaney	caweh	serwahl
Dog	cheshee	seyu	poongool
Water	ahs	momeh	pahl
Stone	ass	ohm	tuhnt
Fire	alih	sum	quoat
Head	huchwa	onum	koŏnte
Mouth	apman	cumbo	tawkunte
Hand	teeik	ma mah	
Big	nuckishnuck	haylin	
Little	neenums	wedaka	
To eat	ohámt	pin	
To give	tanneĕh	meĕy	
To work	ickeeàht	tawale	

	MEEWOC.	YOCUT.	NEESHENAM.
Man	Meewa	nono	neeshenam or maidee
Woman	Osuh	mokella	cŭlleh
Sun	Watoo	ope	ophy
Earth	Toleh	hoocheh	cow
Dog	Chookoo	chehca	sooh
Water	Kikuh	ilic	moh
Stone	Sawa	sileh	oam
Fire	Wookeh	osit	sah
Head	Hanna	oochuh	tsoll
Mouth	Awoh	samah	sim
Hand	Tissuh	poonose	mah
Big	Oyaneh	koteh	nem
Little	Toonchickche	colich	hunum
To eat	Sowuh	hateh	pap
To give		wahneh	meh
To work		tawhaleh	towhàn

Information regarding the languages spoken where the city of San Francisco now stands, and throughout the adjacent country, is meagre, and of a very indefinite character. On the shores of San Francisco Bay, there are the languages spoken by the Matalans, Salses, and Quirotes, which are dialects of one mother language.[27]

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[27] 'Dans la baie de San Francisco on distingue les tribus des Matalans, Salsen et Quirotes, dont les langues dérivent d'une souche commune.' *Humboldt*, *Essai Pol.*, tom. i., pp. 321-2; *Mühlenpfordt*, *Mejico*, tom. ii, pt ii., p. 454.

This language has by some been called the Olhone, and although other dialects are mentioned as belonging to it, it is generally stated that but one general language was spoken by all of them.[28] Southward, near Monterey, there are more positive data. Here we find as the principal languages, the two spoken by the Runsiens and Eslenes; besides which, the Ismuracan and Aspianaque are mentioned.[29]

But although they are called distinct languages, Taylor affirms that the Eslenes, Sakhones, Chalones, Katlendarukas, Poytoquis, Mutsunes, Thamiens, and many others, spoke different dialects of the Runsien language, and that over a stretch of country one hundred and seventy miles in length, the natives were all able to converse with greater or less facility with each other, and that although "their dialects were infinitesimal and puzzling, their vocal communications were intelligible enough when brought together at the different missions." La Pérouse's Achastliens and Ecclemachs are probably nothing more than other names for some of the above-mentioned dialects.[30]

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[28] 'The tribe of Indians which roamed over this great valley, from San Francisco to near San Juan Bautista Mission... were the Olhones. Their language slightly resembled that spoken by the Mutsuns, at the Mission of San Juan Bautista, although it was by no means the same.' *Hall's San José*, p. 40. 'In the single mission, Santa Clara more than twenty languages are spoken.' *Kotzebue's New Voy.*, vol. ii., p. 98; *Kotzebue's Voyage*, vol. iii., p. 51; *Beechey's Voyage*, vol. ii., p. 78; *Choris, Voy. Pitt.*, pt iii., pp. 5-6; *Conder's Mex. Guat.*, vol. ii., pp. 94-5.

[29] 'La misma diferencia que se advierte en los usos y costumbres de una y otra nacion hay en sus idiomas.' *Sutil y Mexicana, Viage*, p. 172.

[30] 'Each tribe has a different dialect; and though their districts are small, the languages are sometimes so different that the neighbouring tribes cannot understand each other. I have before observed that in the Mission of San Carlos there are eleven different dialects.' *Beechey's Voyage*, vol. ii., p. 73. 'La langue de ces habitans (Ecclemachs) diffère absolument de toutes celles de leurs voisins; elle a même plus de rapport avec nos langues Européennes qu'avec celles de l'Amérique.... L'idiome de cette nation est d'ailleurs plus riche que celui des autres peuples de la Californie.' *La Pérouse, Voy.*, tom. ii., pp. 324-326. 'La partie septentrionale de la Nouvelle-Californie est habitée par les deux nations de Rumsen et Escelen. Elles parlent des langues entièrement différentes.' *Humboldt, Essai. Pol.*, tom. i., p. 321. 'Beyde Darstellungen derselben sind, wie man aus der so bestimmten Erklärung beider Schriftsteller, dass diese zwey Völker die Bevölkerung jener Gegend ausmachen, schliessen muss, ohne Zweifel unter verschiedenen Abtheilungen Eines Volkes aufgefasst, unter dessen Zweigen die Dialekte, ungeregelt, wie sie sind leicht grosse Abweichungen von einander zeigen werden.' *Vater, Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt. iii., p. 202; *Taylor*, in *Cal. Farmer*, Feb. 22, Apr. 20, 1860.

Not only do all these before-mentioned languages show a relationship one with another, but there are faint resemblances detected between them and the Olhone language of San Francisco Bay. Furthermore, between the latter and the language spoken at La Soledad Mission, as well as that of the Olamentkes of Russian River, which I have already classed with the Pomo family, there are faint traces of relationship.

	MUTSUN.	LA SOLEDAD.	RUNSIEN.	ACHASTLIEN.
One	hemethscha	himítsa	enjalá	moukala
Two	usthrgin	utshe	ultis	outis
Three	capjan	hapkha	kappei	capes
Four	uthrit	utjit	ultizim	outiti
Five	parnes	paruash	hali izú	is
Father	appá	nikápa	appan	
Mother	anan	nikána	aán	
Daughter	ca	niká	kaana	
Nose	us	us		
Ears	ocho	otsho		
Mouth	jai	hai		

[31]

A further confirmation of this relationship is found in the statement of the first missionary Fathers, who traveled overland from Monterey to San Francisco, and who, although at that time totally unacquainted with these languages, recognized resemblances in certain words.[32] The dialect spoken at the Mission of Santa Clara has been preserved to us only in the shape of the Lord's Prayer which follows:

Appa macréne mé saura saraahtiga elecpuhmen imragat, sacan macréne mensaraah assueiy nouman ourun macari pireca numa ban saraathtiga poluma macréne souhaii naltis anat macréne neéna, ia annanit macréne nieena, ia annanit macréne macrec équetr maccari noumabaú mare annan, nou maroté, jassemper macréne in eckoué tamouniri innam tattahné icatrarca oniet macréne equets naccaritkoun oun och á Jésus.[33]

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[31] 'Es erhellt aber aus den Zahlwörtern und anderen Wörtern, dass die Sprache von la Soledad, der der Runsien nahe gleich und der der Achastlier ähnlich ist.' *Buschmann*, *Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, p. 561; *Turner*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. i., p. 206.

[32] 'En estos indios reparé que entendian mas que otros los términos de Monterey y entendí muchos términos de lo que hablaban... El diciéndome *meapam* tu eres mi padre, que es la misma palabra que usan los de Monterey.' *Palou*, *Noticias*, in *Doc. Hist Mex.*, série iv., tom. vii., pp. 62–3, 59, 65, 67, 69.

[33] *Mofras*, *Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 392.

Of the Mutsun dialect I give the following grammatical notes. Words of this language do not contain the letters *b*, *d*, *k*, *f*, *v*. *x*, and the rolling *r*.

DECLENSION OF THE WORD APPA, FATHER.

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Nom.	appa	appagma
Gen.	appa	appagma
Dat.	appahuas	appagmahuas
Acc.	appase	apagamase
Voc.	appa	appagma
Abl.	appatsu { or appatca or appame	appagmatsu { or appamatca or appagmane

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB ARÁ, TO GIVE.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

I give,	can ará	We give,	macse ará
Thou givest,	men ará	You give,	macam ará
He gives,	nunissia ará	They give,	nupcan ará

PAST.

I gave (a very short time ago),	can itzs arán
I gave (a long while ago),	can cus arás
I gave (very long ago),	can hocs ará
I gave (from time immemorial),	can munna arás
I gave (without mentioning time),	can arán
I gave (who knows when),	can arás
I gave (sometime ago),	can araicun
I gave (already),	can aragte

FUTURE.

I shall give (soon),	can et (or iete) ará
I shall give (after many days),	can iti ará
I shall give (after many years),	can múnna ará
I shall have given (perhaps),	can piñ arán

IMPERATIVE.

Give me,	arat, or aratit
Give thyself,	araia
Give him,	arai, or arati
Give them,	arais

SUBJUNCTIVE.

That I give,	cat ará
If I gave,	imatcum can ará, or cochop tucne can ará

The language abounds in adverbs, of which I give the following.

This day	neppe tengis	To-morrow	aruta
Now	naha	Since	yete
Immediately	iñaha	Always	imi
Never	ecue et	Before	aru
Never more	ecue imi	Much	tolon
Good	miste, utin	Very much	tompe
Bad	equitseste	Little	cutis
Gently	chequen	Very little	cuti
Certainly	amane	Yes	gehe
No	ecue	Truly	asaha, eres
To-day	naha	Look	giré

Adjectives are declined the same as substantives when they are declined alone; but they differ in their declension from substantives when they are declined in connection with them, because then they do not change their terminations, but remain the same in all the cases. The rules of syntax are intricate and very difficult.

Father Comelias speaks of a language at the Mission of Santa Cruz, with numerous dialects, in fact so many, that the language changed nearly every two leagues, and being at times so divergent, that it was with difficulty neighboring people could understand one another.[35] In the vicinity of the Mission San Antonio de Padua, there is a language which has been variously named, Tatché, Telamé, and Sextapay. It appears to be a distinct language, and Taylor affirms that the people speaking it could not understand those of La Soledad Mission, thirty miles north.[36] In this language the letters *b*, *d*, *r*, do not appear; *na* expresses the article the, and also this. There are many different ways of expressing the plural of nouns. Some add the syllable *il*, *el*, *l*, or *li*, others insert *ti*, or *t*, while others again add *leg*, *aten*, *ten*, or *teno*, as may be seen in the following examples.[34]

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Counsellor	tayito	tayilito
Flame	meªcheªlíya	meªcheªliliya
Work	tácâto	taqueleªto
My enemy	zitchoʻn	zitchoʻneªl
Brother	citol	citolanél
Grass	ca*tz	ca*tza°nél
Man	tama	tamaten
Mouse	eªzzqui*lmog	eªzzqui*lmoco*ten
Oven	aloconíya	alocotiníya
Prison	queª luczúgne	queªluezúgtine
Fat	cu*pinit	cupinitleg
Woman	lixii	litzzin
Bone	ejacô	ejaclíto

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[34] 'Quod quanquam hoc idioma ineloquens videatur et inelegans, in rei veritate non est ita: est valde copiosum, oblongum, abundans et eloquens.' *Arroyo de la Cuesta*, *Alphabs Rivulus Obeundus*, preface, also, *Arroyo de la Cuesta*, *Mutsun Grammar*. On the cover of the manuscript is the following important note. 'Copia de la lengua Mutsun en estilo Catalan á causa la escribió un Catalan. La Castellana usa de la fuerza de la pronunciacion de letras de otro modo en su alfabeto.' The Catalans pronounce *ch* hard, and *j* like the Germans.

[35] *Comelias*, in *Cal. Farmer*, April 5, 1860.

[36] *Taylor*, in *Id.*, April 27, 1860.

Cases do not appear to exist, the relations of the nouns being expressed by particles. Adjectives do not vary to show gender or degree. Personal pronouns are usually copulative and included in the verb, whether subjective or objective. Of the use of the possessive pronoun the following examples will give the clearest idea: Brother, *citolo*; my brother, *cítol*; thy brother, *e^{a}tsmitol*; brothers, *citolanélo*; my brothers, *citolanél*; thy brothers, *e^{a}tsmitolanel*; mother, *epjo*; thy mother, *petsmipeg*; house, *ch^{v}iconou*; my house, *ch^{v}ícono^{v}*; thy house, *zimch^{v}icono*; blood, *akata*; my blood, *ekata*; thy blood, *cimekata*; father, *ecco*; my father, *tili*; thy father, *cimic*; our father, *tatilli*; work, *tácâto*; my work, *tácât*; thy work, *cimtácât*; our work, *zatácât*; your work, *zugtácât*; mine, *zeé*; thine, *e^{a}tsme^{a}mée*; this, *na*; that, *pe^{a}*.

Verbs have also a plural form. *Ca*lom*, to teach; *ca^{*o}lilom*, to teach much, or, to teach many.

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
To desire	quia°lep	quia°lilep
To drink	cácheme	cáchetem
To run	quenole	quenolteo
To say	maláco	maloltaco
To walk	qui*tipa^{v}	qui*lipa$_{v}$

VERB AND PRONOUN.

I teach,	'eca° *lom	Give me,	me^{a}ya°c
He teaches me,	quepa^{v}alác	Give us,	maítiltac
Speak thou to me,	pssia°c	He gives us,	pe^{a}ya^{v}c
Speak you to me,	pssitác	He gives us,	paitiltac
To give,	peyaco, pe^{a}íco		
I love thee,	'epe^{a}pa°maqueca		
Thou lovest thyself,	mimo e^{a}tsme^{a}pa^{v}mapque*co		

The following are prepositions: by, *zo*; in *ne^{a}pe^{a}*; to *zui*, *zuiyo*, *zo*; from, *ze^{a}pe^{a}*; on, *zui*; within, *zine^{a}pa^{v}*. A few examples of adverbs are—here, *zopa$_{v}$*; there, *ne^{a}pé*; to-day, *taha*; to-morrow, *tixjáy*; yesterday, *notcieyo*.

LORD'S PRAYER.

Za tili, mo quixco ne^{a}pe^{a} limaatnil. An zucueteyem
Our father, thou art in heaven. Hallowed

na etsmatz: antsiejtsitia na ejtmilina. An citaha
the thy name: come the thy kingdom. Be done

natsmalog zui lac* quicha ne^{a}p^{a}e lima. Ma^{i}tiltac taha
thy will on earth as in heaven. Give us to-day

zizalamaget zizucanatel ziczia. Za manimtiltac na
our food our daily. Forgive us the

zanayl, quicha na kac apaninitílico na zananaol. Zi
Debts, as the we forgive them the our debt.

quetza commanatatelnec za alimeta zo na ziuxnia.
Let not us fall into the temptation.

Za no quissili jom zig zumtaylitee. Amen.[37]
Us from evil defend.

Another distinct language is found at and near the Mission of San Miguel, but of it nothing but a short vocabulary taken by Mr Hale is known. The language spoken at San Gabriel and at San Fernando Rey, called Kizh, and the Netela used at San Juan Capistrano, I shall not describe here, but include them with the Shoshone family, to which they are related. The Chemehuevi and Cahuillo I also place among the Shoshone dialects, while the Diegeño and Comeya will be included in the Yuma family. It therefore only remains for me to speak of the languages of the islands near the coast of California. Of these, the principal, or mother language, was spoken on the island of Santa Cruz. The different tribes inhabiting the various islands all spoke dialects of one language, which was somewhat guttural. I insert a short vocabulary of the Santa Cruz Island language with that of the Mission of San Miguel.

	SAN MIGUEL.	SANTA CRUZ ISLAND.
Man	loaf, or loguai	alamuũn
Woman	tlené	hemutch
Father	tata	ceske
Mother	apai	osloe
Head	tobuko	pispulaoah
Hair	teasakho	toffooll
Ears	tentkhito	pasthoo
Eyes	trugento	tisplesoose
Mouth	treliko	pasaotch
One	tohi	ismala
Two	kogsu	ischum
Three	tlobahi	maseghe
Four	kesa	scumoo

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[37] *Sitjar*, *Vocabulario de la M. de San Antonio*. The orthography employed by Father Sitjar is very curious; accents, stars, small letters above or below the line, and various other marks are constantly used; but no explanation of these have been found in the MS. I have therefore, as far as posible, presented the original style of writing. See also *Mofras*, *Explor.*, tom. ii., pp. 392–3.

	SAN MIGUEL.	SANTA CRUZ ISLAND.
Five	oldrato	sietisma
Six	paiate	sietischum
Seven	tepa	sietmasshugh
Eight	sratel	malawah
Nine	teditrup	spah
Ten	trupa	kascum [38]

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[38] *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., pp. 633–4; *Taylor*, in *Cal. Farmer*, May 4, 1860.

CHAPTER V.

SHOSHONE LANGUAGES.

Aztec-Sonora Connections with the Shoshone Family—The Utah, Comanche, Moqui, Kizh, Netela, Kechi, Cahuillo, and Chemehuevi—Eastern and Western Shoshone, or Wihinasht—The Bannack and Digger, or Shoshokee—The Utah and its Dialects—The Goshute, Washoe, Paiulee, Piute, Sampitche, and Mono—Popular Belief as to the Aztec Element in the North—Grimm's Law—Shoshone, Comanche, and Moqui Comparative Table—Netela Stanza—Kizh Grammar The Lord's Prayer in two Dialects of the Kizh—Chemehuevi and Cahuillo Grammar—Comparative Vocabulary.

In this chapter I include all the languages of the Shoshone family, the Wihinasht or western Shoshone of Idaho and Oregon, the Utah with its many dialects, the Comanche or Yetan of Texas and New Mexico, the Moqui of Arizona, the Kizh, Netela, and Kechi of the San Fernando Mission, and their dialects, and the Cahuillo and Chemehuevi of south-eastern California. The six last mentioned do not properly belong to the Shoshone family, but on account of certain faint traces of Aztec, found alike in them and in all Shoshone idioms, I cannot do better than to speak of them in this connection. As regards this Aztec element, I do not mean to say that these languages are related to the Aztec language, in the same sense that other languages are spoken of as being related to each other, for this might lead those who are searching for the former habitation or fatherland of the Aztecs, to suppose that it has been found. This element consists simply in a number of words, identical or reasonably approximate to the like Aztec words, and in the similarity, perhaps, of a few grammatical rules. How this Aztec word-material crept into the languages of the Shoshones, whether by intercommunication, or Aztec colonization, we do not know. Nor do I wish to be understood as attempting to sustain the popular theory of an Aztec migration from the north; on the contrary, the evidence of language is all on the other side. Whether or not the Great Basin, or any part of the Northwest, was once occupied by the ancient Mexicans, it is certain that the Aztec language, as a base, is found nowhere north of central Mexico, so that these incidental or accidental word-analogies if they prove anything, indicate only a scattering from some primeval centre, other than the place where they are found, and tend to show that the language whose words are thus thinly sprinkled over so broad an area, could not have been the aboriginal stock language of the country.

The Shoshone and the Utah are the principal languages of the great interior basin; and these may be regarded as sisters of a common mother language, the Shoshone preponderating. Each has many dialects. The Shoshone language may be divided into eastern, or Shoshone proper, and western Shoshone, or Wihinasht. Of the former the Bannack, and the Digger, or Shoshokee, are the chief variations. The Utah dialects more numerous, are the Goshute, Washoe, Paiulee, Piute, Sampitche, Mono, and a few others, which latter vary so little from some one of the others, that it is unnecessary to trace them as separate dialects. The Comanche dialects I shall not attempt to classify.[1] No grammar has ever been written of any of these languages. In all of them words are generally accented on the first syllable, except when a possessive pronoun is prefixed. Words of more than four syllables, generally have a secondary accent on the fifth, as in *té-ith-tis-chi-hó-no*, valley.[2] A few words in these languages are found almost identical with like words of the Tinneh family, which have probably found their way into ·them by intercommuni-

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[1] 'The *Shoshóni* and *Pánasht* (Bonnaks) of the Columbia, the *Yutes* and *Sampitches* ...the *Commanches* of Texas, and some other tribes along the northern frontier of Mexico, are said to speak dialects of a common language.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., pp. 218–9. 'The great Shoshonee, or Snake, family: which comprehends the Shoshones proper ....the Utahs....Pah-Utahs... the Kizh....the Netela....the Kechi.... the Comanches.' *Turner*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. iii., p. 76. '*Shoshónies* ou *Serpents* et de *Soshocos* ou *Déterreurs de racines*.....parlent la même

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langue.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 126. 'The Shoshone language is spoken mostly by all the bands of Indians in southeastern Nevada.' *Parker*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1866, p. 114. 'Their language (Shoshones) is very different from that of either the Bannocks, or Pi-Utes.' *Campbell*, in *Id.*, p. 120. Goshautes speak the same language as Shoshones. *Forney*, in *Id.*, 1859, p. 363. 'The language is spoken by bands in the gold mine region of the Sacramento.' *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. i., p. 198. 'Paiuches speak the same language as the Yutas.' *Farnham's Life in Cal.*, pp. 371, 375. '*Pi-Edes*, allied in language to the Utahs.' *Cooley*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1865, p. 18. Goships, or Gosha Utes 'talk very nearly the Shoshonee language.' *Irish*, in *Id.*, p. 144. Shoshones and Comanches 'both speak the same language.' Sampiches. 'Their language is said to be allied to that of the Snakes.' Youtas. 'Their language is by some thought to be peculiar.' *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 501. 'Pueblan todas las partes de esta sierra por el sueste, sur sudoeste y oeste, gran número de gentes de la misma nacion, idioma etc.,' which they call Timpanogotzis. *Domingues and Escalante*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii., tom. i., p. 467. 'The language spoken by the Comanches is of great antiquity, and differs but little from that of the Incas of Peru.' *Maillard's Hist. Tex.*, p. 249; *Buschmann, Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, pp. 349, 351. 'Yam-pah. 'This is what the Snakes call the Comanches, of which they are either the parents or descendants, for the two languages are nearly the same, and they readily understand each other, and say that they were once one people.' 'The Snake language is talked and understood by all the tribes from the Rocky mountains to California, and from the Colorado to the Columbia, and by a few in many tribes outside of these limits.' *Stuart's Montana*, pp. 58, 82. 'The different bands of the Comanches and Shoshonies or Snakes, constitute another extensive stock, speaking one language.' *Gregg's Com. Prairies*, vol. ii., p. 251. 'The vernacular language of the Yutas is said to be distantly allied to that of the Navajoes, but it has appeared to me much more guttural, having a deep sepulchral sound resembling ventriloquism.' *Id.*, vol. i., p. 300. 'The Utahs, who speak the same language as the Kyaways.' *Conder's Mex. Guat.*, vol. ii., p. 74; *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 197. The Goshutes are of different language from the Shoshones. *Douglas*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1870, p. 96. Diggers, 'differ from the other Snakes somewhat in language.' *Wyeth*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. i., p. 206; *Berghaus*, in *Buschmann, Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, p. 371. The Kusi-Utahs, 'in speaking they clipped their words....we recognized the sounds of the language of the Shoshonès.' *Remy and Brenchley's Journey*, vol. ii., p. 412; *Thümmel, Mexiko*, p. 359; *Catlin's N. Amer. Ind.*, vol. ii.. p. 113. 'Their native language (Comanches), in sound differs from the language of any other nation, and no one can easily learn to speak it. They have also a language of signs, by which they converse among themselves.' *French's Hist. La.*, (N. Y. 1869), p. 156. 'The primitive terms of the Comanches are short, and several are combined for the expression of complex ideas. The language is very barren of verbs, the functions of which are frequently performed by the aid of gestures and grimaces.' *Kennedy's Texas*, vol. i., p. 348.

[2] *Turner*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. iii., p. 77.

cation. Of these the following are the principal ones, so far as designated by existing vocabularies.

Fire: Comanche, *ku-ona*; Shoshone, *kuna*; Chepewyan, *counn*, *kon*, *kone*; Utah, *coon*. Bow: Comanche, *eth*; Shoshone, *atschö*; Wihinasht, *ati*; Chepewyan, *atheike*. Cold: Comanche, *etscho*; Shoshone, *ötschoin*; Wihinasht, *izíts*; Chepewyan, *edzah*. Eye: Comanche, *nachich*; Chepewyan, *nackhay*.[3]

In the Wihinasht, words occur sometimes in which an unusual number of vowels are combined,—*paöaíu*, great; long words are also not infrequent, like *pimatiyimwaiákin*, salt.[4] A short comparative vocabulary to show the connection between these languages, is given further on.

Let us now consider the often discussed but ill understood question of the Aztec language in the north. Torquemada and Vetancurt narrate the expedition of Juan de Oñate, who invaded New Mexico during the last years of the sixteenth century. Father Roque de Figueredo, who accompanied the expedition, says that while searching for a lost mule, at the Rio del Tizon, the Mexican muleteers met certain natives who addressed them in their own language, and who, on being asked whence they came, answered that they came from the north, where that language was spoken. Clavigero, who repeats the above, also asserts, that during the expedition made by the Spaniards, in 1606, to New Mexico, when north of the Rio del Tizon, they saw some large houses, and near them certain natives who spoke the Mexican language. Then we have the statement of Father Gerónimo de Zárate, that while searching for the Laguna de Copala, he was informed, among other things, that the country in its vicinity was densely peopled by men who spoke a language similar to that of his Aztec servants. Zárate was at this time at the Rio del Tizon, and the natives, who are close observers in such matters, assured the Spaniards that they detected in the speech of the servant certain words common to both his own and the language of the people of the Laguna de Copala. And again, in the region toward the east, Acosta says that "of late they have discovered a new land, which they call New Mexico, where they say is much people that speake the Mexican tongue."

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[3] *Buschmann, Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, pp. 402–3.

[4] *Id.*, p. 645, et seq.

Vater, in his Mithridates, intimates that the Mexican language spread far northward, through the roamings of wild tribes, particularly the Chichimecs; but when we remember that the term Chichimec was applied by the early Spaniards to all the immense unknown nomadic hordes north and west, this mention carries with it but little weight. Mr Anderson, who accompanied Captain Cook to the north-west coast, in 1778, fancied he detected a resemblance between the Aztec and the language of the Nootkas. "From the few Mexican words," he says, "I have been able to procure, there is the most obvious agreement, in the very frequent terminations of the vowels in *l*, *tl*, or *z*, throughout the language." And remarks the editor, "may we not, in confirmation of Mr. Anderson's remark, observe, that Opulszthl, the Nootka name of the Sun; and Vitziputzli, the name of the Mexican Divinity, have no very distant affinity in sound." Now the absurdity of all idle speculations is apparent when we encounter such far-fetched comparisons as this. In the first place, there is no affinity in the sounds of the two words, and in the next place there is no such Aztec god,—Huitzilopochtli probably being the god meant. Neither has this last word any resemblance to the sun; it is composed of the two words, *huitzilin*, an abbreviation of the Mexican *huitzitzilin*, which signifies 'humming-bird,' and of *opochtli*, that is to say 'left.' Vater also draws analogies between the Aztec and the Nootka, and Ugalenze, which on close comparison do not hold good.

Regarding the affinity of the Aztec language with those of the Pueblos, Moquis, Apaches, Yumas, and others of New Mexico and Arizona, Ruxton ventures the assertion, "all these speak dialects of the same language.... They likewise all understand each other's tongue. What relation this language bears to the Mexican is unknown; but my impression is, that it will be found to assimilate greatly, if not to be identical,"—in all of which assertions Mr Ruxton is greatly in error.

All this, as evidence, does not amount to much; it only indicates the origin of a popular belief which placed a Mexican language in various parts of the north, while at the same time it shows upon how slender a thread hangs this belief, and how the vaguest traditionary rumors come, by repetition, to be accredited as fixed facts.

Buschmann asks himself the question whether the Aztec words, in any considerable number, are not found in any other languages of the great Mexican empire,—in the Zapotec, Miztec, Tarasco, Otomí, or Huastec,—and the answer is no; he has discovered a few accidental word-similarities, such as may be found between the Aztec and other American languages, or between any two languages of the world, but nothing which, by any possibility, could denote relationship.

From another class of evidence we approach a little nearer the truth. Andres Perez de Ribas, missionary to Sinaloa writing about 1640, says, that while studying the language of his people, he noticed many Mexican words particularly radicals, and also words which appeared to have been originally Mexican, but which had been so altered that only one or two syllables in them could be recognized as Aztec.

Father Ortega, in 1732, wrote a vocabulary of the Cora language, in which he says, the people had incorporated in their language many words of the Mexican and some few of the Spanish languages, and this at a period so early that at the time of his writing they were regarded as belonging to the original language.

Hervas, whose work appeared in 1787, says that the Tarahumara language is full of Mexican words. Vater, writing early in the nineteenth century, affirms that the Cora is remarkable for its relation to the Mexican, and that the Tarahumara, which is a more polished language than its neighbors, contains some words similar to the Aztec. In his Mithridates, Vater notices a relationship between the Cora and the Aztec, furthermore asserting that the conjugations of the two are so alike as plainly to prove the connection.

Wilhelm von Humboldt left us a short manuscript grammar of the Cora and Tarahumara, in which he remarks that for languages which are related, the Cora and the Mexican have great differences in their sound-systems, and although these two languages certainly appear to be related, yet he is unwilling to assert that either is derived from the other. "There are more ways than one," says the great philologist Wilhelm von Humboldt, "by which languages are connected. The impression left upon me by the Cora, is that it is a mixture of two different languages: one the Mexican, and the other some older and richer language, but rougher. In the grammar of the Cora there are found very many forms which strikingly call to mind the Mexican, yet at the same time there are many forms wholly different, made by rules directly opposite, among which are the pronouns." He further remarks two other important differences between the Cora and the Mexican which are the absence of the reduplication of syllables and of the reverential forms.

Such was the attitude of the subject when Mr Buschmann took it up. From the prevailing impression of an Aztec origin in the north, but more particularly from certain remarks of Alexander von Humboldt concerning the probable passing of the ancient Mexicans through the regions of the north, he set himself to work to find this line of migration, and the exact relations of their their language in various parts. Commencing at the Valley of Mexico he made a careful analysis of every western language north of that place of which he could obtain any material. The result of Mr Buschmann's researches was the discovery of Aztec traces in certain parts, but nowhere did he find the Aztec language as a base.

More particularly were these Aztec words and word-analogies perceptible in four certain languages of northwestern Mexico; in the Cora, spoken in the Nayarit district of Jalisco, commencing about fifteen leagues from the coast at the mouth of the Rio Tololotlan, and extending between the parallels 21°30′ and 20° back irregularly into the interior about twenty leagues; in the Tepehuana of northern Sinaloa, northern Durango, and southern Chihuahua, or as laid down on the map of Orozco y Berra, commencing near the twenty-third parallel about twenty leagues from the eastern shore of the Gulf of California, and extending over a horse-shoe shaped territory to about the twenty-seventh parallel; in the Tarahumara spoken immediately north of the Tepehuana in the states of Chihuahua and Sonora, in the centre of the Sierra Madre; and lastly in the Cahita spoken by the people inhabiting the eastern shore of the Gulf of California, between latitude 26° and 28° north, and extending back from the coast irregularly about forty leagues, being almost directly west of the Tarahumara, though not exactly contiguous. The name Cahita is applied by the missionaries only to the language, and not to the people speaking it. In the license prefixed to the *Manual para administrar à los Indios del idioma Cahita los santos sacramentos compuesto por un Sacerdote de la Compañia de Jesus*, printed in Mexico in 1740, it is called the common language of the missions of the province of Sinaloa, spoken by the Yaquis and the Mayos, the latter extending far into southern Sonora. In a vocabulary of the Cahita given by Ternaux-Compans, in the *Nouvelles Annales*, there are likewise found many Aztec words. Neither of these languages are related to the others, yet in all of them is a sprinkling of Aztec word-material. The Aztec substantive ending *tl* and *tli*, in the Cora are found changed in *ti*, *te*, and *t*; in the Tepehuana into *de*, *re*, and *sci*; in the Tarahumara into *ki*, *ke*, *ca*, and *la*; and in the Cahita, into *ri*. In all four of the languages substantive endings are dropped, first, in composition when the substantive is united with the possessive pronoun; secondly, before an affix; thirdly, in the Cora alone, before the ending of the plural; and before affixes in the formation of words. They are not dropped in verbs derived from substantives; and when two substantives are combined to form a word the Aztec terminal is dropped in the first, and also in the combination of a substantive and verb.

In the Cora, the ending *tyahta* has the same meaning as the Aztec local ending *tla*, or *tlan*, which signifies the locality of a thing; as, *acotn*, a fir-tree; (Aztec, *ocotl*) *ocotyahta*, a fir-forest; (Aztec, *ocotlan*). Another striking similarity between these four languages and the Aztec, consists in the use of a postfix in the formation of substantives of locality and names of places. Then come the numerals, in which are found similarities in all their formations. The Aztec verb *ca*, to be, and even its irregular branch, *catqui*, is found disseminated throughout all these languages. In the Tarahumara dictionary of Steffel, and in the Cora dictionary of Ortega, Buschmann found the Aztec element even stronger than he had supposed, and he wondered how Gallatin, who had Tellechea's grammar, could have allowed these similarities to escape his observations.

Of these four languages Buschmann makes what he calls his Sonora family; which term is somewhat a misnomer as applied to languages not related, and spoken more without than within the province of Sonora. Their only bond of union is this Aztec element, which may have found its way into them at different times and under different circumstances. The most peculiar feature of it all, is the departure which is made by these Aztec-Sonora languages, as from an original centre, and their several appearance, each stamped alike with Aztec marks while at the same time sustaining its own individuality, in different parts of the great northern regions. It is as though a handful of Aztec words had been thrown, at intervals, into the languages of each of these four peoples, and, after partial amalgamations of these foreign words with those of the aboriginal tongues, by some means the words so modified had found their way in greater or less quantities into the languages of other and remote tribes. It is at such times, when we obtain a glance from a distance at their shadowy history, that there arise in the mind visions of their illimitable unwritten past, and of the mighty turmoils and revolutions which must forever remain as they are, shrouded in the deepest mystery.

In these four Aztec-Sonora languages there are nearly two hundred Aztec words, and the words derived from them by the respective native idioms into which they were projected, swell the list to four times that number; and these, with other pure Aztec words in every stage of mutilation and transformation are found re-scattered throughout the before-mentioned Pueblo, Shoshone, and other languages of the north. But again, let me say, nowhere does the Aztec, or any of its affiliations appear as a base north of central Mexico.[5]

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[5] 'Que en casi todas ellas (que son muchas y varias) se hallan vocablos, principalmente los que llaman radicales, que o son de la lengua Mexicana, ò se deriuan della, y retienen muchas de sus silabas, de que pudiera hazer aqui vn muy largo catalago. De todo lo qual se infieren dos cosas. La primera que casi todas estas Naciones comunicaron en puestos y lenguas con la Mexicana: y aunque los Artes y Gramaticas dellas son diferentes; pero en muchos de sus preceptos concuerdan.' *Ribas*, *Hist. de los Trivmphos*, p. 20. 'Pintaron esta laguna en tierra y muy poblada de gentes, y oyendo hablar á un indio, criado de un soldado, en el idioma mexicano, preguntaron si era de Copala, porque así hablaban los de alla.. que distaba de allí diez jornadas pobladas.' *Zarate*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iii., tom. iv., p. 83. 'El Padre Fr. Roque d Figueredo haze del viage que hizo con D. Iuan de Oñate 500 leguas al Norte hallaremos que dice, que aviendoseles perdido vnas bestias, buscandolas el rio de Tizon arriba encontraron los mosos vn Indio que les hablò en lengua mexicana que preguntado de donde era, dixo ser del Reyno adentro.... que està en las Provincias del Norte donde se habla en esta lengua Mexicana cuyo es vocablo.' *Vetancurt*, *Teatro Mex.*, pt ii., p. 11. 'In un viaggio, che fecero gli Spagnuoli l'anno 1606. dal Nuovo Messico fino al fiume, che eglino appellarono *del Tizon*, seicento miglia da quella Provincia verso Maestro, vi trovarono alcuni grandi edificj, e s'abbatterono in alcuni Indiani, che parlavano la lingua messicana.' *Clavigero*, *Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom., iv., p. 29. Tarahumara 'la cui lingua abbonda di parole Messicane.' *Hervas*, *Saggio Pratico delle Lingue*, p. 71. 'Die Sprache (Cora) ist auch wegen ihres Verhältnisses zur Mexicanischen merkwürdig.' 'Die Sprache (Tarahumara) welche eine gewisse Ausbildung zeigt, hat manche dem Mexicanischen ähnliche Wörter,' *Vater*,

Taking into consideration that some Aztec and Shoshone words are almost identical, and that the endings of others are almost exactly alike, it is not surprising if the acute ear of the natives detected phonetic resemblances. The connection between these languages may not be in one respect as positive as that between the languages which compose the great Aryan family on the Asiatic and European continents, but, on the other hand, it presents a somewhat analogous system, by means of which it becomes possible to establish a connection. I allude to Mr Grimm's discovery of what has been termed '*Lautverschiebung*,' or '*Lautveränderung*,' anglicé 'Sound-shunting.'[6]

This phenomenon consists of the changing, or shunting, of certain vowels or consonants in the words of one language, into certain other vowels and consonants in the same words of another language; and this not accidentally, but in accordance with fixed rules. Sound-shunting, originally discovered by Mr Grimm in the Aryan tongues, has also been found by Mr Buschmann in the languages of his Sonora family, where it is more particularly prominent in the word-endings. In a subsequent place I shall have occasion to refer again to this point, and particularly when speaking of the North Mexican languages, the Tarahumara, Tepehuana, Cora, and Cahita, where it can be clearly shown by comparison with the Aztec, that such shunting, or changing, has taken place. In the languages at present under consideration, the Shoshone, Utah, and Comanche, we have this shunting system illustrated in the substantives and adjective endings *p*, *pa*, *pe*, *pi*, *be*, *wa*, *ph*, *pee*, *rp*, and *rpe*; and more particularly in the Utah and Shoshone *ts*, *tse*, *tsi*, all of which may be referred to the Aztec endings *tl*, *tli*, and others. In the last-mentioned case the endings have been preserved in a purer form, while in the former

Litteratur der Grammatiken, Lexica und Wörter-Sammlungen aller Sprachen der Erde, pp. 52, 231; *Cook's Voy. to Pac.*, vol. ii., p. 336; *Ruxton's Adven. Mex.*, p. 194.

[6] Max Müller simply names it 'Grimm's Law.' *Science of Language*, series ii., p. 213, et seq.

the shunting or changing law is observed. As illustrating the connection between the languages under consideration and those before mentioned of Sonora and through them with the Aztec, I append on the next page a short vocabulary in which the similarities can be easily observed.[7]

The Moqui, as before observed, does not properly belong to the Shoshone family, but shows a connection with the Aztec. It is strange that two permanently located peoples, the Moquis and the Pueblos, both living in well-built towns not far apart, and both showing signs of a budding civilization, should speak languages totally different from each other; that one of these languages should show a connection with the Aztec and the other not; that neither is related to the tongue of the Shoshones, who nearly surround them; and, furthermore, that in six of the seven Moqui towns only, the Moqui language is spoken, while in the seventh, Harno, the Tegua, a language of one of the New Mexican Pueblos is spoken. The people of Harno can converse with the Moquis of the six other towns, but among themselves they never make use of the Moqui, always speaking the Tegua.[8]

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[7] 'Indem ich die Urtheile wegen der comanchischen und schoschonischen Verwandschaft bestätige, erkläre ich die Yutah-Sprache für ein Glied des sonorischen Sprachstammes.' 'Noch ehe ich zur Wortvergleichung übergehe, kann ich die sonorische Natur der Sprache nach den beiden Elementen der aztekischen und sonorischen Gemeinschaft, und sogar ihre besondere Stellung zwischen der comanche-schoschonischen Ligue, durch blosse zwei, in ihr sich hervorthuende Substantiv-Endungen (ts und p) darlegen.' 'Die zwiefache Schoschonen Sprache und das Volk der Schoschonen sind das äusserste Glied meiner Entdeckungen: des grossen Bundes, durch ein mächtiges eignes Element zusammengehaltener Sprachen, von einem kleinen Erbtheil aztekischen Wortstoffes durchdrungen; welches ich, von Guadalaxara aus nordwärts suchend nach den Spuren des Azteken-Idioms und seines Volkes, angetroffen habe; sie bilden den Schlusstein meines sonorischen Baues.' *Bushmann*, *Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, pp. 349, 351, 648, 391, 652, et seq.; *Sivers*, *Mittelamerika*, pp. 291–2.

[8] 'They all speak the same language except Harno, the most northern town of the three, which has a language and some custom peculiar to itself.' *Marcy's Army Life*, p. 111. 'In six of the seven Moqui pueblos, the same language is said to be spoken....Those of San Juan....and one Moqui pueblo all speak the same language....Tay-waugh.' *Lane*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol., v., p. 689; *Ten Broeck*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iv., p. 87. 'The Moquis....do not all speak the same language. At Oraybe some of the Indians actually professed to be unable to understand what was said by the Mooshahneh chief, and the latter told me that the lan-

	SHOSHONE	WIHINASHT	UTAH	COMANCHE	MOQUI	AZTEC	TARAHU-MARA	TEPEHUANA	CAHITA	CORA
Foot....	nampa	kukí	namp	nahap	herkuck					
Eye	pui, umboi	pui	puttyshoe	puile	pose	yxtelolotli	pusiki	buy	pusi	
Water ..	pa	pa	pah	pa		atl	bagui, pau-[guiki		baa	
Arm ...	puiró	putá	pooir	pur (e)	mahat					
Dog	schari		sahreets	zari	poku	chichi				
Tongue.	aku	ego	ahoh	ehk	linga	nenetl				
Wife ...	wepee					tenamic	ıpi		hubi	
Winter	tumu	tomó		tohane				gu tomojo		
Egg	nupáhw or nanki	anohó		uno io		nitla, tlemina		nono		
Ear...	nongkawa or masoaki	inaka	nink	nahkarke	nookawuck	nacaztli	ıachcala	naxa	naca	naxaihti
Hand...	mashitu	imai	masseer	mashpa	mocktay	maitl			mama	moamati
Teeth...	tangwa	tama	tong	tahnee	tahmah	tlantli	amela	tatamo	tami	tameti
One .	chemiti or shímutsi	singwáiu		semmus		ce, cen, cem		senn	semi	ce
Ten	paimanusch	síngwaloyu		matoécut		matlactli				
Lip.....	timpa	tupa	timp	tupe		tentli	chumi	tuní	teni	tenniti
Sun	taba	tava	tap	tabih	tahwah				taa	
House ..	uinkán	noðí		kanuke		calli			cari	
Stone...	tímpi	tipí		terp		tetl				
Moon...	mungá	muschhá	mahtots	mushe	mooyah	metztli	mecha	massade	mecha	
Head...	pampi	pompi	tuts	páaph	quatah	quaitl				
Nose ..	mui	moði	mahvetah	moopee	yakuck	yacatl	jachcala	daca	ieca	
God....					tockill	teotl				

No grammar has been written of the Moqui language, and a few vocabularies are all we possess of it. Gov. Lane, speaking of the Pueblo languages collectively, writes: "All these languages are extremely guttural, and, to my ear, seemed so much alike, that I imagine they have sprung from the same parent stock."[9]

Some claim a relationship between the Moquis and the Apaches and others, but no such connection has ever been established.[10] The only positive statement in this regard is made by Buschmann, who, by actual comparison of vocabularies, has determined its status.[11] Among

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guage of the two towns was different. At Tegua they say that a third distinct tongue is spoken....The people....have abandoned the habit of visiting each other till the languages, which, with all Indian tribes, are subject to great mutations, have gradually become dissimilar.' *Ives' Colorado Riv.*, p. 127. 'Wie ich erfuhr, sollen die Moquis nicht alle eine und dieselbe Sprache haben, und die Bewohner einiger Städte nicht nur fremde Dialekte, sondern sogar fremde Sprachen reden.' *Möllhausen, Reisen*, tom. ii., p. 239. Davis, referring to a MS. by Cruzate, a former Governor of New Mexico, maintains that the Moqui speak the Queres language, but at the same time he says 'it is maintained by some that .. four of the Moqui villages speak a dialect very nearly the same as that of the Navajos, while a fifth speaks that of San Juan, which is Tegua....The distance from Picoris to the Moqui villages is about four hundred miles ...yet these widely separated pueblos speak....the same language.' *El Gringo*, pp. 116–7, 155. Comparisons of the vocabularies in Simpson, Davis, and Meline prove the Moqui to be a distinct language. *Ward*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1864; p. 191.

[9] *Lane*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 689.

[10] 'The language of the Môquis, or the Môquinos, is said to differ but little from that of the Navajos.' *Hughes' Doniphan's Ex.*, p. 197. Speaking of all the Pueblo languages, including the Moqui: 'All these speak dialects of the same language, more or less approximating to the Apache, and of all of which the idiomatic structure is the same. They likewise all understand each other's tongue. What relation this language bears to the Mexican is unknown, but my impression is that it will be found to assimilate greatly, if not to be identical.' *Ruxton's Adven. Mex.*, p. 194; *Gregg's Com. Prairies*, vol. i., p. 269.

[11] 'No analogy has yet been traced between the language of the old Mexicans and any tribe at the north in the district from which they are supposed to have come.' *Bartlett's Pers. Nar.*, vol. ii., p. 283. 'Reste der Mexikanischen Sprache fanden dagegen in den Sprachen dieser Völker die im Mexikanischen sehr geübten Missionäre nicht, sondern die Sprache von Moqui, und die der *Yabipais*, welche lange Bärte tragen, wesentlich unterschieden von dem Mexikanischen.' *Vater, Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., p. 182. 'Cependant la langue que parlent les Indiens du Moqui, les Yabipais, qui portent de longue barbes, et ceux qui habitent les plaines voisines du Rio Colorado, diffère essentiellement de la langue mexicaine.' *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, tom. i., p. 305. 'Doch reden die Moquis....Sprachen ganz verschieden vom Aztekischen.' *Mühlenpfordt, Mejico*, tom. ii., pt ii., p. 539. 'Die Moqui-Sprache ist doch der mexikanischen befreundet! sie ist—dies ist meine Erfindung—ein Zweig des Idioms, welches dem Suchenden als ein Phantom statt des leibhaften *nahuatl* als sein Schattenbild, in dem alten Norden überall entgegentritt: ein Gebilde der sonorischen Zunge, bei welchem Namen ein kleines aztekisches Erbtheil sich von selbst versteht. ..Ich erkläre die Moqui-

other connecting links he particularly mentions the substantive endings *pe*, *be*, and others, by means of which, he says, the Moqui attaches itself to the Shoshone-Comanche branch of the Sonora idioms. The comparative vocabulary before given will further illustrate their affiliation.[12]

Returning to southern California, let us examine the three languages, Kizh, Netela, and Kechi, spoken near the missions of San Gabriel, San Juan Capistrano, and San Luis Rey, respectively, which are not only distantly related to each other, but show traces of the Sonora-Aztec idioms. Father Boscana, who has left us an accurate description of the natives at San Juan Capistrano, unfortunately devoted little attention to their language, and only gives us a few scattered words and stanzas. One of the latter reads as follows:

Quic noit noivam
Quic secat peleblich
Ybicnum majaar vesagnec
Ibi panal, ibi urusar,
Ibi ecbal, ibi seja, ibi calcel.

Which may be rendered thus:

I go to my home
That is shaded with willows.
These five they have placed,
This agave, this stone pot,
This sand, this honey, etc.[13]

But very little is known of the grammatical structure of these languages. In the Kizh, the plural is formed in various ways, as may be seen in the following examples:

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Man	woroit	wororoit
House	kitsh	kikitsh
Mountain	haikh	hahaikh

Sprache für ein Glied meines Sonorischen Sprachstammes. Schon die auffallend vielen, manchmal in vorzüglich reiner Form erscheinenden, aztekischen Wörter bezeichnen die Sprache als eine sonorische; es kommt das zweite Kennzeichen hinzu: der Besitz gewisser ächt sonorischer Wörter. In einem grossen Theile erscheint die Sprache aber überaus fremdartig: um so mehr als sie auch von den 5 Pueblo-Sprachen, wie schon Simpson bemerkt hat, gänzlich verschieden ist....Die Spuren der Subst. Endung *pe*, *be* u.ä. weisen der Moqui-Sprache ihren Platz unter der comanche-shoshonischen Familie des Sonora Idioms an. Dieses allgemeine Urtheil über die Sprache ist sicher.' *Buschmann*, *Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, pp. 289–90.

[12] *Simpson's Jour. Mil. Recon.*, pp. 128–30; *Davis' El Gringo*, pp. 157–9.

[13] *Boscana*, in *Robinson's Life in Cal.*, p. 282.

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Wolf	ishot	ishishot
Good	tihorwait	tiriwait
Small	tahinui	tahitshínui
Black	yupikha	yupinot
Woman	tokor	totokor
Bow	paítkhuar	papaítkhuar
Bad	mohai	momohai
White	arawatai	rawanot
Red	kwauokha	kwaukhonot

DECLENSION WITH PRONOUN.

My father	ninak	Our father	ayoinak
Thy father	monak	Your father	asoinak
His father	anak		
My house	nikin	Our house	eyoknga
Thy house	mukin	Your house	asoknga
His house	akinga	Their house	pomoknga

Of the Netela there are also the following few specimens of plural formation and pronouns;—*suol*, star; *sulum*, stars; *nopulum*, my eyes; *nanakom*, my ears; *nikíwalom*, my cheeks; *natakalom*, my hand; *netémelum*, my knees.

DECLENSION WITH PRONOUN.

My house	niki	Our house	tshomki
Thy house	om aki	Your house	omomomki
His house	poki	Their house	omp omki
My boat	nokh	Our boat	tshomikh
Thy boat	om omikh	Your boat	omom omikh
His boat	ompomikh	Their boat	ompomikh [14]

The Kizh appears also to have been spoken, in a slightly divergent dialect, at the Mission of San Fernando, as may be easily seen by comparing the following two versions of the Lord's Prayer; the first in the language of San Fernando, and the latter in that spoken at San Gabriel.

Y yorac yona taray tucúpuma sagoucó motoanian majarmi moin main monó muismi miojor yiactucupar. Pan yyogin gimiamerin majarmi mifema coyó ogorná yio mamainay mii, yiarmá ogonug y yoná, y yo ocaynen coijarmea main ytomo mojay coiyamá huermí. Parima.

Yyonac y yogin tucupugnaisá sujucoy motuanían masarmí magin tucupra maimanó muísme mílléosar y ya tucupar jiman bxí y yoní masaxmí mítema coy aboxmi y yo mamaínatar momojaích milli y yaxma abonac y yo no y yo ocaihuc coy jaxmea main itan momosaích coy jama juexme huememesaích.

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[14] *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., pp. 566–7; *Buschmann, Kizh und Netela*, pp. 512–13.

In like manner do the Netela and Kechi show a close affinity. The Netela Lord's Prayer reads:

Chana ech tupana ave onench, otune a cuachin, chame om reino, libi yb chosonec esna tupána cham nechetepe, micate tom cha chaom, pepsum yg cai caychame, y i julugcalme cai ech. Depupnn opco chame chum oyote. Amen Jésus.

The Kechi is as follows:

Cham na cham mig tu panga auc onan moquiz cham to gai ha cua che nag omreina li vi hiche ca noc ybá heg gá y vi au qui gá topanga. Cham na cholane mim cha pan pituo mag ma jan pohi cala cai gui cha me holloto gai tom chame o gui chag cay ne che cal me tus so lli olo calme alla linoc chame cham cho sivo."[15]

Although Mr Turner classed these languages with the Shoshone family, in reality they only form such a tie through their Sonora and Aztec connection.[16] This is illustrated by Mr Buschmann in an extensive comparative vocabulary of the three languages, of which I shall give a brief extract on a subsequent page.[17]

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[15] *Mofras*, *Explor.*, tom. ii., pp. 393–4.

[16] 'Belong to the great Shoshonee, or Snake family.' *Turner*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. iii., p. 76. 'The similarity which exists between many words in these two languages, and in the Shoshoni, is evident enough from a comparison of the vocabularies. The resemblance is too great, to be attributed to mere casual intercourse, but it is doubtful whether the evidence which it affords will justify us in classing them together as branches of the same family.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 567. 'The natives of St. Diego cannot understand a word of the language used in this mission, and in like manner, those in the neighborhood of St. Barbara, and farther north.' *Boscana*, in *Robinson's Life in Cal.*, p. 240; *Gleeson's Hist. Cath. Church*, p. 97.

[17] 'Ich habe in dem Kizh....und in der Netela....zwei Glieder meines sonorischen Sprachstammes, ausgestattet mit Aztekischem Sprachstoff, entdeckt.' *Buschmann*, *Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, p. 546. 'Bei der, genugsam von mir aufgezeigten Gemeinschaft der zwei californischen Idiome, so lautet *mein Urtheil*, hofft man auch hier *vergebens* auf ein genaues, glückliches *Zutreffen* eigenthümlicher Formen dieser Sprachen mit dem Comanche und Schoschonischen oder mit den südlicheren sonorischen Hauptsprachen, ein Zusammentreffen mit etwas recht Besonderem Einer Sprache mit einer anderen: so nahe liegen die Sprachen sich nie, sie sind alle fremd genug gegen einander.' *Buschmann*, *Kizh und Netela*, p. 518.

The Chemehuevi and Cahuillo, the last two of this division, have also been classed as belonging to the Shoshone family, and some have even called them bands of Pah-Utes, but what has been said concerning the affiliation of the three last mentioned will apply to these with equal force. That they are distinct languages has already been stated by Padre Garcés, who describes them under the name of Chemegue cajuala, Chemegue sebita, Chemeguaba, and Chemegue, ascribing the same language to all of them in distinction from their neighbors. He includes with the Chemehuevi the Yavipai muca oraive or Moqui, who, although not speaking the same language, are still somewhat connected with them, through their Sonora and Aztec relations, which conjectures are singularly significant.[18] Grammatical remarks on these languages there are but few to offer. The accentuation is in neither very regular; in the Chemehuevi, it is generally on the second syllable, while in the Cahuillo it is mostly on the first.[19] I give here the personal pronouns of the two languages.

	CHEMEHUEVI.	CAHUILLO.
I	nuu	neh
Thou	háiíco	eh
He	einpá	peh
We		chémim
You		éhmim
They		íwim

To illustrate the Sonora and Aztec connection, I offer the following short comparative vocabulary.

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[18] *Garcés, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii., tom. i., p. 351. Orozco y Berra includes them as well as the Utahs and Moquis with the Apache family of languages, in support of which he cites Balbi, tableau xxxii. 'Die Chimehwhuebes, Comanches und Cahuillos, also Stämme, die zwischen den Küsten der Südsee und Texas verbreitet sind, als Nebenstämme der Nation der Schoschone oder Schlangen-Indianer betrachtet werden können.' *Möllhausen, Reisen in die Felsengeb.*, tom. i., pp. 435-6. 'The *Chemehuevis* are a band of *Pah-Utahs*...whose language ..agrees most nearly with Simpson's Utah, and Hale's East Shoshonee.' The Cahuillo 'exhibits the closest affinity to the Kechi and Netela, especially the former. Its affinity to the Kizh is equally evident.' *Turner*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. iii., p. 76. 'Die Chemehuevi- und Cahuillo-Sprache sind einander so fremd, dass sie beinahe für alle Begriffe ganz andere Wörter besitzen; ihre Verschiedenheit ist so gross, dass man aus ihnen allein nicht ahnden sollte, sie seien beide gleichmässig sonorische Glieder.' *Buschmann, Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, p. 554.

[19] *Turner*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. iii., p. 77.

	CHEMEHUEVI	CAHUILLO	KECHI	METELA	KIZH	AZTEC	CAHITA	TEPEHUANA	TARAHUMARA	CORA
Water....	pa	pal	pala	pala	bar	atl	baa			atih
Sun......	tabaputz	tamit	temet	temét	tamet		taa			
Day......	tuwaruwit	tamyit		temé	oronga					
Eye	puoui	napush	pusun-opush	nopulum	atshotshon		pusi	buy	pusiki	
Three ...	paii	mepa	pai	pahe	pahe	yei	bahi			
I.........	nuu	neh	no	no	noma	ne, ni				
House....	cani	kish	kicha	niki	kitsh	calli	cari	qui	caliki	
Arrow.. .	nu	hul	nohu	hul	nihun	mitl		vu, or u		
Father....	muo	nena	pehnah	nana	anak	tatli			nono	
Girl......	naiitsit	inismal		nawitmal						
Forehead .	cobanim	nepush				ixquaitl		coba	covara	
Five......	manu	momequadnun		mahar		macuilli	mammi			
Ear.......	nancaba	nanocka	nonak	nunakum	anana, najus	nacaztli	naca	naxa	nachcala	naxaihti
To die....		muqush				miqui			mucu	
Stone.....	timp	cow-wish		tot	tota	tetl	teta	jodde	teéke	teteti,
Black.....	shawagare	tuliksh		yaŏatkhnot	yupikha	tlilli	chuculi	tucu	tschocameke	muaizitl
Beard	mutza	nultaman		numus	aong, pehen					
Hill	caib	ow-so-ni, or tu-qnush		haikh	tule				cagui	
To kill....	pacai	meca		kakshitkhl		nomac miqui	ameya		mea	mea
Woman ..		mukeadi							muki	[20]

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[20] Compiled from Buschmann, Turner, Hale, Molina, Ortega, and others.

As regards the Sonora and Aztec relationship, we have here again the substantive endings *p*, *b*, *t*, in various forms, which, as before stated, may be compared with Aztec endings, changed according to certain linguistic laws. In the Cahuillo, as in the Kechi, prefixed possessive pronouns, before substantives representing parts of the human body, particularly that in the first person singular, *n*, are proof of the Sonora affiliation. In the same words, the Chemehuevi has the two pronouns *ni* and *wi*, which always carry with them the ending, *m*.[21]

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[21] *Buschmann, Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, pp. 553–4.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PUEBLO, COLORADO RIVER, AND LOWER CALIFORNIA LANGUAGES.

Traces of the Aztec not found among the Pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona—The Five Languages of the Pueblos, the Queres, the Tegua, the Picoris, Jemez, and Zuñi—Pueblo Comparative Vocabulary—The Yuma and its Dialects, the Maricopa, Cuchan, Mojave, Diegeño, Yampais, and Yavipais—The Cochimí, Guaicurí, and Pericú, with their Dialects of Lower California—Guaicuri Grammar—Pater Noster in Three Cochimí Dialects—The Languages of Lower California wholly Isolated.

Having already mentioned some of the principal idioms spoken in the southern part of the Great Basin, as parts of the trunks to which they belong, or with which they affiliate, I shall devote the present chapter to such languages of New Mexico and Arizona as cannot be brought into the Tinneh or Sonora stocks, and to those of Lower California. Beginning with the several tongues of the Pueblos, thence proceeding westward to the Colorado River, and following its course southward to the Gulf of California, I shall include the languages of the southern extremity of California, and finally those of the peninsula. These languages are none of them cognate with any spoken in Mexico. Respecting those of the Pueblos which have long been popularly regarded as allied to southern tongues, it is now very certain that they are in no wise related to them, if we except the Aztec word-material found in the Moqui. From analogous manners and customs, from ancient traditions and time-honored beliefs, many have claimed that these New Mexican towns-people are the remains of aboriginal Aztec civilization, attempting meanwhile to explain away the adverse testimony of language, by amalgamation of the ancient tongue with those of other nations, or by absorption or annihilation; all of which, so far as arriving at definite conclusions is concerned, amounts to nothing. Analogies may be drawn between any nations of the earth; human beings are not so unlike but that in every community much may be found that is common to other communities, irrespective of distance and race, especially when the comparison is drawn between two peoples both just emerging from savagism. The facts before us concerning the Pueblo languages are these: although all alike are well advanced from primeval savagism, live in similar substantial houses, and have many common customs, yet their languages, though distinct as a whole from those of the more savage surrounding tribes, do not agree with each other. It is difficult to prove that the Aztec, although now perhaps extinguished, never was the tongue of New Mexico; on the other hand, it is impossible to prove that it was, and surely theorists go far out of their way in attempting to establish a people in a land where no trace of their language exists, or exists only in such a phase as proves conclusively that it could not possibly have ever been the basis of the language now spoken.

Five distinct languages, with numerous dialects, more or less deviating, are spoken by the Pueblos. By the inhabitants of Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Silla, Laguna, Pojuate, Acoma, and Cochiti, the Queres language is spoken; in San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Pojuaque, Nambe, Tezuque, and also in Harno, one of the Moqui towns, the Tegua language prevails; in Taos, Picoris, Zandia, and Isleta, there is the Picoris language; in Jemez and Old Pecos, the Jemez; in Zuñi, the Zuñi language.[1] The three principal dialects of Queres are the Kiwomi, Cochitemi, and Acoma. Of these the first two are very similar, in some cases almost identical, while the Acoma is more distinct.[2] In the Queres the accent is almost invariably on the first syllable, and the words are in general rather short, although a few long words occur. Possessive pronouns appear to be affixed; they are *ini*, *ni*, *ne*, *in*, and *i*.

In the Tegua and Zuñi the personal pronouns are:

	TEGUA.	ZUÑI.
I	nah	hóo
Thou	uh	tóo
He	ihih	lóoko
She	ihih	
We (incl.)	tahquireh	hóono
We (exc.)	nihyeuboh	
You	nahih	ahchée
They	ihnah	lóoko

In the Tegua, although many monosyllabics appear, there are also a number of long words, such as *pehgnahvicahmborih*, shrub; *haihiombotahrei*, for ever; *hahnguenaahnpih*, to be; *haihahgnuhai*, great; *heinginubainboyoh*, nothing. In the Zuñi, long words appear to predominate,—*áhmeeashneekeeah*, autumn; *áhseeailahpalhtonnai*, finger; *lahtailoopeetsínnah*, gold; *téhleenahweeteekeeah*, midnight; *táhmchahpahnáhmnee*, war-club, and others.[3] As will more clearly appear by the following comparative vocabulary, none of these languages are cognate; they have no affinity among themselves, nor with any other family or group.[4]

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[1] 'No one showing anything more than the *faintest*, if any, indications of a cognate origin with the other.' *Simpson's Jour. Mil. Recon.*, pp. 5, 128–9. 'Classed by dialects, the Pueblos of New Mexico at the period of the arrival of the Spaniards spoke four separate and distinct languages, called the Tegua, the Piro, the Queres, and the Tagnos.' 'There are now five different dialects spoken by the Pueblos.' No Pueblo can 'understand another of a different dialect.' 'It does not follow that the groups by dialect correspond with their geographical grouping; for, frequently, those furthest apart speak the same, and those nearest speak different languages.' *Meline's Two Thousand Miles*, pp. 203–4; *Lane*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 689. 'The Pueblo Indians of Taos, Pecuris and Acoma speak a language of which a dialect is used by those of the Rio Abajo, including the Pueblos of San Felipe, Sandia, Ysleta, and Xeméz.' *Ruxton's Adven. Mex.*, p. 194. 'There are but three or four different languages spoken among them, and these, indeed, may be distantly allied to each other.' 'Those further to the westward are perhaps allied to the Navajoes.' *Gregg's Com. Prairies*, vol. i., p. 269. 'In ancient times the several pueblos formed four distinct nations, called the *Piro*, *Tegua*, *Queres*, and *Tagnos* or *Tanos*, speaking as many different dialects or languages.' *Davis' El Gringo*, p. 116; see also pp. 155–6, on classification according to Cruzate. 'The Jemez....speak precisely the same language as the Pecos.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. i., p. 198; *Turner*, in *Pac. R. R., Rept.*, vol. iii., pp. 90, et seq. 'There are five different dialects spoken by the nineteen pueblos.' These are so distinct that the Spanish language 'has to be resorted to as a common medium of communication.' *Ward*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1864, p. 191; *Buschmann, Spr. N. Mex. u. der Westseite des b. Nordamer.*, p. 280. et seq.

[2] *Turner*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. iii., p. 90; *Buschmann, Spr. N. Mex. u. der Westseite des b. Nordamer.*, p. 302.

	QUERES.	TEGUA.	PICORIS.	JEMEZ.	ZUÑI.
Sun		pah	hoolennah	pay	yattockkah
Moon		poyye	pannah	pahah	
Star	shecat	adoyeah	hahheglannah	woonhah	moyatchuway
Earth	hahats	nah	pahhannah	dockah	oulocknannay
Man	hatssee	sayen	tahhahnenah	shuotish	oatse
Woman	naiatsay	ker	clayannah	steosh	ocare
Head	nashcanne	pumbah	pinemah	chitchous	oshuckquinnay
Eye	kannah	chay	chenay	saech	toonahway
Nose	karwishshe	shay	pooaenah	forsaech	nolinnay
Mouth	tseeikah	sho	clahmoenah	eaequah	aewahtinnay
Ear	kahupah	oyeo	taglayonay	washchish	lahschucktinnay
Hand	kahmoshtay	mah		mahtish	shoncheway
Dog	tish	cher	sodornah	cannu	watsetah
Fire	hahkanye	fah	pahannah	fwaah	mackke
Water	tseats	ogh	pohahoon	pah	keaoway

In the region through which flows the Colorado, and between that river and the Gila, many different languages are mentioned by the early missionaries but at this time it is difficult to ascertain how far different names are applied to any one nation.

The missionaries themselves frequently did not know how to name the people; often they gave several names to one language, and several languages one name; many of the then existing dialects are known to have since become extinct, and many more have mysteriously disappeared, along with those who spoke them, so that in many instances, a century after their first mention no such language could be found. It seems seldom to have occurred to the missionaries and conquerors that the barbarous tongues of these heathen could ever be of interest or value to Christendom, still less lists of their words; so that vocabularies, almost the only valuable speech-material of the philologist, are exceedingly rare among the writings of the early missionary Fathers. If one half of their profitless homilies on savage salvation had been devoted to the simple gleaning of facts, science would have been the gainer, and the souls of the natives no whit less at peace. Of late, however, vocabularies of the dialects of this region have become numerous, and relationships are at length becoming permanently established.

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[3] Tusuqne words 'are monosyllabic, and suggest a connection with Asiatic stocks, in which this feature is prominent.' *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iii., p. 406. 'All these languages are extremely guttural and to my ear seemed so much alike that I imagine they have sprung from the same parent stock.' *Lane*, in *Id.*, vol. v., p. 689; *Turner*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. iii., p. 93 et seq.; *Buschmann, New Mex. und Brit. N. Amer.*, p. 280 et seq.

[4] 'Die Queres-Sprache ist trotz einiger Anklänge an andere eine ganz besondere Sprache, von der keine Verwandtschaft aufzufinden.' *Buschmann, Spr. N. Mex. u. der Westseite des b. Nordamer.*, p. 303. 'Die Fremdheit der Tezuque-Sprache gegen alles Bekannte is durch das Wortverzeichniss genugsam erwiesen.' 'Ich unterlasse es spielende aztekische oder Sonorische Ähnlichkeiten zu bezeichnen, da auch die Zuñi-Sprache diesen Idiomen ganz fremd ist.' *Id.*, pp. 296-7. Tanos, 'one of the Moqui villages, at present speak the Tegua language, which is also spoken by several of the New Mexican Pueblo Indians, which leaves but little doubt as to the common origin of all the village Indians of this country and Old Mexico.' *Arny*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1871, p. 381. 'These Indians claim, and are generally supposed, to have descended from the ancient Aztec race, but the fact of their speaking three or four different languages would tend to cast a doubt upon this point.' *Merriwether*, in *Id.*, 1854, p. 174. 'The words in the Zuñi language very much resemble the English.' *Hutchings' Cal. Mag.*, vol. ii., p. 348; *Gregg's Com. Prairies*, vol. i., p. 285.

The languages under consideration, on comparison, may nearly all be comprised in what may be called the Yuma family. The principal dialects which constitute the Yuma family are the Yuma, Maricopa, Cuchan, Mojave, and Diegueño, which last is spoken in southern California, and more particularly around the bay of San Diego. Among others mentioned are the Yavipais and Yampais.[5] Compared with that of their neighbors the language of the Diegueños is soft and harmonious, and as it contains all the sounds of the letters in the English alphabet, the people speaking it readily learn to pronounce the English and Spanish languages correctly.[6] The following Lord's Prayer is a specimen of the dialect of the Diegueños.

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[5] Cocomaricopa, Yuma, Jalchedun and Jamajab, speak the same language. *Garcés, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii., tom. i., p. 350; *Kino, Relacion*, in *Id.*, série iv., tom. i., pp. 292–3. 'Opas, que hablan la lengua de los Yumas y Cocomaricopas ...Corre la gentilidad de éstos y de su misma lengua por los rios Azul, Verde, Salado y otros que entran el Colorado.' *Arricivita, Crónica Seráfica*, p. 416. 'La lengua de todas estas naciones es una, Cocomaricopas, Yuma, Nijora, Quicamopa.' *Sedelmair, Relacion*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iii., tom. iv., p. 852. Cuchans, or Yumas, 'speak the same dialect' as the Maricopas. *Emory's Rept. U. S. and Mex. Boundary Survey*, p. 107; *Turner*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. iii., pp. 101-3; *Möllhausen, Reisen in die Felsengeb.*, tom. i., p. 433. Yumas 'no ser Nacion distinta de la Cocomaricopa, pues usan el mesmo Idioma.' *Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Theatro*, tom. ii., p. 408; *Gallatin*, in *Emory's Reconnoissance*, p. 129; *Cremony's Apaches*, p. 90. 'The Pimos and Cocomaricopas.....speaking different languages. *Cutts' Conq. of Cal.*, p. 189. Cosninos and Tontos, 'leur langue aurait plus d'affinité avec celle des *Mohaves* et des *Cuchans* du Colorado.' 'Les *Yumas*,

Nagua anall amaí tacaguach naguanetuuxp mamamulpo cayuca amaíbo mamatam meyayam canaao amat amaibo quexuic echasau naguaguí ñaña chonñaquin ñípil meñeque pachís echeyuchapo ñagua quexuíc ñaguaích ñacaguaihpo ñamechamel anipuch uch-guelích-cuíapo. Nacuíuch-pambo-cuchlích-cuíatpo-ñamat. Napuíjá.[7]

Of the other dialects the short vocabulary on the following page will give an illustration:

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auxquels se joignent les *Cocopas*, les *Mohaves*, les *Hawalcoes*, et les *Dieguenos*. Chacune de ces tribus a une langue particulière, mais qui, jusqu' à un certain point, se rapproche de celles des tribus du même groupe.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, *Esquisses*, pp. 28–9. 'Gewiss ist, dass die Cocomaricópas und Yumas nur Dialecte einer und derselben Sprache reden.' *Mühlenpfordt*, *Mejico*, tom. i., p. 211. 'The Maricopas speak....a dialect of the Cocapa, Yuma, Mohave, and Diegana tongue.' *Mowry*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1859, p. 361; *Id.*, 1857, p. 302. Papagos, Pimos, and Maricopas. 'These tribes speak a common language, which is conceded to be the ancient Aztec tongue.' *Davidson*, in *Id.*, 1865, p. 131. Pima and Maricopa. 'Their languages are totally different, so much so that I was enabled to distinguish them when spoken.' *Bartlett's Pers. Nar.*, vol. ii., p. 262. 'Los opas, cocomaricopas, hudcoadan, yumas, cuhuanas, quiquimas, y otros mas allá del rio Colorado, se pueden tambien llamar pimas y contar por otras tantas tribus de esta nacion; pues la lengua de que usan es una misma con sola la diferencia del dialecto.' *Sonora*, *Descrip. Geog.*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iii., p. 534; *Sonora*, *Rudo Ensayo*, p. 103. 'Yuma. Dialecto del Pima, lo tienen los Yumas, ó chirumas, gileños ó xileños, opas, cocopas, cocomaricopas, hudcoadanes, jamajabs ó cuesninas, ó cuismer ó cosninas ó culisnisnas ó culisnurs y los quicamopas. Cajuenche. Dialecto del pima, pertenecen á esta seccion los cucapá ó cuhanas, jallicuamai, cajuenches, quiquimas ó quihuimas, yuanes, cutganes, alchedomas, bagiopas, cuñai y quemeyá.' *Orozco y Berra*, *Geografía*, pp. 353, 37; *Buschmann*, *Spuren der Aztec. Spr.*, p. 264, et seq. 'Die *Yumas*, deren Sprache von der der *Cocomericoopas*....wenig verschieden ist.' 'Cocomericoopas, Yumas, Pimas....haden jede ihre besondere Sprache.' *Pfefferkorn*, in *Vater*, *Mithridates*, vol. iii., pt iii., p. 159. 'Alike in other respects the Pima and Cocomaricopa Indians differ in language.' *Latham's Comp. Phil.*, vol. viii., p. 421.

[6] 'Suave al parecer, y mas fácil que no la pima, pues tiene la suave vocal el la que falta á los pimas, repitiendo ellos la u hablan su idioma cantando.' *Sedelmair*, *Relacion*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iii., tom. iv., p. 852. 'Soft and melodious.' *Bartlett's Pers*, *Nar.*, vol. ii., p. 262; *Turner*, in *Pac. R. R Rept.*, vol. iii., p. 101.

[7] *Mofras*, *Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 395.

	CUCHAN.	MARICOPA.	MOJAVE.	DIEGUEÑO.
Man	épatch	eepáche	ipah	aycóotchet
Woman	seenyack	sinchayaíxhutch	sinyax	seen
House	eenouwa		ahba	awáh
Sun	n'yatch	n'yatz	n'yatz	
Moon	hullyar	hullash	hullya	
Fire	aawo	áhooch	awa	
Water	ahá		ahha	ahá
Maize	terditch	terdítz	terdicha	
Good	ahotk	ahotk	ahhotk	han
I	n'yat	inyátz	n'yatz	n'yat[8]
Go	n'yeemoom		n'yimoom	
Sleep	aseemáh		esoma'om	

Then there are the Yampai and Yavipai, said to approach the Cuchan and Mojave;[9] the Chevet reported as a distinct tongue;[10] the Cajuenche said to be another language, and the Jalliquamai, a dialect of the Cajuenche.[11] The Tamajab is a strange language, described by Don José Cortez as "spoken with violent utterance and lofty arrogance of manner; and in making speeches, the thighs are violently struck with the palms of the hands."[12]

There are further mentioned the Benemé with the dialects Tecuiche and Teniqueche, and lastly the Covaji and Noche, each a distinct tongue.[13] The people speaking the Noche probably were the northern and eastern neighbors of the Diegueños, and may have been mentioned by some writers under other names. I have preferred to enumerate them here, because the names frequently occur in the reports of the earlier expeditions to the Yuma nations.

On the peninsula of Lower California, there are three distinct languages with many dialects, more or less related to each other. Some of these dialects appear so remote from the parent stock that the early missionaries believed them to be independent languages, and accordingly the number of tongues on the peninsula has been variously estimated, some saying four, others six; but careful comparisons refer them all to three stock languages. These are the Cochimí, with its principal dialects, the Laymon and Ika; the Guaicuri, with the Cora, Monqui, Didiú, Liyúe, Edú, and Uchiti dialects; and lastly the Pericú. Besides the above, there were also other dialectic differences in almost every mission, such as the variations of word-endings, and other minor points.[14] In general these languages have been described as harsh and poverty-stricken. The missionaries complained of not being able to find terms with which to express many of the doctrines which they wished to inculcate; but from the grammatical notes left by Father Baegert and those of Ducrue contained in *Murr's Nachrichten*, as well as from the various Pater Nosters at hand, it appears that these languages are not so very poor after all. Much there may have been wanting to the zealous Fathers, many burning words and soul-stirring expressions, which would have greatly assisted their efforts, but except that there is certainly no redundancy in these languages, they offer nothing very extraordinary.[15] Following I give a few grammatical notes on the Guaicuri language. The sounds represented by the German letters, *o*, *f*, *g*, *l*, *x*, *z*, and *s*, excepting in *tsh*, do not appear. Possessive pronouns are shown in the following examples:

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[8] *Turner*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. iii., p. 95, et seq.; *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. ii., p. 118, et seq.

[9] *Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. iii., p. 14.

[10] 'La Nacion Chevet....de muy distinto idioma de los que tienen las demas Naciones.' *Arricivita, Crónica Seráfica*, p. 472.

[11] 'La lengua de los cajuenches es muy distinta de la yuma.' Jalliquamais 'aunque parece el mismo idioma que el de los cajuenches, se diferencía mucho.' *Garcés, Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii., tom. i., pp. 247, 251.

[12] 'The Cucápas, Tallignamays, and Cajuenches speak one tongue; the Yumas, Talchedums, and Tamajabs have a distinct one.' *Cortez, Hist. Apache Nations*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. iii., p. 124.

[13] *Id.*, p, 125.

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[14] 'Nun dann fünf andere ganz verschiedene, und in dem bisher entdeckten Californien übliche Sprachen (welche seynd die Laymóna, in der Gegend der Mission von Loreto, die Cotschimì, in der Mission des heil Xaverii und anderen gegen Norden, die Utschi ì, und die Pericúa in Suden, und die annoch unbekannte welche die Völker reden, so P. Linck auf seiner Reis hat angetroffen) nebst einer Menge Absprossen oder Dialekten, auf Seit gesetzt, und von der Waĭcurischen allein etwas anzumerken.' *Baegert*, *Nachr. von Cal.*, pp. 176–7. 'Tres son (dice el Padre Taravàl) las Lenguas: la Cochimi, la Pericù y la de Loreto. De esta ultima salen dos ramos, y son: la Guaycùra, y la Uchiti; verdad es, que es la variacion tanta, que....juzgarà, no solo que hay quatro Lenguas, sino que hay cinco.' *Venegas*, *Noticia de la Cal.*, tom. i., pp. 63–7. Pericui, Guaicuri, Cochimí. 'Ognuna di queste tre Nazioni aveva il suo linguaggio proprio.' *Clavigero*, *Storia della Cal.*, tom. i., p. 109. 'Vehitls, Coras, Pericos, Guaicuras, Cantils, Cayeyus, y otros muchos.' 'Los de la baja peninzula. ..hablan distintos idiomas pero todos se entienden.' *Revillagigedo*, *Carta*, MS., p. 7. Edues, Cochimies, et Periuches. 'Ces trois tribus parlent neuf dialectes diférents, dérivés de trois langues-matrices.' *Pauw*, *Rech. Phil.*, tom. i., p. 168. 'Les unes parlant la Langue *Monqui*....les autres la Langue *Laimone*.' *Picolo*, *Mémoire*, in *Recueil de Voiages au Nord*, tom. iii., p. 279. 'Dreyerley Sprachen in Californien,' 'die de los Picos, dann die de los Waĭcuros....und endlich die de los Laymónes.' *Ducrue*, in *Murr*, *Nachrichten*, p. 392. 'Die Pericu; die Waicura mit den Dialecten Cora, Uchidie und Aripe; die Laymon; die Cochima mit 4 verschiedenen Dialecten, worunter der von S. Francesco und Borgia; die Utschita; die Ika.' *Hassel*, *Mex. Guat.*, p. 57. 'Die Perícues, dann die Monquis oder Menguis, zu welchen die Familien der Guaycúras und Coras gehören, die Cochímas oder Colímiés, die Laimónes, die Utschitas oder Vehítis, und die Icas.' *Mühlenpfordt*, *Mejico*, tom. i., p. 212. See also tom. ii., pt ii., pp. 443–4; *Taylor*, in *Browne's L. Cal.*, pp. 53–4. 'The Cochimi, Pericu, and Loretto languages; the former is the same as the Laymon, for the Laymones are the northern Cochimies; the Loretto has two dialects, that of the Guaycuru and the Uchiti.' *Prichard's Nat. Hist. Man*, vol. ii., p. 553. 'The languages of old California were: 1. The Waikur, spoken in several dialects; 2. The Utshiti; 3. The Laymon; 4. The Cochimi North and the Pericu at the southern extremity of the peninsula; 5. A probably new form of speech used by some tribes visited by Link.' *Latham's Comp. Phil.*, vol. viii., p. 423. Morrell mentions three languages, the Pericues, Menquis, and Cochimies. *Nar.*, p. 198. Forbes, quoting Father Taraval, also speaks of three languages, Pericues, Monquis, and Cochimís. *Cal.*, p. 21. 'Solo habia dos idiomàs distintos; el uno todo lo que comprehende la parte del Mediod´a, y llamaban *Ado;* y el otro todo

My father	bedáre	My nose	minamù
Thy father	edáre	Thy nose	einamú
His father	tiáre	His nose	tinamù
Our father	kepedáre		

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lo que abraza el Departamento del Norte y llamaban *Cochimi*.' *Californias, Noticias*, carta i., p. 99; *Vater, Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., p. 182, et seq.; *Baegert*, in *Smithsonian Rept.*, 1864, p. 393. Orozco y Berra also accepts three, naming them, Pericu; Guaicura, with the dialects, Cora, Conchos, Uchita and Aripa; and the Cochimí with the dialects, Edú, Didú, and Northern Cochimí. *Geografía*, pp. 365–7; *Pimentel, Cuadro*, tom. ii., p. 207, et seq.; *Buschmann, Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, p. 469, et seq.

[15] 'La lingua Cochimi, la quale è la più distesa, è molto dificile, è piena d'aspirazioni, ed ha alcune maniere di pronunziare, che non è possibile di darle ad intendere... La lingua Pericù è oggimai estinta ...La branca degli Uchiti, e quasi tutta quella de' Cori si sono estinte.' *Clavigero, Storia della Cal.*, tom. i., pp. 110, 109. Edues and Didius, 'sus palabras no eran de muy difícil pronunciacion, pero carecian enteramente de la f y s.' *Allegre, Hist. Comp. de Jesus*, tom. iii., pp. 46–7. 'Die Aussprache ist meistenstheils gutturalis und narium.' *Ducrue*, in *Murr, Nachrichten*, p. 392. Waïcuri. 'Kann man von derselben sagen, dass sie im höchsten Grad wild sey und barbarisch....so bestehet derselben Barbarey in folgendem, und zwar—1. In einem erbärmlichen und erstaunlichen Mangel unendlich vieler Wörter.... in dem Mangel und Abgang der Präpositionen, Conjunctionen, und Relativorum, das déve, oder tipítscheû, so wegen, und das tína, welches auf heisset, ausgenommen....Im Abgang des Comparativi und Superlativi, und der Wörter mehr und weniger, item, aller Adverbiorum, so wohl deren, welche von Adjectivis herkommen, als auch schier aller anderen....Im Abgang des Modi Conjunctivi, mandativi und schier gar des optativi. Item, des verbi Passivi, oder an statt dessen, des verbi Reciproci, dessen sich die Spanier und Franzosen bedienen. Item, in Abgang der Declinationen, und zugleich der Artiklen der, die, das, etc.' *Baegert, Nachr. von Cal.*, pp. 177–83. See also, *Smithsonian Rept.*, 1864, pp. 394–5.

Of prepositions only two are mentioned,—*tina*, on or upon; and *déve*, or *tipítscheã*, on account of, or for *(propter)*. There is no article, and nouns are indeclinable. The conjunction *tshie* is always placed after the words to be connected. Verbs have only one mood and three tenses—the present, the perfect, and the future. The present is formed by the affix *re* or *reke*; the perfect by the affix *rikíri*, *rujére*, *raúpe*, or *raúpere*; and the future by adding in like manner *me*, *méje*, or *éneme*. If the action of several persons is to be expressed, the syllable *ku* or *k* is prefixed to the verb, or the first syllable is changed into *ku*.

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
To fight	piabakè	kupiábake
To remember	umutù	kumutú
To speak	jake	kuáke

Some verbs have also a perfect passive participle in the form of a substantive,—*tschípake*, to beat; *tschipitschiürre*, a person who has been beaten. The personal pronouns are: *be*, I, me, to me, my; *ei*, thou, thee, to thee, thy; *becùn*, *beticùn*, *ecûn*, or *eiticûn*, mine, thine.

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB AMUKÍRI, TO PLAY.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

I play,	bè amukirire	We play,	catè amukírire
Thou playest,	eï amukirire	You play,	petè amukirire
He plays,	tutâu amukirire	They play,	tucáva amukirire

PERFECT.		FIRST FUTURE.	
I have played,	bè amukiririkíri	I shall play,	bè amukírime

IMPERATIVE.

Play thou,	amukiri tei	Play you,	amukiri tu

OPTATIVE.

Would that I had not played,	beri amukiririkirikára
or,	beri amukirirujerára

I also add a Guaicuri Lord's Prayer with literal translation.

Kepè	dáre	tekerekádatembà	daï,	eïrì	akátuikè-
Our	father	arched earth (heaven)	thou art,	thee O that	acknow-

pu-me,	tschakárrake-pu-me	ti	tschie:	ecùn
ledge all will,	praise all will	people	and:	thy

gracia-ri	atúme	catè	tekerekádatembà	tschie:	eïri
grace O that	have will	we	arched earth	and:	thee O that

jebarrakéme ti pù jaûpe datembà, páe eï jebarrakére,
obey will people all here earth, as thee obey,

aëna kéa: kepecùn búe kepe kên jatúpe untâiri: catè
above are: our food us give this day: us

kuitscharrakè têi tschie kepecùn atacámara, pàe kuit-
forgive thou and our evil, as

scharrakère catè tschie cávape atukiàra kepetujakè:
forgive we also the evil us do:

catè tikakambà têi tschie, cuvumerà catè uë
us help thou and, desire will not we something

atukiára: kepe kakunjà pe atacára tschie. Amen.[16]
evil: us protect from evil and. Amen.

As regards the other two languages, the only materials at hand are some Lord's Prayers in various dialects of the Cochimí, as used in the different missions. Of these I insert the following as samples of the dialects spoken—I. at the Mission of Santa María, II. at San Francisco de Borgia, and III. at San Ignacio:

	Father our	heaven in	who art:	thy name	
I.	Lahai-apa	ambeing	mia:	mimbangajua	val
II.	Cahaí apá,	ambeing	miá,	mimbang-ajuá	val
III.	Ua-bappá	amma-bang	miamú,	ma mang-á-juá	huit

	all honored:	earth thy kingdom		come:	
I.	vuit-maha:	amet	mididivvaijua	kukuem:	jen-
II.	vuit-mahá;	amét	mididuvaijuá	cucyém;	jemmu-
III.	maja tegem	amat-ma-thadabajuá		ucuem:	kemmu-

	will thine	heaven	done be	earth on
I.	mu-jua	amabang	vihi mieng	ametetenang
II.	juá	amabáng	vihí miéng	ametenáug
III.	juá	ammabang	vahi-mang	amatànang

	as	Bread		
I.	luvihim.	Thevap	yi-cue	ti-mi-ei-di-gua
II.	luichim.	Thevâp	yiecué	ti-mi-eì-di-guá,
III.	lauahim.	Teguap	ibang gual	gúiang-avit-á-jua

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[16] *Baegert*, *Nachr. von Cal.*, pp. 175–94; *Id.*, in *Smithsonian Rept.*, 1864, pp. 391–393; also in *Pimentel*, *Cuadro*, tom. ii., pp. 207–14; *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, *Boletim*, 2da época, tom. iv., pp. 31–40; *Vater*, *Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., pp. 188–92; *Buschmann*, *Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, pp. 484–95.

	Day		
I.	ibang-a-nang	na-kahit	tevichip
II.	ibang-anáng gna	cahit	tevichip
III.	ibang ánane	pac-kagit:	machi

I.	nuhigua	aviuve ham:	vichip	iyeg-ua na
II.	nuhiguá	aviuvehám	vichip	iyeguá gna
III.	pugijua	abadakegem,	machi	uayecg-juá

I.	kaviu-vem	cassetajuang	inamenit nakum
II.	caviu vém	cassetasu\ng	mamenit guakúm
III.	pac kabaya guem;	kazet-à juan	à juang-amuegnit

I.		guang	tevisiec	na-kaviñaha.
II.		guang	tevisiec	gna cavignahà.
III.	pacum	guang	mayi-acg	packanajam.[17]

The dialect spoken at the Missions of San Francisco Xavier, San José de Comondú, and at Santa Gertrudis, differed considerably from the above as will be seen by the following Lord's Prayer as used in the last mentioned places.

Pennayù makenambà, yaà ambayujùp miya mò,
Our father who heaven thou art,

buhù mombojuà tammalà gkomendá hi nagodognò de-
thy name men recognize and love

muejueg gkajim: pennayulà bogodognò gkajim, guihí
all; as and

ambayujup mabà yaà kæammet è decuinyi mò puegign:
heaven above earth satisfy

yaàm buhula mùjua ambayujupmò de dahijua, amet è
thy will heaven in done be, earth on

nò guilugui, ji pagkajim. Tamadà yaà ibò tejuèg gui-
this as. Bread this day

luguigui pamijich è mò, ibò yanno puegin: guihi tammà
day and men

yaà gambuegjula kæpujui ambinyijuà pennayula
who have done evil us

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[17] *Hervás, Saggio Pratico*, p. 125; *Buschmann, Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, pp. 496–7; *Vater, Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., pp. 193–4; *Pimentel, Cuadro*, tom. ii., p. 222; *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., pp. 395–6; *Clavigero, Storia della Cal.*, tom. i., p. 265.

dedaudugùjua, guilugui pagkajim: guìhi yaà tagamueglà
done have as: and
huì ambinyyjùa hi doomò puguegjuà, hi doomò pogou-
evil and although and although
nyim; tamuegjua, guihì usi mahel kæmmet è dicuin
also earth satisfy
yumò, guihì yaà hui mabinyì yaà gambuegjuà pagka-
and what is evil
udugum.[18]

Clavigero does not give a translation of this Lord's Prayer, but Hervás, who copies it in his *Saggio Pratico*, translates all words which he could find in a short vocabulary; Buschmann and others copy from him, and even at this time no complete translation is obtainable.

Lastly, I present a few sentences in the Laymon dialect, literally translated.

Tamma amayben metañ aguinañi
Man years many lives not

Kenedabapa urap, guang lizi, quimib tejunoey
Father mine eats, and drinks, but little.

Kenassa maba guimma
Sister thine sleeps.

Kadagua gadey iguimil decuiñi
The fish sees but not hears

Juetabajua tahipeñi
Blood mine good not

Kotajua kamang gehua
The stone (is) great, hard

Ibungajua ganehmajen kaluhù
Moon sun greater is.[19]

None of the Lower Californian languages are in any way related to, or connected with, any other language. In Jalisco an idiom is spoken which is called the Cora, but Señor Pimentel after comparing it with the Cora of the peninsula as well as with others in Lower California, assures us that not the least connection exists between them.[20] It has also been stated that the languages spoken on the peninsula north of La Paz are affiliated with the Yuma tongue, but this is not the case. As we have seen, the dialect of the Diegueños reaches the seacoast near San Diego, and again south of that point, and this being a Yuma dialect, it has perhaps given rise to the belief that the Lower Californian languages incline the same way.[21] In South America there is a language called the Guaicuru, which has nothing in common with the Guaicuri of Lower California.[22]

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[18] *Clavigero, Storia della Cal.*, tom. i., pp. 264–5; *Buschmann, Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, p. 497; *Hervás, Saggio Pratico*, p. 125; *Vater, Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., pp. 192–4; *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., pp. 395–6; *Pimentel, Cuadro*, tom. ii., pp. 221–2.

[19] *Ducrue*, in *Murr, Nachrichten*, pp. 394–7.

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[20] 'Hay otra idioma llamado Cora en California, que es un dialecto del Guaicura ó Vaicura, diferente al que se habla en Jalisco.' *Pimentel*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, *Boletin*, tom. viii., p. 603.

[21] 'All the Indian tribes of the peninsula seem to be affiliated with the Yumas of the Colorado, and with the Coras below La Paz.' *Taylor*, in *Browne's L. Cal.*, p. 53.

[22] 'Beide Sprachen, die californische und die Südamerikanische Guaycura oder Guaycuru (Mbaya) von einander gänzlich verschieden sind.' *Buschmann*, *Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, p. 494.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PIMA, ÓPATA, AND CERI LANGUAGES.

Pima Alto and Bajo—Pápago—Pima Grammar—Formation of Plurals—Personal Pronoun—Conjugation—Classification of Verbs—Adverbs, Prepositions, Conjunctions, and Interjections—Syntax of the Pima—Prayers in different Dialects—The Ópata and Eudeve—Eudeve Grammar—Conjugation of Active and Passive Verbs—Lord's Prayer—Ópata Grammar—Declension—Possessive Pronoun—Conjugation—Ceri Language with its Dialects, Guaymi and Tepoca—Ceri Vocabulary.

From the Rio Gila southward, in Sonora and in certain parts of northern Sinaloa, is found the Pima language, spoken in many dialects, of which the principal divisions are the Pima alto and Pima bajo, or upper and lower Pima, and it has generally been considered one of the chief languages of northern Mexico. North of the thirty-second parallel, the Pápago is the dominant dialect of the Pima; in Sonora there are the Sobaipuri and others more or less divergent.[1] The Pima as compared with the languages of their northern and southern neighbors is represented as complete, full, and harmonious.[2] Although frequently classified with the Yuma, it is nevertheless a distinct tongue. It is closely connected with the Aztec-Sonora languages, which may be proven no less by its grammatical coincidences, than by the similarity of many of its words.[3] Following is an extract from a Pima grammar. The alphabet consists of the following letters: *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *g*, *h*, *i*, *j*, *m*, *n*, *o*, *p*, *q*, *r*, *rh*, *s*, *t*, *u*; *v*, *x*, *y*. Nearly all words end with a vowel. To form the plural, the first syllable of the singular noun is duplicated,—*hota*, stone; *hohota*, stones. Exceptions to this rule occur in some few cases;—*vinoy*, snake; *vipinoy*, snakes; *tuaia*, girl; *tusia*, girls; *sisi*, brother; *sisiki*, brothers; *tuvu*, hare; *tutuapa*, hares. Gender is expressed by means of the words *ubi*, female, and *ituoti*,

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[1] 'Estos se parten en altos y bajos....hasta los rios Xila y Colorado, aunque de otra banda de este hay muchos que hablan todavía el mismo idioma.' *Alegre*, *Hist. Comp. de Jesus*, tom. ii., p. 216. 'Los *pimas bajos* usan del mismo idioma con los *altos*, y estos con todas las demas parcialidades de indios que habitan los arenales y páramos de los pápagos, los amenos valles de *Sobahipuris*, las vegas de los rios *Xila* (á escepcion de los apaches) y *Colorado*, y aun el lado opuesto del último gran número de gentes, que á dicho del Padre Kino y Sedelmayr, no diferencian sino en el dialecto,' *Sonora*, *Descrip. Geog.*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iii., tom. iv., pp. 534–5. 'Los opas, cocomaricopas, hudcoadan, yumas, cuhuanas, quiquimas, y otras mas allá del rio Colorado se pueden tambien llamar pimas y contar por otras tantas tribus de estar nacion; pues la lengua de que usan es una misma con sola la

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diferencia del dialecto.' *Id.*, p. 554. *Sonora, Estado de la Provincia*, in *Id.*, pp. 618–19; *Sonora, Papeles*, in *Id.*, p. 772. 'Sobaypuris, y hablan en el idioma de los Pimas, aunque con alguna diferencia en la pronunciacion.' *Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Theatro*, tom. ii., p. 396; *Ribas, Hist. de los Triumphos*, p. 369. 'El idioma es igual, y con respecto al de los pimas se diferencian en muy determinadas palabras.' *Velasco, Noticias de Sonora*, p. 161; *Zapata, Relacion*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iv., tom. iii., p. 301, et seq. 'Las naciones Pima, Soba y sobaipuris....es una misma y general el idioma que todos hablan, con poca diferencia de tal cual verbo y nombre' 'papabotas de la misma lengua.' *Kino, Relacion*, in *Id.*, tom. i., pp. 292–3. Pimas 'usan todos una misma lengua, pero especialmente al Norte que en todo se aventaja á los demas, mas abundante y con mas primores que al Poniente y Pimería baja; todos no obstante se entienden.' *Velarde*, in *Id.*, tom. i., p. 366. 'El pima se divide en varios dialectos, de los cuales... el tecoripa y el sabagui.' *Pimentel, Cuadro*, tom. ii., p. 94. Orozco y Berra gives as dialects of the Pima, the Pápago, Sobaipuri, Yuma and Cajuenche. *Geografía*, pp. 58–9, 35–40, 345–53. *Papàgos* 'die mit den Pimas dieselbe Sprache reden.' *Pfefferkorn*, in *Vater, Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., p. 159. 'Die Sprache der *Sovaipure*, als verwandt mit der der Pima.' *Id.*, p. 161. 'Aux Yumas....se rattachent aussi, quant à la langue....les *Cocomaricopas* et les tribus nombreuses qui, sous le nom de *Pimos*, s'étendent....de la même souche paraissent venir aussi les *Papayes*....mais dont la langue s'éloigne davantage de celle des Yumas.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Esquisses*, p. 30.

[2] 'Esta lengua distingue par flexion el singular del plural de los nombres sustantivos; coloca de las preposiciones despues de sus regímenes y las conjunciones al fin de las preposiciones: la sintáxis es muy complicada y del todo distinta de la de las lenguas Europeas.' *Balbi*, in *Orozco y Berra, Geografía*, p. 352; *Bartlett's Pers. Nar.*, vol. ii., p. 262.

[3] 'Sie ist unfraglich und deutlich ein Glied des sonorischen Sprachstammes; aber wieder sehr eigenthümliches, selbständiges und wichtiges Idiom.' *Buschmann, Pima-Sprache*, p. 352. Family, Dohme....Language, Pima.... Dialects, Opata, Heve, Nevome, Papagos, etc.' *Hist. Mag.*, vol. v., p. 236. 'These tribes speak a common language, which is conceded to be the ancient Aztec tongue.' *Davidson*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1865, p. 131; *Parker*, in *Id.*, 1869, p. 19.

male. Derivatives expressing something which partakes of the nature of the primitive are formed with the affix *magui*;—*xaivori*, honey; *xaivorimaqui*, honeyed. For the same purpose the terminal *kama* is also used;—*hadunikama*, related to. *Kama* is also employed to form names of places and patronymics. Abstract words are formed with the word *daga*;—*humatkama*, man; *humatkamadaga*, mankind; *stoa*, white; *stoadaga*, whiteness. The particle *parha*, affixed to nouns implies a past condition;—*nigaga*, my land for planting; *nigaga parha;* the land for planting which was mine.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

SINGULAR.

FIRST PERSON.		SECOND PERSON.	
Nom.	ani, an'ani	Nom.	api, ap'api
Gen., Dat., and Abl.	ni	Gen., Dat., and Abl.	mu
Acc.	ni, nunu, nu	Acc.	mumu, mu
		Voc.	api

PLURAL.

Nom.	ati, at'ati	Nom., and Voc.	apimu
Gen., Dat., and Abl.,	ti	Gen., Dat., and Abl.	amu
Ac.,	ti, tutu, tu	Ac.	amumu, ama

THIRD PERSON.

He, or she,	hugai huka	They, those,	augama, hukama

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB AQUIARIDA, TO COUNT.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

I count,	ani haquiarida	We count,	ati haquiarida
Thou countest,	api haquiarida	You count,	apimu haquiarida
He counts,	hugai haquiarida	They count,	hugam haquiarida

IMPERFECT.		PERFECT.	
I counted,	ani haquiarid cada	I have counted,	an't' haquiari

PLUPERFECT.

I had counted,	an't'haquiarid cada

FIRST FUTURE.

I shall count,	ani aquiaridamucu, or an't'io haquiari

SECOND FUTURE.

I shall have counted,	an't' io haquiari

IMPERATIVE.

Count thou,	haquiaridani, or hahaquiarida
Count you,	haquiarida vorha, or gorha haquiarida

PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE.

If I count,	co'n'igui haquiaridana

PRESENT OPTATIVE.

O that I may count,	dod' an' iki haquiaridana

When I am counting (speaking of one person only),	haquiaridatu
Speaking of two persons,	haquiaridada
Having counted,	haquiaridao
When I count, or after counting,	haquiaridaay
He who counts,	haquiaridadama
He who counted,	haquiaridacama
He who has to count,	haquiaridaaguidama, or io haquiaridacama

Verbs are divided into many classes, such as singular, plural, frequentative, applicative, and compulsive. Plural-verbs;—*murha*, to run, one person; *vopobo*, to run, many. Frequentatives are formed with the verb *himu*, to go;—for example, *vaita*, to call; *vaitahimu*, to call frequently. Applicatives are made by changing the terminal vowel of the verb into *i*, and adding the terminal *da*;—*tubanu*, to lower; *tubanida*, to lower something. Compulsive verbs are formed with the affix *tuda*:—*hukiaridatuda*, to compel to count. A large number of adverbs are used, of which I give only a few specimens:

Where	ua, ubai	Near here	iavu
Here	ia	High	tai
Here (moving)	ay	Yesterday	taco
Near	mia	How, as	xa, astu, xaco
Nearer	miacu	No	pima

PREPOSITIONS.

Before	vaita	Since	oiti
For	iquiti, vusio	With	bumatu, buma
Upon	damana	Of	amidurhu
In	aba		

CONJUNCTIONS.

And	upu, cosi	Or	aspumusi, aspi
But	posa	Then	bunoga
Because	coiva	Although	apcada

Substantives are generally placed after the adjectives. To signify possession the name of the possessor is simply prefixed:—*Pedro onnigga*, wife of Pedro. Prepositions are affixed.[4] Of the different dialects there are four specimens, of which one differs to such an extent as to be hardly recognizable. Neither the names of these dialects nor the places where they were spoken are given with any of them by the authorities. The first which I give is by the missionary Father Pfefferkorn, and differs most from any of the others.

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[4] *Arte de la Lengua Nèvome, que se dice Pima*; *Pimentel*, *Cuadro*, tom. ii., pp. 93–118; *Vater*, *Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., pp. 166–9; *Coulter*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc.*, *Jour.*, vol. xi., pp. 248–50; *Parry*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iii., pp. 461–2; *Hist. Mag.*, vol. v., pp. 202–3; *Buschmann*, *Pima-Sprache*, pp. 357–69; *Mofras*, *Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 401.

Diosch ini mam, ami si schoic tat, wus in' ipudakit.
God my dear, I very sorry am towards my heart of
Ant' apotuta si sia pitana, apt' um soreto
I have done very much ugly, thou me punish wilt
taikisa pia humac tasch pia etonni tat.
fire in no single time not burning is.

The next, a Lord's Prayer, is from a *Doctrina Christiana:*

T'oga ti dama ca tum' ami da cama s'cuga m'aguna mu tuguiga, tubui divianna simu tuodidaga. Cosasi m'huga cugai kiti ti dama catum' ami gusuda huco bupo gusudana ia duburh' aba. Siari vugadi ti coadaga vutu ica tas' aba cati maca. Vpu gat' oanida pima s'cugati tuidiga cos' as' ati pima tuguitoa t'obaga to buy pima s'cuga tuidiga. Pima t' huhuguida tudana vpu pima s'cuga tuidiga, co' pi ti duguvonidani pima scuga ami durhu. Doda hapu muduna Jhs.

The next is a Lord's Prayer from Hervás:

T'oca titauacatum ami dacama; scuc amu aca mu tukica; ta hui dibiana ma tuotidaca; cosassi mu cussuma amocacugai titamacatum apa hapa cussudana inatuburch apa mui siarim t'hukiacugai buto ca tu maca. Pim' upu ca tukitoa pima scuca ta tuica cosas ati pima tukitoa t'oopa amidurch pima scuca tuitic; pim' upu ca ta dakitoa co diablo ta hiatokidara; cupto ta itucuubundana pim scuc amidurch.

The fourth, also a Lord's Prayer, is from the collection of the Mexican Geographical Society:

Chóga dáma cáta diácamá izquiáma ña meitilla tabus matúyaga cosamacai yí, dama cata gussada imidirraba Sulit ecuadaga butis maca vupuc chuan yiga cosismatito chavaga tiapisnisquantillos pinitiandaná copetullañi imisquiandura dodá maduná cetús.

From the same source I also take a Pápago Lord's Prayer:

Pan toc momo tamcaschina apeta michucuyca Santo:

anchut botonia ati chuyca: entupo hoyehui maetachui apo masima motepa cachitmo, mapotomal pami buemasitaapa, jummo tomae, boetoicusipua chuyechica, apomasi maza china sugocuita juann motupay assimi qui, jubo gibu matama cazi pachuichica, panchit borrapi. Amen.[5]

Wedged in between the Pima alto and the Pima bajo, is the Ópata, or Teguima, with its principal dialect the Eudeve. Although the Ópata and Eudeve have generally been enumerated as distinct languages, after careful comparison I think with the missionaries who were conversant with both, that it will be safe to call the one a dialect of the other. An anonymous author even says that the difference between them is not greater than between the Portuguese and Castilian, or between the French and the Provençal.[6] Like the Pima, it is a branch of the Aztec-Sonora languages. As is most frequent on the Pacific Coast, classification differs greatly according to fancy; thus it is with the Ópata; its classifications have been many, and among others it has been placed with the Pima family. Many dialects are mentioned, but little is said of them. Of these there are the Teguis, Teguima, Coguinachi, Batuca, Sahuaripa, Himeri, Guazaba, and Jova.[7] The

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[5] *Pfefferkorn*, in *Vater*, *Mithridates*, tom, iii., pt iii., pp. 164–5; *Pimentel*, *Cuadro*, tom. ii., pp. 113-15; *Doctrina Christiana*, in *Arte de la Lengua Névome*, p. 3.; *Buschmann*, *Pima-Sprache*, p. 353; *Col. Polidiómica Mex.*, *Oracion Dominical*, pp. 34–5.

[6] 'Á la Ópata se pueden reducir los *Edues* y *Jovas;* aquellos, por diferenciar tan poco su lengua de la ópata, como la portuguesa de la castellana, ó la provenzal de la francesa.' 'La nacion Opata y Eudeve, que con muy poco diferenciían en su idioma.' *Sonora*, *Descrip. Geog.*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iii., tom. iv., pp. 534, 494. 'A las opatas se reducen los tovas y eudeves, poco diferentes en el idioma.' *Alegre*, *Hist. Comp. de Jesus*, tom. ii., p. 216.

[7] 'E'vero, che fra alcune di queste lingue si scorge una tale affinità, che da tosto a divedere, che esse son nate da una medesima madre, sicome *l'Eudeve*, *l'Opata*, e la *Tarahumara* nell'America settentrionale.' *Clavigero*, *Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. iv., p. 21; *Hervás*, *Catálogo*, tom. i., p. 333; *Salmeron*, *Relaciones*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iii., tom. iv., p. 68. 'Auch von den, nachher anzuführenden Opata und Eudeve sieht man aus Pfefferkorn, dass sie von eben denselben Missionären bedient wurden, wie die Pima: gleichwohl sind die Sprachen derselben, so weit sich aus den V. U. schliessen lässt, sehr verschieden.' *Vater*, *Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., p. 161. Eudeve 'Ihre Verwandtschaft mit dem sonorischen Sprachstamme, als eines ächten Gliedes, mit erfreulicher Bestimmtheit beweisen.' 'Man kan sie (Opata) mit Ruhe und ohne viele Einschränkung als ein Glied in den sonorischen Sprachstamm einreihen.' *Buschmann*, *Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, pp. 227, 235; *Orozco y Berra*, *Geografía*, pp. 343–5.

Ópata is represented as finished, easy to acquire, and abounding in eloquent expressions.[8] Of the Eudeve dialect I insert a few grammatical remarks. In the alphabet are wanting the letters *f*, *j*, *k*, *w*, *x*, *y*, and *l*; vowels are pronounced as in the Spanish; nouns are declined without the aid of articles. Verbal nouns are frequently used;—*hiósguadauh*, painting or writing, from *hiósguan*, I write. Nouns as names of instruments are formed from the future active of verbs, designating the action performed by the said instrument;—*métecan*, I chop; future, *métetze*, by changing its last syllable into *siven*, forms *métesiven*—as a noun, meaning axe or chopper. In some cases the ending *rina* is used instead of *siven*;—*bícusirina*, flute, from *bicudan*, I whistle, and *bihirina*, shovel, from *bihán*, I scrape. Abstract nouns are formed with the particles *ragua* or *súra*,—*váde*, joyously, *váderagua*, joy; *déni*, good, *déniragua*, goodness; *dóhme*, man or people; *dóhmeragua*, humanity. All verbs are used as nouns, and as such are declined as well as conjugated;—*hiósguan*, I write, also means writer; *nemútzan*, I bewitch, is also wizard. Adjective nouns ending with *téri* and *ei* signify quality;—*bavitéri*, elegant; *aresumetéri*, different or distinct; *tasúquei*, narrow. The ending *ráve* denotes plenitude;—*sitoráve*, full of honey; *sitóri*, honey; and *ráve*, full. Endings in *e*, *o*, *u*, signify possession;—*esé*, she that has petticoats; *nóno*, he that has a father, from *nónogua*, father; *sutúu*, he that has finger-nails, from *sutú*. *Ca* prefixed to a word reverses its meaning;—*cúne*, married; *cacúne*, not married. *Sguari*, affixed, denotes an augmentative;—*dotzi*, old man; *dotzísguari*, very old man.

DECLENSION OF THE WORD SIIBI, HAWK.

Nom.	siibi	Acc.	siibío
Gen.	siiibíque	Voc.	siibí
Dat.	siibt	Abl.	sibítze

The plural of nouns is usually formed by duplication;—*dor*, man or male, plural *dódor*; *hóit*, woman,

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[8] 'El idioma de los ópatas es muy arrogante ó elocuente en su espresion, fácil de aprender, y tiene muchas voces del castellano.' *Velasco Noticias de Sonora*, p. 154.

hóhoit, women. Some exceptions to this rule occur;—as, *doritzi*, boy, plural *vus*, applied to both sexes, but when intended only for males, it is *dódorus*. In some cases females employ different words from those used by the male sex; for example, the father says to his son, *noguàt*, to his daughter, *mórqua*; the mother says to either, *nótzgua*; the son says to the father, *nonógua*; and the daughter, *mósgua*.

Personal pronouns are *nee*, I; *nap*, thou; *id*, *at*, or *ar*, he, or she; *tamide*, we; *emet*, or *emíde*, you; *amét*, or *met*, these or they. In joining pronouns with other words, elision takes place, the last letter or syllable of the pronouns being dropped.

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB HIÓSGUAN, I PAINT.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

ACTIVE.		PASSIVE.	
I paint,	nee hiósguan	I am painted,	nee hiósguadauh
Thou paintest,	nap hiósguan	Thou art painted,	náp hiósguadauh
He paints,	id, or at hiósguan	He is painted,	id, or at hiósguadauh
We paint,	tamide hiósguame	We are painted,	tamide hiósguadagua
You paint,	emét hiósguame	You are painted,	emét hiósguadagua
They paint,	amet hiósguame	They are painted,	amet hiósguadagua

IMPERFECT.

I painted,	nee hiósguamru	I was painted,	nee hiósguadauhru

PERFECT.

I have painted,	nee hiósguari	I have been painted, or	nee hiósguacauh nee hiósguarit

PLUPERFECT.

I had painted,	nee hiósguariru	I had been painted,	nee hiósguacauhrutu

FIRST FUTURE.

I shall paint,	nee hiósguatze	I shall be painted,	nee hiósguatzidauh

Paint thou,	hiósgua
Paint ye,	hiósguavu
I will see that I paint,	asmane hiósguatze
I shall see that I be painted,	asmane hiósguatzidauh
Even though you paint,	venésmana hiósguam
I will that you paint,	nee eme hiósguaco naquém
I will that thou be painted,	nee eme hiósquarico naquém
Even though I may paint,	venésmane hiósguam
Even though I may be painted,	venésmane hiósguadauh
If I should paint,	nee hiósguatzeru
I should be painted,	nee hiósquatziudauhru

There are seven other kinds of verbs mentioned, such as frequentative, compulsive, applicative verbs, etc.

The numerals show more particularly a strong affinity to those of the Aztec language: 1. *sei*; 2. *godum*; 3. *veidum*; 4. *nauoi*; 5. *marqui*; 6. *vusani*; 7. *seniovusáni*; 8. *gos návoi*; 9. *vesmácoi*; 10. *macoi*.

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

Tamo Nóno, tevíctze catzi, cannè teguà uéhoa vitzua terádauh. Tomo canne venè hasém amo quéidagua. Amo canne hinádocauh iuhtépatz éndaugh, teníctze endahtevèn. Quécovi tamo bádagua óqui tame mic. Tame náventziuh tame piuidedo tamo canáde émca; ein tamide tamo. Ovi tamo náven tziuhdahteven. Cana tótzi Diablo tatacóritze tame huétudenta; nassa tame hipùr cadénitzeuai.[9]

Of the Ópata, there exists a grammar written by Natal Lombardo, from which a few remarks are here given. The alphabet: *a*, *b*, *ch*, *d*, *e*, *g*, *h*, *i*, *k*, *m*, *n*, *o*, *p*, *r*, *rh*, *s*, *t*, *th*, *tz*, *u*, *v*, *x*, *z*. Most words end with a vowel. Long words are not rare, as *chumikanahuinaguat*, name of a plant; *kuguesaguataguikide*, spring (season); *makoisenignabussanibegua*, seventeen. Gender is expressed either by the addition of the word, male or female, or by distinct words. The plural is formed by duplication; the manner of duplicating varies; sometimes the first, and at others the last syllable being repeated, and very frequently letters changed;—*Temachi*, lad; plural, *tetemachi*; *höre*, squirrel; plural, *hohore*; *uri*, male; plural, *urini*; *vatziguat*, brother; plural, *vapatziguat*; *maraguat*, daughter; plural, *mamaraguat*, daughters. Ten declensions are described; they may be recognized by different endings of the genitive, which are: *te*, *ri*, *si*, *gui*, *ni*, *tzi*, *ki*, *ku*, *ku*, *pi*. The greater number of words belong to the first declension. In the 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 10th, the accusative and dative are the same as the genitive; in the 8th the genitive, which ends in *ku*, is formed from the accusative, while in the 9th, in which the genitive also ends in *ku*, the accusative and dative are like the nominative.

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[9] *Smith's Gram. Heve Lang.*; *Hervás*, in *Vater*, *Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., pp. 165–6; *Pimentel*, *Cuadro*, tom. ii., pp. 154–67; *Buschmann*, *Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, pp. 222–9.

1st DECLENSION OF THE WORD TÄT THE SUN.

Nom.	tät	Gen.	tätte	Dat. or Acc.	tätta

2d DECLENSION OF THE WORD KUKU, THE QUAIL.

Nom.	kuku	Gen.	kukuri	Dat. or Acc.	kukuri

8th DECLENSION OF THE WORD CHI, THE BIRD.

Nom.	chi	Gen.	chimiku	Dat. or Acc.	chimi

9th DECLENSION OF THE WORD TUTZI, THE TIGER.

Nom.	tutzi	Gen.	tutziku	Dat. or Acc.	tutzi

Abstract terms are formed by the affix *ragua*;—*massi*, father; *massiragua*, paternity; *naideni*, good; *naideniragua*, goodness. The word *ahka* is used for a like purpose;—*uri*, man; *uriahka*, humanity; *tossai*, white; *tossaiahka*, whiteness. To express a local noun, the syllable *de* is added;—*denide*, place of light; *neomachide*, difficult place. *Suraua*, *guëua*, *ena*, *en*, *essa*, and *otze*, signify much, and are used to form superlatives. Personal pronouns are:—*ne*, I; *ta*, we; *ma*, thou; *emido*, you; *i* or *it*, he or she; *me*, they. Possessive pronouns are:—*no*, mine; *tamo*, ours; *amo*, thine; *emo*, yours; *are*, *araku*, his; *mereki*, theirs.

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB NE HIO, I PAINT.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

I paint,	ne hio	We paint,	ta, or tamido hio
Thou paintest,	ma hio	You paint,	emido hio
He paints,	i hio	They paint,	me hio

IMPERFECT.		PERFECT.	
I painted,	ne hiokaru	I have painted,	ne hiosia, or ne hiove

PLUPERFECT.		FIRST FUTURE.	
I had painted,	ne hiosiruta	I shall paint,	ne hiosea

SECOND FUTURE.

I shall have painted,	ne hioseave

IMPERATIVE.

Paint thou,	hiotte	Paint you,	hiovu
Let him paint,	hioseai	Let them paint,	hioseame

Painting,	hiopa, or hioko
Having painted,	hiosaru, or hiositzi
Having to paint,	hioseakoko, or hioseakiko
He who shall paint,	hioseakame
He who paints,	kiokame
He who painted,	hiosi

As in the Eudeve, there are in this language many classes of verbs, differing mostly in endings of certain persons. Prepositions and adverbs exist in great number. Finally I give a few of the conjunctions;—*guetza*, although; *vesé*, and; *nemake*, also; *naneguari*, why, etc.

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

Tamomas teguikaktzigua kakame amo tegua santo
Of our father heaven in he who is of thee name holy
ah, amo reino tame makte, hinadoka iguati tevepa
is, of thee kingdom to us give, thy will here earth on
ahnia teguikaktzi veri. Chiama tamo guaka veu
be done heaven in so. Of all the days of us food now
tame mak, tame neavere tamo kainaideni ata api tamido
to us give, to us forgive of us bad as also
neavere tamo opagua, kai tame taotidudare; kianaideni
forgive of us enemy, not to us fall let; bad
chiguadu apita kaktzia.[10]
of also deliver.

Following is the Lord's Prayer in the Jova dialect: Dios Noiksa: Vantegueca cachi, sec jan itemijunalequa itemijunalequa motequán. Veda no parin, embeida mogitápejepa. Ennio ju güidade, naté, vite tevá, nate vanteguéca. Necho cuguírra, setata veté toomacá ento oreirá, en tobarurra, como ité yté topa oreira toon oreira seeján Caa ton surratoga canecho jorrá sacu nuna dogüe seejan iguité caagüeta.

East of the Ópata and Pima bajo, on the shores of the gulf of California, and thence for some distance inland, and also on the island of Tiburon, the Ceri language with its dialects, the Guaymi and Tepoca, is spoken. Few of the words are known, and the excuse given by travelers for not taking vocabularies, is, that it was too difficult to catch the sound. It is represented as extremely harsh and guttural in its pronunciation, and well suited to the people who speak it, who are described as wild and fierce.[11] It is, so far as known, not related to any of the Mexican linguistic families. As in many other languages, some have fancied they saw Welsh traces in it; one writer thought he detected similarities to Arabic, but neither of these speculations are worth anything. The Arabic relationship has been disproven by Señor Ramirez, who compared the two, and the statement regarding the Welsh is given on the hearsay of some sailors, who are said to have stated that they thought they discovered some Welsh sounds, when hearing the Ceris speak.[12] I give here the only vocabulary which I have been able to find of this language:

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[10] *Lombardo*, in *Pimentel*, *Cuadro*, tom. i., pp. 407–445; *Hervás*, in *Vater*, *Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., p. 166; *Buschmann*, *Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, pp. 229–235; *Pimentel*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, *Boletin*, tom. x., pp. 288–313; *Col. Polidiómica*, *Mex.*, *Oracion Dominical*, p. 11.

[11] 'Posee un idioma gutural muy dificil de aprender.' *Velasco*, *Noticias de Sonora*, p. 131. 'Los guaimas....de la misma lengua.' *Alegre*, *Hist. Comp. de Jesus*, tom. ii., p. 216. 'Poco es la distincion que hay entre seri y upanguaima,....y unos y otros casi hablan un mismo idioma.' *Gallardo*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iii., pp. 889; *Sonora*, *Descrip. Geog.*, in *Id.*, p. 535.

Woman	jidja	Horse	cai
Population	jiciri	Room (chamber)	migenman
Milk	junin	More	amen
Wine	amat	Less	tungurá
Good	tanjajipe	Little	jinás
Better	jipe		

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[12] 'Por su idioma....se aparta completamente de la filiacion de las naciones que la rodean.' *Orozco y Berra*, *Geografía*, pp. 42, 353–4. 'Their language is guttural, and very different from any other idiom in Sonora. It is said that on one occasion, some of these Indians passed by a shop in Guaymas, where some Welsh sailors were talking, and on hearing the Welsh language spoken, stopped, listened, and appeared much interested; declaring that these white men were their brothers, for they had a tongue like their own.' *Stone*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. v., p. 166; *Lavandera*, quoted by *Ramirez*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, *Boletin*, tom. ii., p. 148. and *Ramirez*, in *Id.*, p. 149.

CHAPTER VIII.

NORTH MEXICAN LANGUAGES.

The Cahita and its Dialects—Cahita Grammar—Dialectic Differences of the Mayo, Yaqui, and Tehueco—Comparative Vocabulary—Cahita Lord's Prayer—The Tarahumara and its Dialects—The Tarahumara Grammar—Tarahumara Lord's Prayer in two Dialects—The Concho, The Toboso, The Julime, The Piro, The Suma, The Chinarra, The Tubar, The Irritila—Tejano—Tejano Grammar—Specimen of the Tejano—The Tepehuana—Tepehuana Grammar and Lord's Prayer—Acaxée and its Dialects, The Topia, Sabaibo, and Xixime—The Zacateco, Cazcane, Mazapile, Huitcole, Guachichile, Colotlan, Tlaxomultec, Tecuexe, and Tepecano—The Cora and its Dialects, The Muutzicat, Teacuaeitzica, and Ateacari—Cora Grammar.

We now come to the four Aztec-Sonora languages before mentioned, the Cora, the Cahita, the Tepehuana, and the Tarahumara, and their neighbors. I have already said that notwithstanding the Aztec element contained in them, they are in no wise related to each other.

In the northern part of Sinaloa, extending across the boundary into Sonora, the principal language is the Cahita, spoken in many dialects, of most of which nothing is transmitted to us. Numerous languages, which were perhaps only dialects, are named in this region, and by some classed with the Cahita, but the information regarding them is vague and contradictory. No vocabularies or other specimens of them can be obtained, nor can I find anywhere mention that any were ever written. Of these there are the Zoe, the Guazave, the Vacoregue, the Batucari, the Aibino, the Ocoroni, which are mentioned as related, as also the Zuaque and Tehueco, and the Comoporis and Ahome. There are also the Mocorito and Petatlan, both distinct; the Huite, the Ore, the Varogio, the Tauro, the Macoyahui, the Troe, the Nio, the Cahuimeto, the Tepague, the Ohuero, the Chicorata, the Basopa, and two distinct tongues spoken at the Mission San Andres de Conicari, and four at the Mission of San Miguel de Mocorito.[1] The only dialects of the Cahita, regarding which a few notes exist, and which at the same time appear to have been the principal ones, according to the best authorities, are the Mayo, Yaqui, and Tehueco.[2] The Cahita language is copious, but will not readily express polite sentiments.[3] Father Ribas says that the Yaquis always speak very loudly and arrogantly, and that when he asked them to lower their voice, they answered: "Dost thou not see that I am a Yaqui?" which latter word signifies, 'he who speaks loudly.'[4]

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[1] Mocorito, Petatlan and Ocoroni are 'gentes de varias lenguas.' *Ribas, Hist. de los Trivmphos*, p. 34. Ahome are 'gente de diferente lengua llamada Zoe.' Zoes 'son de la misma lengua con los Guaçaues.' *Id.*, p. 145. 'Comoporis los quales aunque eran de la misma lengua de los mansos Ahomes.' *Id.*, p. 153. 'Huites de diferente lengua' from the Cinaloas. *Id.*, p. 207. Zuaques and Tehuecos 'ser todos de una misma lengua.' Batuca 'de una lengua no dificil, y parecida mucho á la de Ocoroiri.' *Alegre, Hist. Comp. de Jesus*, tom. ii., pp. 10, 186. 'La lengua es ore.' 'Varogia y segun se ha reconocido es lo mismo que la taura, aunque varia algo principalmente en la gramática.' 'La lengua es particular macoyahui con que son tres las lenguas de este partido.' In San Andres de Conicari 'la lengua es particular y distinta de la de los demas pueblos si bien todos los demas de ellos entienden la lengua tepave, y aun la caita aunque no la hablan.' 'La lengua es particular que llaman troes.' 'La gente en su idioma es guazave.' 'La lengua es distina y particular que llaman nio.' 'Conversan entre sí distintas las lenguas de cahuimetos y ohueras.' 'Lenguas que hablan entre si y son chicurata y basopa.' San Miguel de Mocorito 'de cuatro parcialidades y distintas lenguas.' *Zapata, Relacion*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iv., tom. iii., pp. 363–409. 'Los misioneros....colocaban en las misiones de la lengua cahita á los sinaloas, hichucios, zuaques, biaras, matapanes y tehuecos.' 'El ahome y el comopori son dialectos muy diversos ó lenguas hermanas del guazave.' *Orozco y Berra, Geografía*, p. 35; *Vater, Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., pp. 154–7; *Hassel, Mex. Guat.*, p. 175.

[2] 'La nacion Hiaqui y por consecuencia la Mayo y del Fuerte,....que en la sustancia son una misma y de una propia lengua.' *Cancio*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iv., tom. ii., p. 246. Mayo and Yaqui; 'Su idioma por consiguiente es el mismo, con la diferencia de unas cuantas voces.' *Velasco, Noticias de Sonora*, p. 82. Mayo 'su lengua es la misma que corre en los rios de Çuaque y Hiaqui.' Yaqui 'que es la mas general de Cinaloa.' *Ribas, Hist. de los Triumphos*, pp. 237, 287; *Laet, Novus Orbis*, p. 286. 'La lengua cahita es dividida en tres dialectos principales, el mayo, yaqui y tehueco; ademas hay otros secundarios.' *Pimentel, Cuadro*, tom. i., p. 485; 'Tres dialectos principales, el zuaque, la maya y el yaqui.' *Balbi*, in *Orozco y Berra, Geografía*, p. 35; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Esquisses*, p. 31.

A grammar of the Cahita was written in the year 1737, of which I give here an extract. The alphabet consists of the following letters: *a*, *b*, *ch*, *e*, *h*, *i*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *o*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *t*, *u*, *v*, *y*, *z*, *tz*.

There are three declensions; two for nouns, and the third for adjectives. To the first belong those words which end in a vowel, and also the participles ending with *me* and *u*; to the second, those ending with a consonant. Nouns ending with a vowel, and adjectives, form the plural by appending an *m* to the singular;—*tabu*, rabbit; *tabum*, rabbits. Those ending with a consonant affix *im*, and those ending with *t* affix *zim*;—*paros*, hare; *parosim*, hares; *uikit*, bird; *uikitzim*, birds. The personal pronouns are: *inopo*, *neheriua*, *neheri*, *nehe*, *ne*, I; *itopo*, *iteriua*, *itee*, *te*, we; *empo*, *eheriua*, *eheri*, *ehee*, *e*, thou; *empom*, *emeriua*, *emeri*, *emee*, *em*, you; *uahaa*, *uahariua*, *uahari*, he; *uameriua*, *uameri*, *uamee*, *im*, they.

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB TO LOVE.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

I love,	ne eria	We love,	te eria
Thou lovest,	e eria	You love,	em eria
He loves,	eria	They love,	im eria

IMPERFECT.		PERFECT.	
I loved,	ne eriai	I have loved,	ne eriak

PLUPERFECT.		FIRST FUTURE.	
I had loved,	ne eriakai	I shall love,	ne erianake

SECOND FUTURE.

I shall have loved,	ne eriasunake

IMPERATIVE.

Love thou,	e eria, or e eriama
Let him love,	eria, or eriama
Love you,	em eriabu, or em eriamabu
Let them love,	im eriabu, or im eriamabu

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[3] 'Su idioma es muy franco, nada dificil de aprenderse, y susceptible de reducirse á las reglas gramaticales de cualquiera nacion civilizada.' *Velasco*, *Noticias de Sonora*, p. 75.

[4] 'En hablar alto, y con brio singulares, y grandemente arrogantes.' 'No vès que soy Hiaqui: y dezianlo, porque essa palabra, y nombre, significa, el que habla a gritos.' *Ribas*, *Hist. de los Trivmphos*, p. 285.

PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE.

If I love, ne eriauaua, or eriana

OPTATIVE.

O that I may love, netziyo eriayo

PRESENT PARTICIPLE.

Loving, eriakari, eriayo, eriako, or eriakako

INFINITIVE PASSIVE.

To be loved, erianaketeka, or erianakekari

He who loves,	eriame	He who was loved,	erian
He who has loved,	eriakame	He who had loved,	eriakan
He who will love,	erianakeme		

Of the many prepositions I only insert the following:—

To	ui	Below	vetukuni, tukuni
In	tzi	Toward	venukutzi, patiua
With	ye	For	vetziu
Before	uepatzi, patzi	Within	uahiua
Above	vepa	Whence	kuni, uni

CONJUNCTIONS.

Also	vetzi, suri, huneri, soko	As if	siua
Although	mautzi	Thus	huleni
But	vitzi, tepa	Besides	ioentoksoko, ientoik
Not even	tepesan	If	sok

The dialectic differences between the Mayo, Yaqui, and Tehueco are as follows;—the Yaquis and Mayos use the letter *h*, where the Tehuecos use *s* when it occurs in the middle of a word, and is followed by a consonant;—*tuhta*, by the Tehuecos is pronounced *tusta*. Other words also, by some are pronounced short, while others pronounce them long. The interjection of the vocative is with some *hiua*, and with others *me*. The pronoun *nepo*, the Yaquis use instead of *inopo*. The Mayos use the imperfect as before given; the Tehuecos end it with *t*, and the Yaquis with *n*. The pluperfect of the Tehuecos ends with *k*; that of the Yaquis with *kam*; that of the Maya with *kai*.

To illustrate dialectic differences, I insert a short comparative vocabulary, made up from a dictionary, a doctrina, and from words of the Mayo and two Yaqui dialects:

	DICTIONARY	DOCTRINA	MAYO	YAQUI	YAQUI
Father	achai	atzai	hechai	achay	achai
Our	itom	itom	itom	itom	itom
Be	katek	katek	katek	katek	katek
Respected	aioiore	ioiori	llori	llori	iori
Thine	em	em	em	em	em

	DICTIONARY	DOCTRINA	MAYO	YAQUI	YAQUI
Name	tehua	tehuam	tegam	teguam	teguam
Bread	buahuame	buaieu	buanakem	buailem	buaye
Daily	matzukve	makhukve	makehut	matehui	machuk
Give	amaka	amika	amika	amika	mika
To day	ieni	ieni	hene	ian	hien
Of	vetana	betana	betana	betana	betana

The Lord's Prayer in the Cahita:

Itom atzai teuekapo katekame emtehuam checheuasu
Our father heaven in he who is thy name very much
ioioriua, itom ipeisana emiauraua emuarepo imbuiapo
be respected, to us that he may come thy kingdom thy will earth in
anua aman teuekapo anua eueni. Makhukve itom
let it be done also heaven in is done as. Each day our
buaieu ieni itom amika, itome sok alulutiria itom
bread to-day to us give, to us also forgive us
kaalanekau itome sok alulutiria eueni itom beherim
sins we also we forgive as our enemies
kate sok itom butia huena kutekom uoti: emposi
not and to us lead fall temptation in: thou
aman itom ioretua katuri betana.
also us save no good (bad) of.

The Lord's Prayer in the Yaqui dialect:

Ytoma chay teque canca tecame emteguam cheheguasullorima yem iton llejosama. Emllauragua embalepo ynim buiajo angua. Aman teguecapo anguaben matehui itom buallem yan sitoma mica. Sor y toma a hitaria cala ytom á hitaria y topo á litariame ytom begerim catuise ytom bulilae contegotiama, ca juena cuchi emposu juchi aman ytom lloretuane caturim betana. Amen Jesus.[5]

East of the Cahita, in the states of Chihuahua, Sonora, and Durango, an uncivilized and barbarous people inhabit the Sierra Madre, who speak the Tarahumara tongue, which contains the same Aztec element as the Cahita, but is otherwise, as previously stated, a distinct language. The principal dialects are the Varogio,

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[5] *Pimentel*, *Cuadro*, tom. i., pp. 456–91, *Hervás*, in *Vater*, *Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., pp. 157–8; *Buschmann*, *Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, pp. 211–18; *Ternaux-Compans*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1841, tom. xcii., pp. 260–87; *Col. Polidiómica*, *Mex.*, *Oracion Dominical*, p. 49.

Guazapare and Pachera.[6] The Tarahumara is a rather difficult language to acquire, mainly owing to its pronunciation. The final syllables of words are frequently omitted or swallowed, and sometimes even the first syllables or letters. The accentuation also differs much, nouns generally being accentuated on the penultimate, and verbs on the ultimate. The alphabet consists of the following letters: *a*, *b*, *ch*, *e*, *g*, *i*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *o*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *t*, *u*, *v*, *y*. These letters, and also the following grammatical remarks refer specially to the language as spoken in Chinipas. Other dialects have the letter *h* in place of *j* or *r*, and *z* for *s*. The plural of nouns is formed by duplicating a syllable;—*mukí*, woman; *mumukí*, women; or, in some cases an adverb, indicating the plural, is appended. Patronymics form the plural, by duplicating the last syllable. The particle *gua* also indicates the plural. The possessive case is formed by annexing the syllable *ra* to the thing possessed;—*Pedro bukúra*, house of Pedro. Comparatives are expressed by adding the terminal *be*;—*gara*, good; *garabé*, better; and superlatives by simply putting a heavier accent on the comparative terminal;—*reré*, low; *rerebé*, lower; *rerebéé*, lowest. Personal pronouns are: *nejé*, I; *mujé*, thou; *senú*, he; *tamujé* or *ramujé*, we; *emejé* or *emé*, you; *güepuná*, they.

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB TO COUNT.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

I count,	nejé tará	We count,	ramujé tará
Thou countest,	mujé tará	You count,	emejé tará
He counts,	senú tará	They count,	guepuná tará

PERFECT.		PLUPERFECT.	
I have counted,	nejé taráca	I had counted,	nejé tarayéque

FIRST FUTURE.		SECOND FUTURE.	
I shall count,	nejé tarára	I shall have counted,	nejé taragópera

IMPERATIVE.

Count thou,	tará	Let them count,	tarára
Count you,	tarási	Do not count,	caté tarási
Let us count,	tarayéque		

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[6] 'Varogia y segun se ha reconocido es lo mismo que la taura aunque varia algo principalmente en la gramática.' Guazapare 'la lengua es la misma aunque ya mas parecida á la de los taraumares.' *Zapata*, *Relacion*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, serie iv., tom. iii., pp. 388, 390, 334, et seq.; *Steffel*, in *Murr*,

PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE.

If I count,	senecá tarára	If we count,	sotamenecá tarára
If thou count,	somucá tarára	If they count,	sopucá tarára
If he count,	sosenucá tarára		

IMPERFECT.

If I did count, senecá tarareyéque

He who counts,	tarayámeque	They who have to count,	taraméri
Counting,	taroyó	He who has to count,	tarabéri
Having counted,	taraságo		[7]

Of the different dialects there are five specimens, all Lord's Prayers, a comparison of which will show their variations. The first is from Father Steffel:

Tamí Nonó, mamú reguí guamí gatíkí, tamí noinéruje mú reguá seliméa rekíjena, tamí neguáruje mú jelalikí henná guetschikí, mapú hatschíbe réguega quamí. Tamí nutútuje hipelâ, tamí guecáuje tamí guikelikí, matamé hatschíbe réguega tamí guecáuje putsé tamí guikejámeke, ké tá tamí sátuje, telegatígameke mechcá hulá. Amen.

The second is from Tellechea, who lived in Chinipas and at Zapópan:

Tamú nonó repá regiiegáchi atígameque muteguárarí santo nírebos, mu semárarí regiiegáchi atigá, tamú jurá muyerarí jenagiiichíqui mapú regiiegá eguarígua repá regiiegáchi. Sesenú ragiiê tamú nitugára, jipe ragiiê tamí nejá, tami cheligiié tamucheína yorí yomá matameregiiegiá cheligué tamú ayoriguámeque uché mapú requí chàti ju mecá mu jurá, mapú tamí tayoràbua quéco.

The third is in the dialect spoken in the district of Mina:

Taminonó tehuastiqui tehuara santi riboa razihuachi tamuperá arimihuymira nahuichi chumiricá tehuanehuario teamonetellá sinerahué hiperahuí tamenejá. Seoriqui cahuillé chumaricá cahuillé quiamoqué tarubé chimerá chiniariqui mastí nahuchimoba. Amen Jesus.

Nachrichten, pp. 296–300; *Ribas, Hist. de los Triomphos*, p. 592; *Pimentel, Cuadro*, tom. i., p. 363; *Orozco y Berra, Geografía*, p. 34.

[7] *Tellechea, Compendio Gram. del Idioma Tarahumar*, pp. 2–3.

For the next two no localities are given:

Tami nono guami repá reguegachi atiame: tá cheiquichi ju, màpu müreg uéga repá asagá mu atiqui: Jená ibi, guichimòba quima neogarae mu naguára; mu llelá litae guichimòba mü llolára guali mü cii mollenara, mi, repá reguegachi. Amen Jesus.

Hono tami niguëga matu ati crepa: guebrucá nilrera que mubreguá. Tami nagüibra que munetebrichi, nilrelra que mu el rabrichi gená güichimoba: mapu breguegal repa. Brami goguáme epilri bragüe brame jipeyá, brami güecagüe. Mata igui güicá mapu bregüega bramegé. Güecagüe mapu brami güique ta nobri brami guichavari que chitichi natabrichi. Habri brami guaini mane brisiga equimé. Amen Isuis.[8]

Although in possession of Tellechea's grammar, Gallatin denies the connection between the Tarahumara and the Aztec.[9] I give here some of their grammatical resemblances. These are, the incorporation of the noun with the verb in some cases; the combination of two verbs, the dropping of the original end-syllables when joining or incorporating several words together, the formation of the plural by duplication, and the traces of a reverential end syllable. All these are important points, and combined with the similarity—in some cases even identity—of a great number of words, they make the relationship or traces of the Aztec language in the Tarahumara incontestable.[10]

Passing to the north-eastern part of Mexico I enter a totally unknown region, of whose languages mention is made, but nothing more. Neither vocabularies, nor grammars, nor any other specimens of them exist, and in most cases it is even difficult to fix the exact geographical location of the people who are reported to have spoken them. Of these I name first the Concho, which language is reported to have been a dialect of the Aztec, but this is denied by Hervás, who had his information from the missionary Palacios, although the latter admits that the people spoke the Aztec. Their location is stated to have been near the Rio Concho.[11] In the Bolson de Mapimi, the Toboso language is named. This people are reported to have understood the language of the Zacatecs and the Aztecs; and furthermore, to have had their own distinct tongue.[12] Other idioms mentioned near the same region are the Hualahuise, Julime, Piro, Suma, and Chinarra.[13] Of the Piro I find the following Lord's Prayer:

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[8] *Tellechea*, *Compendio Gram. del Idioma Tarahumar*; also in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, *Boletin*, tom. iv., pp. 145–68, and in *Pimentel*, *Cuadro*, tom. i., pp. 366–400; *Steffel*, *Tarahumarisches Wörterbuch*, in *Murr*, *Nachrichten*, pp. 296–374; *Ternaux-Compans*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1841, tom. xcii., pp. 260–287; *Vater*, *Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., pp. 144–54; *Col. Polidiómica, Mex.*, *Oracion Dominical*, pp. 40–43.

[9] 'Have no resemblance with the Mexican.' *Gallatin*, in *Amer. Ethno. Soc.*, *Transact.*, vol. i., p. 4. 'This (the Tarahumara) has not in its words any affinity with the Mexican; and the people who speak it have a decimal arithmetic.' *Id.*, p. 203. 'Ihre Aehnlichkeit mit dem Mexikanischen....ist doch gross genug.' *Vater*, *Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., p. 143; *Wilhelm von Humboldt*, in *Buschmann*, *Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, pp. 46–50.

[10] *Wilhelm von Humboldt*, in *Buschmann*, *Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, p. 50.

Quitatác nasaul e yapolhua tol húy quiamgiana mi quiamnarinú. Jaquie mugilley nasamagui hikiey quiamsamaé, mukiataxám, hikiey, hiquiquiamo quia inaé, huskilley nafoleguey, gimoréy, y apol y ahuléy, quialiey, nasan e pomo llekey, quiale mahimnague yo sé mahi kaná rrohoy, se teman quiennatehui mukilley, nani, nani emolley quinaroy zetasi, nasan quianatehuey pemcihipompo y, qui solakuey quifollohipuca. Kuey maihua atellan, folliquitey. Amen.

The Irritila, which was spoken by a number of tribes, called by the Spaniards the Laguneros, inhabiting the country near the Missions of Parras, is another extinct tongue.[14] In Coahuila, the Tejano or Coahuiltec language is found. A short manual for the use of the priests was written in this language by

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[11] *Alegre, Hist. Comp. de Jesus*, tom. ii., p. 58; *Orozco y Berra, Geografía*, pp. 324-5; *Buschmann, Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, p. 172.

[12] *Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Theatro*, tom. ii., p. 348; *Pascual*, in *Hist. Doc. Mex.*, série iv., tom. iii., p. 201; *Buschmann, Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, p. 172; *Orozco y Berra, Geografía*, pp. 308-9.

[13] *Orozco y Berra, Geografía*, pp. 309, 327; *Col. Polidiómica, Mex., Oracion Dominical*, p. 36.

[14] *Orozco y Berra, Geografía*, p. 309.

Father García, and from it a few grammatical observations have been drawn by Pimentel.

The letters used are *a*, *c*, *ch*, *e*, *g*, *h*, *i*, *j*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *o*, *p*, *q*, *s*, *t*, *u*, *y*, *tz*. The pronunciation is similar to that of some of the people who inhabit the Northwest Coast, as the Nootkas, Thlinkeets, and others. A kind of clicking sound produced with the tongue, which García designates by an apostrophe, thus—*c'*, *q'*, *t'*, *p'*, *l'*. The *c'*, and *q'*, are pronounced with a rasping sound from the root of the tongue; *t'* with a click with the point of the tongue against the teeth, etc. There is no plural in the language except such as is expressed by the words many, all, and some. Pronouns are *tzin*, I; *jamin*, or *am*, thou; *nami*, mine; *ja*, thine; *jami*, ours. Interrogation is expressed by the letter *e* after the verb;—*japtû pôé?* are you a father? *po* being the verb. Negation is expressed by *ojua*, if it stands for 'no' alone, but if it is joined to a verb it is expressed by *ajâm* following the verb, and if the verb ends with a vowel, by *yajâm*. The Tejano is divided into several dialects which vary chiefly in the different pronunciation of some words: as for *che* they say *chi*, or *so* for *se*, *cue* instead of *co*, etc. The following soul-winning dogma with the translation is given as a specimen of the language.

Mej t' oajâm pitucuêj pînta pilapâm chojâi pilchê guatzamôjuajâmaté, pilâpajuáj sauj chojai: Mej t' oajâm pitucuêj pilapôujpacó san paj guajátam atê; talôm apnán pan t' oajâm tucuet apcué tucué apajái sanché guasáyajám: sajpám pinapsá pitachîjô, mai cuân tzam aguajtá, namo, namo t' oajâm tucuém mâisájâc mem; t' ájacat mem jatâlam ajam é?

And there in hell there is nothing to eat, nor any sleep, nor rest; there is no getting out of hell; the great fire of hell will never be finished. If thou hadst died with those sins, thou wouldst be already there in hell; then, why art thou not afraid?[15]

The Tubar is another idiom which was spoken near the head-waters of the Rio Sinaloa. Ribas affirms that two totally distinct languages are spoken by this people. From a Lord's Prayer preserved in this tongue Mr Buschmann after careful comparison has concluded that the Tubar is another member of the Aztec-Sonora group, showing, as it does, unmistakeable Aztec traces. I insert the Lord's Prayer with translation.

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[15] *Pimentel, Cuadro*, tom. ii., pp. 409–413.

Ite cañar tegmuecarichin catemat imit tegmuarat
Our father heaven in art thy name
militurabà teochigualac; imit huegmica carin iti bacachin-
be praised; thy kingdom us to
assisaguin, imit avamunarir echu nañigualac imo cuigan
come, thy will here be done as well as
amo nachic tegmuecarichin; ite cokuatarit essemer tani-
there is done heaven; our bread daily
guarit iabba ite micam; ite tatacoli ikiri atzomua iki-
to-day us give; our sins forgive as we
rirain ite bacachin cale kuegmua nañiguacantem caisa
forgive us against evil previously have done not
ite nosam baca tatacoli bacachin ackirò muetzerac ite.[16]
us lead in sin of evil deliver us.

The following is a Lord's Prayer of the Tubar dialect spoken in the district of Mina in Chihuahua.

Hite cañac temo calichin catema himite muhará huiturabá santoñetará himitemoh acarí hay sesahui hitebacachin hitaramaré hechinemolac amo cuira pan amotemo calichin hítecocohatari éseme tan huaric. Llava hitemicahin tatacoli higuíli hite nachi higuiriray hitebacach in calquihuan nehun conten hitehohui caltehue cheraca tatacol bacachin hiqu ipó calquihuá ñahuité baquit ebacachin calaserac. Amen Jesus.[17]

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[16] 'Tienen estos indios dos lenguas totalmente distintas: la una, y que mas corre entre ellos, y demas gente, es de las que yo tengo en este partido, con que les hablo, y me entienden....la otra es totalmente distinta.' *Hervás, Catálogo*, tom. i., p. 320. *Ribas, Hist. de los Trivmphos*, p. 118; *Vater, Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., p. 139. 'Zwar voll von Fremdheit und sehr für sich dasteht, aber doch als ein wirkliches sonorisches Glied, bei bestimmten Gemeinschaften mit den anderen und als vorzugsweise reich an aztekischen Stoff ausgestattet....Ihre Ähnlichkeiten neigen abwechselnd gegen die *Cora, Tarahumara*, und *Cahita*, besonders gegen die beiden letzten, auch *Hiaqui;* der *Tepeguana* bleibt sie mehr fremd.' *Buschmann, Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, pp. 164, 170–1.

[17] *Col. Polidiómica, Mex., Oracion Dominical*, p. 47.

In the state of Durango and extending into parts of Jalisco, Chihuahua, Coahuila and Sonora, is spoken the Tepehuana language.[18] Like the Tarahumara it is guttural and pronounced in a rather sputtering manner. The Tepehuanes speak very fast, and often leave off or swallow the end syllables, which occasioned much trouble to the missionaries, who on that account could not easily understand them. Another difficulty is the accentuation, as the slightest variation of accent will change the meaning of a word.[19] The following alphabet is used to represent the sound of the Tephuana, *a*, *b*, *ch*, *d*, *e*, *g*, *h*, *i*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *o*, *p*, *q*, *r*, *s*, *sc*, *t*, *u*, *v*, *y*. In the formation of words many vowels are frequently combined, as, *ooo*, bone; *iiuie*, to drink. Long words are of frequent occurrence as;—*soigulidadatudadamo*, difficult; *meit sciuguidodadaguitodadamoe*, continually. The letter *d* appears to be very frequently used, as in the word—*toddascidaraga*, or *doadidamodaraga*, fright. To form the plural of words, the first syllable is duplicated. Personal pronouns are;—*aneane*, or *ane*, I; *api*, thou; *eggue*, he; *atum*, we; *apum*, you; *eggama*, they; *in*, mine; *u*, thine; *di*, or *de*, his; *ut*, ours; *um*, yours.

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB TO SAY.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

I say,	aneane aguidi	We say,	atum aguidi
Thou sayest,	api aguidi	You say,	apum aguidi
He says,	eggue aguidi	They say,	eggam aguidi

IMPERFECT.		PERFECT.	
I said,	aneane aguiditade	I have said,	aguidianta or aneaneanta aguidi

FIRST FUTURE.		SECOND FUTURE.	
I shall say,	aneane aguidiague	I shall have said,	aneane aquidiamokue

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[18] *Ribas*, *Hist. de los Trivmphos*, p. 673; *Alegre*, *Hist. Comp. de Jesus*, tom. i., p. 319; *Museo*, *Mex.*, tom. iii., p. 269; *Zapata*, *Relacion*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iv., tom. iii., pp. 310–15; *Orozco y Berra*, *Geografía*, pp. 34, 320; *Vater*, *Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., p. 138; *Pimentel*, *Cuadro*, tom. ii., p. 43; *Buschmann*, *Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, p. 162; *Hervás*, *Catálogo*, tom. i., p. 327.

[19] 'La pronunciacion es muy gutural y basta el mas ligero cambio en ella para que cambien de sentido las palabras.' *Rinaldini*, *Gramatica*, in *Pimentel*, *Cuadro*, tom. ii., p. 46; *Buschmann*, *Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, p. 36.

IMPERATIVE.

Let me say,	aguidiana ane
Say thou,	aguidiani, or aguidiana api
Let him say,	aguidiana eggue
Let us say,	aguiuiana atum
Say you,	aguidiana apum, or aguidavoramoe
Let them say,	aguidiana eggam
I may say,	aneane aguidana
I should say,	aneane aguidaguitade
I should have said,	aneane aguidaguijatade
If I should say,	aneane aguidaguiague

PARTICIPLE.

Saying,	aguidimi	Having said,	aguidati
He is saying,	aguidimijatade		

In some places the ending of the imperfect indicative is *kade* instead of *tade*.

CONJUNCTIONS.

And	amider	Or	sciupu
As if	appia na	Although	tumasci, tume
Also	jattiki, kat	For which	ukaidi
And for that	ikaidiatut		

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

Utogga atemo tubaggue dama santusikamoe uggue
Our father who in heaven above sanctified be he

ututugaraga duviana uguiere api odduna gutuguito-
thy name come thy kingdom thou do thy

daraga tami dubur dama tubaggue. Udguaddaga ud
will as well earth above heaven. Our food to us

makane scibi ud joigudane ud sceadoadaraga addukate
give to-day to us forgive our sins as

joigude jut jaddune maitague daguito ud.[20]
we forgive our debtors not tempt us.

The roughest and most inaccessible part of the Sierra Madre, in the state of Durango, is the seat of the Acaxee language, which from this centre spreads, under different names and dialects, into the neighboring states. Among these dialects are mentioned the Topia, Sabaibo, Xixime, Hume, Mediotaquel and Tebaca.[21] Some writers claim that the Acaxee with all its differences is related to the Mexican, while others, among them Balbi, make it a distinct tongue. As neither vocabularies nor other specimens of it exist, the real fact cannot be ascertained. The missionaries say that the Aztec language was spoken and understood in these parts. In Zacatecas is mentioned as the prevailing tongue the Zacatec, besides which some authors speak of the Cazcane as a distinct idiom, while others aver that the Cazcanes and Zacatecs were one people. Besides these there are adjoining them the Mazapile, Huitcole, and Guachichile, of none of which do I find any specimens or vocabularies.[22] I also find mentioned in Zacatecas the Colotlan, and in Jalisco the Tlaxomulteca, Tecuexe, and Tepecano.[23]

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[20] *Pimentel, Cuadro*, tom. ii., pp. 46–68.

[21] Sabaibos 'eran de la misma lengua y Nacion Acaxee.' *Ribas, Hist. de los Trivmphos*, pp. 471, 491. Sabaibos 'distinta nacion, aunque del mismo idioma'—Acaxee. *Alegre, Hist. Comp. de Jesus*, tom. i., p. 422. 'Humes, nacion distinta de los xiximes aunque tienen una misma lengua.' *Alonso del*

In that portion of the state of Jalisco, which is known by the name of Nayarit, the Cora language is spoken. It is divided into three dialects; the Muutzicat, spoken in the heart of the mountains; the Teacuaeitzica, on the mountain slopes; and the Cora, or Ateacari, near the mouth of the Rio Nayarit, or Jesus María.[24] The Aztec

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Valle, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iv., tom. iii., p. 96. 'Me parece que tienen afinidad las lenguas *topia*, *acajee* y *tepehuana*, las quales, como tambien la de Parras, son dialectos de la *Zacateca*.' *Hervás*, *Catálogo*, tom. i., p. 327. 'Im Norden von Tepehuana enthält die gebirgige Provinz Topia um den 25° N. Br. ausser der lingua *Topia* und der damit verwandten *Acaxee*, noch im Norden der letzteren die *Xixime*, *Sicuraba*, *Hina* und *Huime* als Sprachen ebenso vieler verschiedener in der Nähe der Topia und Acaxee wohnenden Völkerschaften.' *Vater*, *Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., pp. 138–9. Castañeda mentions in these regions the Tahus, Pacasas, and Acaxas languages, in *Ternaux-Compans*, *Voy.*, série i., tom. ix., pp. 150–3; *Zapata*, *Relacion*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iv., tom. iii., pp. 415–17; *Orozco y Berra*, *Geografía*, pp. 12–13, 319–20; *Buschmann*, *Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, pp. 173–4.

[22] 'Indios cascanes que son los Zacatecas.' 'Xuchipila que entendian la lengua de los Zacatecos.' *Padilla*, *Conq. N. Galicia*, MS., p. 234; *Bernardez*, *Descrip. Zacatecas*, p. 23. '*Cazcanes*, qui ad fines *Zacatecurum* degunt, lingua moribusque á caeteris diversi: *Guachachiles* itidem idiomate differentes; Denique *Guamaræ*, quorum idioma supra modum concisum, difficilime addiscitur.' *Laet*, *Novus Orbis*, p. 281. 'La lengua mexicana que es la generica de toda la Provincia.' *Arlegui*, *Chrón. Zacatecas*, p. 52. 'Sobre el Cascon ó Zacateco, no creo que hubiera sido ni aun dialecto del mexicano, sino que era el mismo mexicano hablado por unos rústicos que estropeaban las palabras y que les daban distínto acento.' Huacbichiles, Tejuejue and Tlajomulteco 'Sobre estos idiomas, ó si les considera dialectos, juzgo que no existieron.' *Romero Gil*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, *Boletin*, tom. viii., p. 499; *Ribas*, *Hist. de los Trivmphos*, p. 676; *Hassel*, *Mex. Guat.*, p. 159.

[23] *Orozco y Berra*, *Geografía*, p. 61.

[24] *Apostolicos Afanes*, cap. vii., p. 56. 'Dentro de Reyno de la Galicia que-

element, which is stronger and more apparent in the Cora than in any other of the three Aztec-Sonora languages, has been recognized by many of the earliest writers.[25] The Cora language is intricate and rather difficult to learn, as indeed are the other three.[26] Following are a few grammatical notes taken from Ortega's vocabulary.

The letters of the alphabet are *a*, *b*, *ch*, *e*, *h*, *i*, *k*, *m*, *n*, *o*, *p*, *r*, *t*, *u*, *v*, *x*, *y*, *z*, *tz*. The pronunciation is hard; there is no established way of expressing the gender. The names of animated beings, as well as inanimate objects form the plural by the affixes *te*, *eri* or *ri*, *tzi* or *zi*, and also with the preposition *mea*, although there are some exceptions to this rule; for example;—*zearate*, bee; *zearateri*, bees; *kanax*, sheep; *kanexeri*, sheep; *ukubihuame*, orator; *ukubihuametzi*, orators; *teatzahuateakame*, he who is obedient, of which the plural is

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daron algunos otras Naciones como son los Cocas, Tequexes, Choras, Tecualmes y Nayaritas, y otras que despues de pacíficada la tierra han dejado de hablarse por que ya reducidos los de la lengua Azteca, que era la major nacion se han mixturado de suerte que ya todos las mas hablan solo una lengua en toda la Galicia excepta en la Provincia del Nayarit.' *Padilla*, *Conq. N. Galicia*, MS., p. 8. 'La lengua Cora, que es la del Nayar.' *Arricivita*, *Crónica Seráfica*, p. 89; *Orozco y Berra*, *Geografía*, pp. 39, 281–2; *Vater*, *Mithridates*, vol. iii., pt iii., pp. 131-2.

[25] 'La lengua mas comun del pais es la *chota* aunque muy interpolada y confundida hoy con la Mexicana.' *Alegre*, *Hist. Comp. de Jesus*, tom. iii., p. 197. 'Muchos vocablos de la lengua mexicana, y algunos de la castellana, los han corisado hacièndolos propios de su idioma tan antiguamente; que ya hoy en dia corren, y se tienen por Coras.' *Ortega*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, *Boletin*, tom. viii., p. 563. 'No carezco totalmente de datos para creer que los indios nayares son pimas, ó al menos descendientes de ellos.' *Orozco y Berra*, *Geografía*, p. 39. 'Es idioma hermano del azteca, tal vez fundado en algunas palabras que tienen la forma ó las raices del mexicano; nosotros creemos que estas semejanzas no provienen de comunidad de orígen de las dos lenguas, sino de las relaciones que esas tribus mantuvieron por espacio de mucho tiempo.' *Id.*, p. 282. 'La core offrent très-peu d'affinité avec les autres langues américaines.' *Malte-Brun*, *Précis de la Géog.*, tom. vi., p. 449. 'Die Cora....bewährt ihre Verwandtschaft vornehmlich durch die unverkennbare Gleichheit einer nur diesen beiden Sprachen gemeinshaftlichen Formations-Weise des Verbum in seinen Personen und die Bezeichnung ihrer Beziehung auf ein leidendes Object, wie die Vergleichung des grammatischen Charakters beyder Sprachen deutlich zeigen wird.' *Vater*, *Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., pp. 87, 89. 'Für verwandte Sprachen, wie sie allerdings scheinen, haben die Cora und die mexicanische grosse Verschiedenheiten in ihrem Lautsystem.' *Wilhelm von Humboldt*, in *Buschmann*, *Spuren der Aztek. Spr.*, pp. 48–9.

[26] 'La lengua Cora....es tan dificil, que si no se está entre ellos muchos años, no se puede aprender y tiene de particular, que no se asemeja á otra de las naciones que tiene vecinas.' *Cavo*, *Tres Siglos*, tom. ii., p. 117.

teatzahuateakametzi; *kurute*, crane; *kurutzi*, cranes; *teaxka*, scorpion; *teaxkate*, scorpions. Verbal nouns designating a person who performs an action, are formed by affixing to the verb the syllable *kame*, or *huame*;—*hukabihuame*, advocate (he who pleads); *timuacheakame*, lover, (he who loves); *tichuikame*, singer, (he who sings).

Personal pronouns are;—*neapue*, *nea*, I; *apue*, *ap*, thou; *aehpu*, *aehp*, he; *iteammo*, *itean*, we; *ammo*, *an*, you; *aehmo*, *aehm*, they; but in conjugating the following are used:—*ne*, I; *pe* or *pa*, thou; *te*, we; *ze*, you; *me*, they. Of the conjugation of the verb, it is only stated that there is no infinitive, and the following example of the present indicative is given:

I love,	nemuache	We love,	te muache
Thou lovest,	pemuache	You love,	ze muache
He loves,	muache	They love,	me muache

There are plural and singular verbs;—*tachuite*, to give a long thing; *taihte*, to give long things.

Prepositions are:—*hetze*, *tzahta*, in; *keme*, with, for; *apoan*, above; *tihauze*, before. The peculiarity of the Muutzicat dialect is the frequent use of the letter *r*, which is either appended, or placed in the middle of the word at pleasure;—for *huihma*, they say *ruihma*; for *earit*, *erarit*. The Teakuaeitzicai dialect has many distinct words not used in any of the others, so that at times they are not at all understood by those speaking the other dialects. As a specimen I insert the Lord's Prayer:

Tayaoppa tahapoa petehbe cherihuaca eiia teaguarira;
Our father heaven be sanctified be thy name;

chemeahaubeni tahemi eiia chianaca cheaguasteni eiia
come to us thy world done be thy

jevira iye chianakatapoan tup up tahapoa. Ta hamuit
will as earth as heaven. Our bread

huima tahetze rujeve ihic ta taa; huatauniraca
always us by wanting to-day us give; forgive

ta xanacat tetup iteahmo tatahuatauni titaxanakante ta
our sin as we we forgive our debtors us

vaehre	teatkai	havobereni	xanakat	hetze	huavaehreaka
help	that not	let us fall	sin	in	help

tecai	tahemi	rutahuaja	tehai	eu	ene	che	enhuata
that not	us	reach	not	what	good	so	be it.

hua.[27]

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[27] *Ortega, Vocabulario*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, tom. viii., pp. 561-602; *Pimentel, Cuadro*, tom. ii., pp. 71-88; *Vater, Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., pp. 131-8; *Buschmann, Die Lautveränderung Aztek. Wörter in den Sonor. Spr.*; *Id., Gram. der Sonor. Spr.*

CHAPTER IX.

THE AZTEC AND OTOMÍ LANGUAGES.

Nahua or Aztec, Chichimec, and Toltec languages identical—Anáhuac the aboriginal seat of the Aztec Tongue—The Aztec the oldest language in Anáhuac—Beauty and Richness of the Aztec—Testimony of the Missionaries and early writers in its favor—Specimen from Paredes' Manual—Grammar of the Aztec Language—Aztec Lord's Prayer—The Otomí a Monosyllabic Language of Anáhuac—Relationship claimed with the Chinese and Cherokee—Otomí Grammar—Otomí Lord's Prayer in different Dialects.

The Nahua, Aztec, or Mexican, is the language of Mexican civilization, spoken throughout the greater part of Montezuma's empire, extending from the plateau of Anáhuac, or valley of Mexico, as a centre, eastward to the gulf of Mexico, and along its shores from above Vera Cruz east to the Rio Goatzacoalcos; westward to the Pacific, and upon its border from about the twenty-sixth to the sixteenth parallel, thus forming an irregular but continuous linguistic line from the gulf of California south-east, across the Mexican plateau to the gulf of Mexico, of more than four hundred leagues in extent. Again, it is found on the coast of Salvador, and in the interior of Nicaragua, and we have before seen its connection with the nations of the north. Within the limits of the ancient Mexican empire many other languages besides the Aztec were spoken, as for instance the Otomí, Huastec, Totonac, Zapotec, Miztec, and Tarasco, about twenty in all. It has been claimed by some that the languages of the Toltecs and Chichimecs were different from each other, and from the Aztec; it has even been intimated that traces of a language more ancient than any of these have been found. Pedro de los Rios mentions two words of a song used in the religious ceremonies at Cholula, *tulanian hululaez*—which he says belong to a language not understood by the Mexicans, and Alexander von Humboldt thinks they may be the remains of some pre-Mexican language.[1] Others, and among them the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, claim greater antiquity for the Maya, affirming that it was spoken in Mexico before the Nahua-speaking people reached that country.

From a careful examination of the early authorities, I can but entertain the opinion that the Toltec, Chichimec, and Aztec languages are one, that the Nahua, or Aztec, is the oldest known language of Anáhuac, and that contrary conclusions arrived at by certain later writers are merely speculative. All of the many different peoples mentioned as aboriginal in ancient Anáhuac are said to have spoken the Aztec, as the Ulmecs, Xicalancas, Tecpanecs, Colhuas, Acolhuas, Nahuas, etc. Ixtlilxochitl, the native Tezcucan historian, relates that by order of the ruler, Techotlalatzin, the Chichimecs dropped their own tongue and adopted that of the Aztecs.[2]

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[1] 'Les Cholulains chantoient dans leur fêtes en dansant autour du téocalli, et que ce cantique commençoit par les mots *Tulanian hululaez*, qui ne sont d'aucune langue actuelle du Mexique. Dans tous les parties du globe, sur le dos des Cordillères, comme a l'île de Samothrace, dans la mer Egée, des fragmens de langues primitives se sont conservés dans les rites religieux.' *Humboldt*, *Vues*, tom. i., p. 115.

[2] 'Les Culhuas, les Tecpanèques, les Aculhuaques, les Chalmecas, les Ulmecas les Xicalancas....parlaient la même langue, quoique dans chaque province avec un autre dialecte; la principale différence consistait dans la prononciation.' *Camargo*, *Hist. Tlax.*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1843, tom. xcviii., p. 138. 'Les Ulmecas, les Xicalancas et les Zacatecas.... avaient les mêmes mœurs et la méme langue.' *Id.*, p. 137. 'Car la langue de ce pays (Xalisco) est le chichimeque, et Marina parlait mexicain. On se servait, à la verité, aussi dans ce pays d'un Mexicain grossier et barbare, tandis que Marina le parlait avec beaucoup d'élégance.' *Id.*, tom. xcix., p. 143. Techotlalatzin 'fue el primero que usó hablar la lengua nahua, que ahora se llama Mexicana, porque sus pasados nunca la usaron; y asi mandó que todos los de la nacion Chichimeca la hablasen, en especial todos los que tuviesen oficio y cargos de republica.' *Ixtlilxochitl*, *Hist. Chich.*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*,

Furthermore, internal evidence is all in favor of the originality of the Aztec tongue. Throughout the great empire of Anáhuac it was the dominant stock language.

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vol. ix., p. 217. 'Los Mexicanos....son de los mismos de Colhua...por ser la lengua toda una.' *Motolinia*, *Hist. Indios*, in *Icazbalceta*, *Col. de Doc.*, tom. i., p. 5. 'La lengua de los Mexicanos es la de los Nahuales.' *Id.*, p. 187. 'La principal lengua de la Nueva España que es de nahuatl.' *Id.*, p. 231; see also pp. 10–11. 'Los Tetzcucanos (llamados Aculhuaques) y los Mexicanos, ...eran de vn Lenguage.' 'La propria, y antigua Lengua, de los Chichimecas Antiguos....es esta que aora corre, con comun Nombre de Mexicana.' *Torquemada*, *Monarq. Ind.*, tom. i., pp. 31, 33, 44. Tecpaneca, Otomí y Acolhua. 'El lenguage de estas tres naciones era diverso, no lo era rigorosamente hablando el de la tecpaneca y aculhua, ni pueden llamarse tales y distintos de la lengua nahuatl ó mejicana, sino solamente en el dialecto y frasimos, al modo que el portuguez respecto del castellana. La Otomi se diferencia mas de la nahuatl.' *Veytia*, *Hist. Ant. Mej.*, tom. ii., p. 44. Ulmecs; 'su lengua era la Nahuatl que hoy llaman mejicana, y se tiene por madre; y esta fué de la nacion tolteca, y he oido decir á personas bien instruidas en este idioma, que en algunos pueblos que aun subsisten en nuestros dias conocidas por de la nacion ulmeca.' *Id.*, tom. i., p. 154. 'Los *Nahoas*, eran los que hablaban la lengua mexicana, aunque no la pronunciaban tan clara, como los perfectos mexicanos; y estos *Nahoas* tambien se llamaban *Chichimecas*.' 'De estos *Chichimecas* unos habia que se decian *Nahuazchichimecas* llamándose de *Nahóas* y de *Chichimecas* porque hablaban algo la lengua de los *Nahóas* ó Mexicanos y la suya propia Chichimeca.' *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. iii., lib. x., pp. 120, 130, 147. 'Lengua *Nàhuatl*....se entiende ser en lengua Mexicàna; aunque la que al presente hablan y hablaron en la Gentilidad los Mexicànos no es suya, sino aprehendida de las otras antecedentes Naciones, y mas bien se debia llamar Tultèca, porque esta Nacion la traxo desde su peregrinacion, haviendola perfeccionado en la tercera Edad.' *Boturini*, *Catálogo*, p. 95. 'Los tlaxcaltecos, que tienen la mesma lengua nahual de México y Tezcuco.' *Mendieta*, *Hist. Ecles.*, p. 147. 'Le nahuatl est sans nul doute une langue déjà ancienne dans l'Amérique centrale, et plus ancienne même que l'empire dont Montézuma fut le chef.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, *Lettre*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1855, tom. cxlvii., pp. 154, 153. 'Io però non dubito, che la lingua propria dei Cicimechi antichi fosse la medesima degli Acolhui, e Nahuatlachi, cioe messicana.' *Clavigero*, *Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. i., p. 153. 'Los Mexicanos, ó por mejor decir Aztlanecas, no es su natural lengua la que hablan ahora, .. es la que aprendieron en Tezcuco.' *Ixtlilxochitl*, *Relaciones*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, vol. ix., p. 345. 'Que el lenguage mexicano se usó por las antiquísimas naciones de los *Toltecas* y *Chichimecas*.' *Hervás*, *Catálogo*, tom. i., p. 298. 'Xochimilcas, Chalqueños, Tepanecas, Colhuas, Tlahuicas, Tlazcaltecas y Mexicanos....todas hablan un mismo idioma.' *Heredia y Sarmiento*, *Sermon*, p. 86. 'Mehr oder minder zahlreiche Sprachreste aus dem Mexikanischen Sprachstamme....sind Zeugen von der ehemaligen Verbreitung der Tolteken im Süden.' *Müller*, *Amerikanische Urreligionen*, p. 525. 'Chichimecs....same family with the Toltecs, whose language they appear to have spoken.' *Prescott's Mex.*, vol. i., p. 14. 'Die Chichimeken welche aztekisch reden.' *Mühlenpfordt*, *Mejico*, tom. ii., pt ii., p. 364; *Wappäus*, *Geog. u. Stat.*, pp. 34–5. 'Dass sie Eines Ursprunges mit den Tolteken, ...waren beweist die allen gemeinschaftliche Sprache, welche noch die aztekische heisst.' *Buschmann*, *Ortsnamen*, p. 6. 'The Aztecs, Acolhuas. and other kindred tribes....were of the same language....as the Toltecs.' *Gallatin*, in *Amer. Ethno. Soc.*, *Transact.*, vol. i., p. 203. 'Lengua mexicana. llamada tolteca.' *Orozco y Berra*, *Geografía*, p. 86. 'Toltecas y las siete tribus nahuatlacas tenian un mismo orígen y hablaban la misma lengua, que era el mexicano, nahuatl ó azteca; pero de ninguna manera succede esto

Towards the north, as we have seen, sprinklings of it are found in many places, but nowhere does it appear in that direction as a base. Far to the south, in Nicaragua, it is again found as the stock tongue, yet with a dialectic rather than an aboriginal appearance, so that the testimony of language is all in favor of the plateau of Anáhuac having been the primal centre of the Aztec tongue, rather than its having been introduced within any measurable epoch by immigration.

That the Mexican nation did its utmost to extend the language is certain. It was the court language of American civilization, the Latin of medieval and the French of modern times; it was used as the means of holding intercourse with non-Aztec speaking people, also by all ambassadors, and in all official communications; in all newly acquired and conquered territories it was immediately introduced as the official language, and the people were ordered to learn it. It, or its kindred dialects, can be said to have been the common vernacular in the whole interior of Anáhuac, and over a large part of the Aztec plateau, although within these limits other tongues were in vogue. Southward, it again appears along the shores of the Pacific Ocean. It was spoken as far as Guatemala, in the interior of which it appeared in the shape of various dialects more or less corrupted. It can also be traced into Tabasco, and even into Yucatan on the Atlantic coast. It is again encountered in the gulf of Amatique, whence lines extend connecting with the branches of the Aztec in Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua. It is also possible that it may at one time have been used even east of the Mississippi, as will appear from the following statements of

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respecto á los chichimecas, aunque hasta hoy por un error muy comun se cree lo contrario.' *Pimentel*, *Cuadro*, tom. i., p. 151; *Grijalua*, *Crón. Augustin*, fol. 32. 'Les rares traditions qui nous sont restées de l'empire des Votanides, antérieurement à l'arrivée des Nahoas, ne donnent aucune lumière sur les populations qui habitaient, à cette époque, les provinces intérieures du Mexique....Ce que nous pensons, toutefois, pourvoir avancer avec une conviction plus entière, c'est que la majeure partie des nations qui en dépendaient parlaient une seule et même langue.' 'Cette langue était suivant toute apparence le *Maya* ou Yucatèque.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. i., p. 102; *Heller*, *Reisen*, p. 379, et seq.

Acosta and Sahagun. The latter says that the Apalaches living east of the Mississippi extended their expeditions and colonies far into Mexico, and were proud to show to the first conquerors of their country the great highways on which they traveled. Acosta affirms that the Mexicans called these Apalaches, Tlatuices or mountaineers. Sahagun, speaking of them, says "they are Nahoas, and speak the Mexican language."[3] This is by no means improbable, as the Aztec is found eastward in the present states of Tamaulipas and Coahuila, and thence the distance to the Mississippi is not so very far.[4]

Of all the languages spoken on the American continent, the Aztec is the most perfect and finished, approaching in this respect the tongues of Europe and Asia, and actually surpassing many of them by its elegance of expression. Although wanting the six consonants, *b*, *d*, *f*, *r*, *g*, *s*, it may still be called full and rich. Of its copiousness the Natural History of Dr Hernandez gives evidence, in which are described twelve hundred different species of Mexican plants, two hundred or more species of birds, and a large number of quadrupeds, reptiles, insects, and metals, each of which is given its proper name in the Mexican language.[5] Mendieta says that it is not excelled in beauty by the Latin, displaying even more art in its construction, and abounding in tropes and metaphors. Camargo calls it the richest of the whole land, and the purest, being mixed with no foreign barbaric element; Gomara, says it is the best, most copious, and most extended in all New Spain; Dávila Padilla, that it is very elegant and graceful, although it contains many metaphors which make it difficult; Lorenzana, that it is very elegant, sweet, and complete; Clavigero, that it is copious, polite, and expressive; Brasseur de Bourbourg, that from the most sublime heights it descends to common things with a sonorousness and richness of expression peculiar only to itself. The missionaries found it ample for their purpose, as in it and without the aid of foreign words they could express all the shades of their dogmas, from the thunderings and anathemas of Sinai to the sublime teachings of the Christ.

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[3] *Acosta*, *Hist. Nat. Ind.*, p. 600; *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. iii., lib. ix., cap. 9; *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, *Palenqué*, p. 39.

[4] *Herrera*, *Hist. Gen.*, dec. ii., lib. v., cap. v., lib. vi., cap. xii., dec. iii., lib. iii., cap. ix., lib. iv., cap. vii., dec. iv., lib. ix., cap. xiii.; *Dávila Padilla*, *Hist. Fvnd.*, *Mex.*, p. 64. 'Nicaragua sea y esté poblada de Nahuales, que son de la lengua de México.' *Motolinia*, *Hist. Indios*, in *Icazbalceta*, *Col. de Doc.*, tom. i., pp. 10–11, 231; *Oviedo*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. iii., p. 103, tom. iv., pp. 35–37, 108; *Solis*, *Hist. Conq. Mex.*, tom. i., p. 118. 'Seine Herrschafft, Lands-Sprach, und Glaubens-Sect erstreckten sich einer seits biss zu dem Markflecken Tecoantepec, das ist zweyhundert, anderseits biss gehn Guatimala dass ist dreyhundert Meil sehr von der Statt Mexico.' *Hazart*, *Kirchengeschichte*, tom. ii., p. 499. 'Esta lengua mexicana es la general que corre por todas las provincias de esta Nueva España, puesto que en ella hay muy muchas y differentes lenguas particulares, de cada provincia, y en partes de cada pueblo, porque son innumerables.' *Mendieta*, *Hist. Ecles.*, p. 552. 'Sie haben viererley Sprach darinnen, unter welchen der Mexicaner am lieblichsten vnd gebräuchlichsten (in Nicaragua).' *West und Ost-Indischer Lustgart*, p. 390; *Grijalua*, *Crón. Augustin*, p. 12. 'La lengua general del pais, que era la Mejicana.' *Beaumont*, *Crón. Michoacan*, MS., p. 89; *Arnaya*, *Carta*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série iv., tom. iii., p. 67. 'Celui de Mexico est regardé comme le dialecte original.' *Camargo*, *Hist. Tlax.*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1843, tom. xcviii., p. 138; *Burgoa*, *Geog. Descrip.*, tom. ii., fol. 341; *Laet*, *Novus Orbis*, p. 252; *Gottfried*, *Newe Welt*, p. 285; *Juarros*, *Hist. Guat.*, p. 224; *Chevalier*, *Mex. Ancien et Mod.*, p. 160; *Museo Mex.*, tom. iii., p. 269; *Palacio*, *Carta*, p. 20; *Squier*, in *Id.*, note iii., p. 100; *Squier's Monograph of Authors*, p. ix.; *Id.*, *Cent. Amer.*, pp. 320, 327–9, 339, 413; *Stephens' Cent. Amer.*, vol. ii., p. 190; *Froebel*, *Aus Amerika*, tom. i., p. 285; *Conder's Mex. Guat.*, vol. ii., p. 178; *Romero*, *Noticias para formar la Historia de Michoacan*, p. 5; *Alegre*, *Hist. Comp. de Jesus*, tom. i., pp. 89–90; *Baril*, *Mexique*, p. 212; *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, *Id.*, *Esquisses*, p. 24; *Gallatin*, in *Amer. Ethno. Soc.*, *Transact.*, vol. i., pp. 3, 8; *Orozco y Berra*, *Geografía*, pp. 54–5; *Vater*, *Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., p. 85; *Pimentel*, *Cuadro*, tom. i., p. 158; *Anales del Ministerio del Fomento*, 1854, tom. i.; *Acosta*, *Hist. Nat. Ind.*, p. 584; *Id.*, *Hist. de las Ynd.*, p. 530.

Although the Spaniards usually employed the word Dios for God, the Aztecs offered one as fit, their Teotl, and Tloque Nahuaque, signifying invisible supreme being. The many written Aztec sermons, catechisms, and rituals also attest the copiousness of the tongue.[6]

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[5] *Hernandez, Nova Plant.*

[6] See *Juan de la Anunciacion, Doctrina Christiana muy cumplida, donde se contiene la exposicion de todo lo necessario para doctrinar a los Indios y administralles los Sanctos Sacramentos. Compuesta en lengua Castellana y Mexicana.* Mex., 1575. *Juan de la Anunciacion, Sermonario en lengua Mexicana.* Mex., 1577. *Joan Baptista, Advertencias para los Confesores de los Naturales.* Mex., 1600. *Rosales, Loa en Obsequio de la Aparicion de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, Poem,* 1582. *Ioan de Mijangos, Espejo Diuino, en lengua Mexicana.* Mex., 1607. *Martin de Leon, Camino del Cielo, en lengua Mexicana.* Mex., 1611. *Martin de Leon, Manual breve y forma de administrar los Santos Sacramentos á los Indios.* Mex., 1640. *Carlos Celedonio Velasques de Cardenas y Leon, Breve Practica, y Regimen del Confessionario de Indios en Mexicano.* Mex., 1661. *Ignacio de Paredes, Promptuario Manual Mexicano.* Mex., 1759.

The Mexican, like the Hebrew and French, does not possess superlative nouns, and like the Hebrew and most of the living European languages, it has no comparatives, their place being supplied by certain particles. The Aztec contains more diminutives and augmentatives than the Italian, and is probably richer than any other tongue in the world in verbal nouns and abstracts, there being hardly a verb from which verbal nouns cannot be formed, or a substantive or adjective of which abstracts are not made. It is equally rich in verbs, for every verb is the root from which others of different meanings spring. Agglutination or aggregation is carried to its widest extent, and words of inordinate length are not uncommon. In agglutinating, end-syllables or letters are usually dropped, principally for the sake of euphony. A prayer to the Virgin of Guadalupe, which is to be found in the *Promptuario Manual* of Paredes, I insert here as a curious specimen of long words:

Tlahuemmanaliztli; ic momoztlaê tictocemmacazque in Tlâtocacihuapilli Santa Maria de Guadalupe. Tlâtocacihuapillê, Notlazomahuiznantzinê, Santa Mariae, nican mixpantzinco ninomayahui, ninocnotlaza, ihuan mochi Noyollotica, Nanimatica nimitzhohuêcapanilhuia, nimitznomahuiztililia, nimitznotlazotilia, ihuan nimitznotlazocamachitia ipampa in nepapan in motetlaocolilitzin; ic in Tehuâtzin otinechmomacahuililitzino. Auh ocyecenca ipampa ca Tehuâtzin, Notzopelicanantziné, otinechmopiltzintitzino, ihuan, otinechmoconetitzinô. Auh ic ipampa in axcan ihuan yê mochipa nimitznocemmacatzinoa, Notetlaocolicanantzinê, inic in Tehuâtzin nimitznotlazotiliz, ihuan inic áic nimitznoyoltequipachilhuiz. Auh in Tehuâtzin, nimitznotlátlauhtilia: in ma in nonemian, ihuan in nomiquian xinechmopalchuili,

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Francisco de Avila, Platica para hazer a los Indios. Mex., 1717. *Antonio Vasquez Gastelu, Confessionario Breve en lengua Mexicana, Catecismo Breve.* Puebla, 1716, and 2d edition, 1826, 1838, also 1860. *Lecciones Espirituales para las Tandas de Ejercicios.* Puebla, 1841. *Pequeno Catecismo en el idioma Mex.* Puebla, 1819. *Juan Romualdo Amaro, Doctrina.* Mex. 1840.

ma xinechmochimalcaltili, ihuan ma in motetlaocolilizcuexantzinco xinechmocalaquili; inic qualli ic ninemiz, ihuan nimiquiz; inic çatepan nimitznomahuizalhuiz, in ompa in Ilhuicac; in ompa in Dios Itlâtocatecpanchantzinco in Gloria. Amen.[7]

A word of sixteen syllables, the name of a plant, occurs in Hernandéz—*mihuiittilmoyoiccuitlatonpicixochitl.*[8] Though the Aztecs made verses, no specimens of their poetry have been preserved except in a translated form. One, composed by the great Tezcucan, King Nezahualcoyotl, translated in full in the preceding volume, gives us an exalted idea of the advanced state of the language.[9]

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[7] *Paredes, Promptuario, Manual Mexicano*, p. xc.

[8] *Buschmann, Ortsnamen*, p. 24.

[9] 'La mexicana no es menos galana y curiosa que la latina, y aun pienso que mas artizada en composicion y derivacion de vocablos, y en metáforas, cuya inteligencia y uso se ha perdido.' *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, p. 552. 'La langue mexicaine est la plus riche de toute contrée: elle est aussi la plus pure, car elle n'est pas mélangée d'aucun mot étranger.' *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1843. tom. xcix., p. 136. 'Lengua Mexicana y Nahuatl, que es la mejor, mas copiosa y mas estendida que ay en la nueva España.' *Gomara, Conq. Mex.*, fol. 293; *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, vol, iv., fol. 1135. 'La lengua Mexicana, que aunque es muy elegante y graciosa, tiene por su artificio y agudeza muchas metaforas, que la hazen dificultosa.' *Dávila Padilla, Hist. Fvnd. Mex.*, p. 31. 'Malgrado la mancanza di quelle sei consonanti é una lingua copiosissima, assai pulita, e sommamente espressiva.' *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. ii., p. 171. 'Es muy elegante este idioma, dulce, y muy abundante de Frases, y composiciones.' *Cortés, Hist. Nueva España*, p. 5; *Laet, Novus Orbis*, pp. 240–1; *Carbajal Espinosa, Hist. Mex.*, tom. i., p. 635; *Müller, Reisen*, tom. iii., pp. 105–8. 'Su lengua es la mejor y mas polida.' (Tezcuco.) *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, dec. iii., lib. ii., cap. x. 'La mas elegante la Tezcucana como la Castellana en Toledo.' *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt ii., p. 14; *Boturini, Idea*, p. 142; *Humboldt, Vues*, tom. ii., pp. 382–3. 'Esta lengua mas elegante y expressiva que la Latina, y dulce que la Toscana.' *Granados y Galves, Tardes Amer.*, p. 401. 'La langue mexicaine est riche comme les autres langues indiennes; mais, comme elles, elle est matérielle et n'abonde pas en mots significatifs d'idées abstraites; comme elles, elle est synthétique dans sa structure, et n'en diffère, quant à ses formes, que par les détails qui n'affectent point son génie et son caractère. Elle abonde en particules intercalées,' *Du Ponceau, Mémoire*, p. 255; *Sonneschmid, Remarks on Mex. and the Mex. Lang.*, in *Amer. Monthly Mag.*, vol. iii., p. 118; *Lang's Polynesian Nat.*, pp. 95–7. 'The Mexican tongue abounded in expressions of reverence and courtesy. The style and appellations used in the intercourse between equals, would have been so unbecoming in the mouth of one in a lower sphere, when he accosted a person in higher rank, as to be deemed an insult.' *Robertson's Hist. Amer.*, vol. ii., pp. 278–9. 'The low guttural pronunciation of the Mexican, or Aztec.' *Ward's Mex.*, vol. i., p. 31; *Galicia Chimalpopocatl, Dissertacion*, in *Museo Mex.*, tom. iv., p. 517, et seq.; *Heller. Reisen*, p. 377. 'Des hauteurs les plus sublimes, de la métaphysique, elle descend aux choses les plus vulgaires; avec une sonorité et une richesse

The Mexican language employs the following letters: *a*, *ç*, *ch*, *e*, *h*, *i*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *o*, *p*, *q*, *t*, *tl*, *tz*, *u*, *v*, *x*, *y*, *z*. The pronunciation is soft and musical, and free from nasal sound. The *a* is clear; *ch* before a vowel is pronounced as in Spanish; but before a consonant, or when a terminal, it differs somewhat; *e* is clear; *h* is an aspirate, in general soft, being strong only when it precedes *u*. No word commences with the letter *l*; *ll* is pronounced as in English. The *t* is sometimes silent, but not when it comes between two *l's*; *tl* in the middle of a word is soft, as in Spanish, but as a terminal it is pronounced *tle*, the *e* half mute; *tz* is similar to the Spanish *s*, but a little stronger; the *v* is by the women pronounced as in Spanish, but men give it a sound very similar to *hu* in Spanish; *x* is soft, like *sh* in English; *z* is like *s* in Spanish, but less hissing.

By compounding, the Mexicans make many long words, some even of sixteen syllables; but there are also some non-compounded words that are very long. Words are compounded by uniting a number of whole words, and not alone by simple juxtaposition, since, with much attention to brevity and euphony, letters and syllables are frequently omitted. For instance;—*tlazotli*, loved; *mahuiztik*, honorable, or reverend; *teopixqui*, priest; *tatli*, father; *no*, mine; of which is composed *notlazomahuizteopixcatzin*, that is to say, my very esteemed father and reverend priest. This also presents an example of the ending *tzin*, which simply signifies respect. *Teopixqui* is composed of *teotl*, God, and *pia*, to guard. There are two particles which may be appropriately called ligatures, as they serve to unite words in certain cases; they are *ca* and *ti*. *Kualani*, to irritate, to anger; *itta*, consider, reflect; *nikualanicaitta*, to observe with anger, angrily.

By reason of these compounded words, the meaning of a whole sentence is often contained in a single word,

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d'expression qui n'appartiennent qu'a elle.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. i., p. 103; *Prescott's Mex.*, vol. i., p. 108, vol. iii., p. 395. 'The language of the Mexicans is to our apprehension harsh in the extreme.' *Helps' Span. Conq.*, vol. i., p. 288.

as;—*tlalnepantla*, in the middle of the earth, or, situated in the middle; *popocatepetl*, smoking mountain; *atzcaputzalli*. ant-hill, or, place where there are many people moving—alluding to a dense population; *cuauhnahuac*, (Cuernavaca) near to the trees; *atlixco*, above the water; *tepetitlan*, above the mountain, etc.

There are several ways of expressing the plural. As a rule, plurals are applied only to animate objects. Inanimate objects seldom change in the plural, as;—*ce tetl*, one stone; *yei tetl*, three stones; *miec tetl*, many stones. In exceptional cases the plural of inanimate objects is expressed by terminals. One of these exceptions is when the object is connected with persons, as;—*zoquitl*, mud; *tizoquime*, we are earth; but there are again exceptions to this rule, as for instance;—*ilhuicame*, the heavens; *tepeme*, mountains; *zitlaltin*, stars. Sometimes inanimate things also form the plural by doubling the first syllable;—*tetla*, place full of stones; *tetetla*, places full of stones; *calli*, house; *cacalli*, houses. These various terminations may be reduced to the following rules. Primitive words have the plural in *me*, *tin*, or *que*, as;—*ichcatl*, a sheep; *ichcame*, sheep; *zolin*, a quail, *zoltin*, quail; *cocoxqui*, sick; *cocoxque*, sick (plural); *topile*, constable; *topileque*, constables. Derivatives form the plural as follows: those called reverentials, ending with *tzintli*, have in the plural *tzitzintin*. Diminutives, ending in *tontli*, have in the plural *totontin*, and diminutives ending in *ton* and *pil*, augmentatives in *pol*, and reverentials in *tzin*, double the terminal, as;—*tlacatzintli*, person; *tlacatzitzintin*, persons; *ichcatontli*, a lamb; *ichcatotontin*, lambs; *ichcapil*, lamb; *ichcapipil*, lambs; *chichiton*, a little dog; *chichitoton*, little dogs; *huehuetzin*, old man; *huehuetzitzin*, old men.

Words into whose composition the possessive pronoun enters, whether primitive or derivative, have for the plural *van* or *huan*;—*noichcahuan*, my sheep; *noichcatotonhuan*, my little sheep. The words *tlacatl*, man, *ciuatl*, woman, and those which imply an official or professional position, form the plural simply by leaving off the last letters, as;—*mexicatl*, plural, *mexicá*; in which case, however, the ultimate syllable is accented. Some words, to form the plural, double the first syllable, and also use terminals, as;—*teotl*, God; *teteo*, gods; *zolin*, quail; *zozoltin*, quails; *zitli*, hare; *ziziltin*, hares. *Telpochtli* and *ichpochtli*, double the syllable *po*.

Some adjectives have several plurals, as;—*miec*, much; plural, *miectin*, *miecintin*, or *miecin*. Gender is expressed by adding the words *oquichtli* or *ciuatl*, male and female, except in such words as in themselves indicate the gender. A father speaking of his son says, *nopiltzin*, and a mother of her daughter, *noconeuh*.

There are no regular declensions; in the vocative case, an *e* is added to the nominative, or words ending in *tli* or *li*, change the *i* into *e*. Those ending in *tzin* may change to *tze* or add an *e*, but the latter is only used by males. The genitive is denoted by the possessive pronoun or by the juxtaposition of the words, as;—*teotl*, God; *tenahuatilli*, emanating; *teotenahuatilli*, precept of God. The dative is indicated by verbs called applicatives; the accusative, by certain particles which accompany the verb, or by juxtaposition; as;—*chihua*, to have; *tlaxcalli*, bread; *nitlaxcalchihua*, I have bread. The ablative is indicated by certain particles and prepositions. Diminutives are formed by the terminals *tontli* and *ton*, as;—*chichi*, dog; *chichiton*, small dog; *calli*, house; *cacontli*, small house. Augmentatives take the syllable *pol*. The terminals *tla*, and *la*, serve as collectives;—*xochitl*, flower; *xochitla*, flower-bed. Words ending with *otl* are abstracts, as;—*qualli*, good; *qualotl*, goodness. Those ending with *va* (*hua*) and *e* indicate possession;—*ilhuicatl*, heaven; *ilhuicahua*, master of heaven, (applied to God). Comparatives and superlatives have no particular terminations, but their place is supplied by adverbs, as;—*achi*, *ocachi*, etc., which mean 'more.' Pedro is better than Juan, *ocachiqualli in Pedro ihuan amo Juan*; here the adverb is connected with *quallo*, good. Words derived from active, neuter, passive, reflective and impersonal verbs, having various significations, terminate in *ni*, *oni*, *ya*, *ia*, *yan*, *can*, *yau*, *ian*, *tli*, *li*, *liztli*, *oca*, *ca*, *o*, *tl*; as;—*cochini*, he who sleeps; *tlaxcalchihuani*, he who has bread; *motlaloani*, he who runs; *chihualoni*, practicable; *neitoniloni*, something producing perspiration; *notlachiuaya*, my instrument; *amotlanequia*, our will; *tlacualoyan*, eater; *micoayan*, place to sleep; *itepatiayan*, hospital; *tlachihualli*, created, produced; *tetlazotlatiztli*, love; *nachihualoka*, creation.

Personal pronouns are;—*nehuatl*, *nehua*, *ne*, I; *tehuatl*, *tehua*, *te*, thou; *yehuatl*, *yehua*, *ye*, he or somebody; *tehuantin*, *tehua*, we; *amehuantin*, *amehuan*, you; *yehuantin*, *yehuan*, they. Possessives;—*no*, mine; *mo*, thine; *i*, his; *to*, ours; *amo*, yours; *in* or *im*, theirs; *te*, belonging to others.

The above-mentioned possessives are used in compounded words, and change the final syllable of the word to which they are joined;—*teotl*, God; *noteuh*, my God; *huehuetl*, old man; *amohuehuetcauh*, our old man.

The verb has indicative, imperative, optative, and subjunctive moods—present, imperfect, perfect, pluperfect, and future tenses.

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB TEMICTIA, TO KILL.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

I kill,	nitemictia	We kill,	titemictiâ
Thou killest,	titemictia	You kill,	antemictiâ
He kills,	temictia	They kill,	temictiâ

IMPERFECT.		PERFECT.	
I killed,	nitemictiaya	I have killed,	onitemicti
		We have killed,	otitemictiquê

PLUPERFECT.

I had killed,	onitemictica

FIRST FUTURE,		SECOND FUTURE.	
I shall kill,	nitemictiz	I shall have killed,	yeonitemictli
We shall kill,	titemictizquê		

IMPERATIVE.

Kill thou,	maxictemicti	Kill you,	maxitemictican

OPTATIVE.

Would that I might kill,	manitemictiani

PASSIVE FORMS.

I am killed,	nimictilo
I was killed,	onimictiloya

PASSIVE FORMS.

I have been killed,	onimictiloc
I had been killed,	onimitiloca
I shall be killed,	nimictiloz
I shall have been killed,	ye onimictiloc
O that I may be killed,	manimictilo
O that I had been killed,	manimictiloni
I ought to be killed,	nimictilozquia
He who is killed,	inmictilo

OTHER FORMS.

If I had killed,	intlaonitemictiani
If I had not killed,	intlacamo onitemictiani
If I should kill,	intlanitemictiz
He who kills,	intemictia
I come to kill,	onitemictico
I will come to kill,	nitemictiquiuh
May I come to kill,	manitemictiqui
I went to kill,	onitemictito
I will go to kill,	nitemictiuh
May I go to kill,	manitemiciti

There are but few irregular verbs in the Aztec language and the following are all that Pimentel could find;—*ka* and *mani*, to be; *icac*, to be on foot; *onoc*, to be lying down; *yauh*, to go; *huallauh* and *huitz*, to come; *mazehualti*, *icnopilti*, and *ilhuilti*, to obtain a benefit.

The following words are always used as affixes:

For	pal, pampa	Of, from	tech
Behind	icampa, tepotzco, cuitlapan	Toward	huic
		Between	tzalan
With	huan, pa, copa, ca	In the midst	nepantla
Belonging to	tloc	Together	nahuac
Within	co, c	Above	icpac
On the other side	nalko, nal	Before	ixco, ixpan, ixtlan, ixtla
Upon, in time	pan		
Underneath	tlan	Inside	itic, itec
		Under	tzintlan

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

Totatzine ynilhuicac timoyeztica, mayectenehualo
Our revered father who heaven in art, be praised
inmotocatzin, mahualauh inmotlatocayotzin machihualo
thy name, may come thy kingdom be done
intlalticpac inmotlanequilitzin, inyuhchichihualo in-
earth above thy will as is done
ilhuicac, intotlaxcalmomoztlae totech monequi maaxcan
heaven in, our bread every day to us is necessary to-day
xitechmomaquili, maxitechmetlapopohuili intotlatlacol,
give us, forgive us our sins,

iniuh	tiquintlapopolhuia	intechtlatla	calhuia,	macamoxi-
as	we forgive	those who	us offend,	thou not

techmomacahuili	inicamo	ipan	tihuetzizque	inteneyeye-
us lead	that not	in	we fall	in temp-

coltiliztli:	çanye	xitechmomaquixtili	inyhuicpa	inamo-
tation:	but	deliver us	against	from

qualli.	Maiuhmochihua.[10]
not good.	

Many comparisons between the Aztec and the tongues of Asia and Europe have been made, and relationship claimed with almost every prominent language, but under analysis all these fancied affinities vanish. Similarities in words, in common with all tongues, are found between the Aztec and others, but at best they can be called only accidental. Still, a few remarkable word-analogies have been noticed, among the chief of which are the following. The Aztec like the Greek and Sanskrit, uses the privative preposition *a*, which in the Celtic has been changed to *an*, in Latin to *in*, or *im*, and in the German to *un*;—Greek, athanatos; Aztec, *amiquini*, immortal. Further, in the perfect tense, and sometimes in the imperfect, *o* is used in the Aztec, like the Sanskrit *a*, and the Greek *e*. But the most remarkable coincidence is the word *teotl*, which is as near as possible to the Greek *Théos*. Kingsborough and Mrs Simon see in the Aztec the language of the Jews; Jones that of the ancient Tyrians; Lang, that of the Polynesians. García makes comparisons with the Hebrew, Spanish, Phoenician, Egyptian, Japanese, and German, and for a relationship with these and many others he finds claimants. Until further light is thrown upon American philology, the

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[10] *Pedro de Arenas, Vocabulario Manual de las Lenguas Castellana y Mexicana.* Mex., 1583. *Manuel Perez, Arte del Idioma Mexicano.* Mex., 1713. *Antonio Vasquez Gastelu, Arte de la Lengua Mexicana.* Puebla, 1716, and 2d edition, 1838. *Francisco de Avila, Arte de la Lengua Mexicana.* Mex., 1717. *Carlos de Tapia Zenteno, Arte Novissima de Lengua Mexicana.* Mex., 1753. *Horacio Carochi, Compendio del Arte de la Lengua Mexicana.* Mex., 1759. *Molina, Vocabulario.* Mex., 1571. *Rafael Sandoval, Arte de la Lengua Mexicana.* Mex., 1810. *Pedro de Arenas, Guide de la Conversation.* Paris, 1862. *Gallatin*, in *Amer. Ethno. Soc., Transact.*, vol. i., pp. 214–245; *Pimentel, Cuadro*, vol. i., pp. 164–216; *Vater, Mithridates*, vol. iii., pt iii., pp. 85–106; *Buschmann, Ortsnamen*, pp. 20–37.

Aztec must stand alone, as one of the independent languages of the world.[11]

The Otomí, held to be next to the Aztec the most widely extended language in Mexico, was spoken by a rough and barbarous people who inhabit the mountains encircling the valley of Anáhuac, but more particularly those towards the north-west. Thence it extended into the present state of San Luis Potosí, was spoken throughout Querétaro and the larger part of Guanajuato, and in places in Michoacan, Vera Cruz, and Puebla.[12] From the Journal and Proceedings of the fourth Provincial Council, held in Mexico in the year 1771, it appears that the language was spoken in four dialects, varying so much that it was only with the greatest difficulty that the several tribes could hold intercourse.[13] The only dialect of which particular notice has been taken is the Mazahua, spoken in the ancient province of Mazahuacan. Of the others the only specimens are a few Lord's Prayers.

The Otomí claims attention in one particular; it is the only true monosyllabic language found in the Pacific States, and this alone has led many to claim relationship between it and the Chinese.

This Chinese relationship has been mainly advocated by Señor Nájera, a native Otomí, who in furtherance of his peculiar views wrote an excellent Otomí grammar, in an appendix to which he gives an extensive comparison between the two idioms. But, taking up the words which he declares to be similar, we are at once struck with important omissions on his part. The first is that he has not at all taken into consideration the difficulty of comparing monosyllabic languages, in which a word frequently has ten or more significations, distinguishable only by pronunciation and accentuation, and at times having scarcely these distinguishing features. Secondly, the words which he adduces to be similar, are wanting in the very essentials that constitute a relationship, for in most instances they are not even similar in sound, a requisite to which more attention ought to be paid in monosyllabic languages than in those which are polysyllabic. The few words that in reality are similar are probably only accidental resemblances, and the question of relationship between the Otomí and Chinese cannot be said to have been established as yet.[14]

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[11] 'Es ist nicht möglich von einer Verwandtschaft der mexicanischen Sprache mit den Sprachen anderer Erdtheile zu reden.' *Buschmann, Ortsnamen*, p. 20; *Garcia, Origen de los Ind.*, pp. 118–21, 187, 232–5, 241, 269; *Jones' Hist. Anc. Amer.*; *Simon's Ten Tribes*, pp. 163, 173; *Lang's Polynesian Nat.*, pp. 96–8, et seq; *Quarterly Review*, 1816, p. 415; *Humboldt, Vues*, tom. ii., p. 229, et seq.

[12] *Orozco y Berra Geografía*, p. 17; *Alegre, Hist. Comp. de Jesus*, tom. i., p. 282; *Pimentel, Cuadro*, tom. i., p. 118; *Vater, Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., p. 113.

[13] 'Concòrdandose en que no se entienden los mismos Otomites de diversos Pueblos, aun Vecinos, de que diò una prueba concluyente el Obispo de Puebla, con el hecho de haver juntado quatro Curas estindantes de su sierra Otomì los que mutuamente se improbaban por hereticas, a disparatadòs sus explicaciones de los Mysterios de nrã Religion.' *Concilio Provincial Mexicano*, iv., 1771, Julio 31, MS.

Mr Bringier branches out in another direction in search of a relationship, and fancies he finds it in the Cherokee, basing his whole argument on a hypothetical resemblance of perhaps half a dozen words, which in fact do not resemble each other at all.[15]

Like other monosyllabic tongues the Otomí is rather difficult to acquire, its pronounciation being rough, guttural, with frequently occurring nasals and aspirates.[16]

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[14] *Naxera, Dis. sobre la lengua Othomí*; *Warden, Recherches*, in *Antiq. Mex.*, pp. 125–9.

[15] *Bringier, Lettre*, in *Silliman's Jour.*, vol. iii., pp. 35–6.

[16] 'La Otomí, lengua bárbara cuasi enteramente gutural, y que á pénas cede al estudio y á la mas séria aplicacion.' *Alegre, Hist. Comp. de Jesus*, tom. i., p. 90. 'La Otomi, que se dilata casi tanto como la Mexicana, y en la difficultad, y obscuridad le haze grandes ventajas.' *Grijalua, Crón. Augustin*, fol. 74. 'Loro linguaggio è assai difficile, e pieno d'aspirazioni, che fanno parte nella gola, e parte nel naso ma peraltro è abbastanza copioso ed espressivo.' *Clavigero, Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. i., p. 148. 'Une langue pleine d'aspirations nasales et gutturales.' *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, tom. i., p. 255. 'Die Sprache der Othomi zeichnet sich durch die Einsylbigkeit oder wenigstens Kürze ihrer meisten Wörter, durch Härte und Aspiration aus.' *Vater, Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., p. 114. 'Leur langue, rude comme eux, est monosyllabique: embrassant à la fois tous les sons, mais dénuée d'ornements, elle montre, néanmoins, dans sa simplicité quelque chose de majestueux qui rappelle les temps antiques.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. i., p. 157. 'Es dura, seca, ingrata á la lengua y mal al oido: todo lo de ella es rústico, vasto, sin pulidez.' *Naxera, Dis. sobre la lengua Othomí*, p. 23. 'Su lenguage es muy duro y corte.' *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, dec. iii., lib. v., cap. xix; *Duponceau, Mémoire*, pp. 68–71; *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. i., p. 33, tom. ii., p. 82; *Müller, Reisen*, tom. iii., p. 45;

As before stated, many words having distinct meanings, are distinguished only by various sounds, or intonations of the same vowel; many words even having the same sound and intonations have different meanings. The words of this language are of one or two syllables; a few of them have three. In words compounded of more than one syllable, each syllable preserves its original meaning. The words whether noun or verb, are inflexible. Neither substantive nor adjective nouns have any gender. The same word may be a substantive, adjective, verb, and adverb, as in the following sentence;—*na nho nho ye na nho he nho*, which means, the goodness of man is good and becomes him well. Nouns have neither declension nor gender, which are expressed either by distinct words, or by *ta* or *tza*, male, and *nsu* or *nxu*, female;—*tayo*, the dog; *nxuyo*, slut. The particle *na* has the property of the article and, prefixed to the noun, distinguishes the singular. In the plural, *ya* affixed, or *e* prefixed, is substituted. Adjectives are always placed before substantives;—*ka ye*, holy man. Comparatives are expressed by the words *nra*, more, and *chu*, less;—*nho*, good; *nra nho*, better. Superlatives are in like manner shown by the word *tza*, or *tze*, prefixed, meaning very much, excessively, exceedingly;—*tza nho*, best; *tze ntzo*, worst, or very bad. The particle *ztzi*, or *ztzu*, prefixed, marks a diminutive;—*ztzi hensi*, a small paper. In abstract nouns of quality the prefix *na* is changed into *sa*;—*na nho yeh*, a good man; *sa nho*, that which is good. Personal pronouns are;—*nuga*, *nugaga*, *nugui*, I; *gui*, *ki*, me, for me; *nugué nûy*, thou; *y*, *hi*, to thee, for thee; *nunu*, he; *bi*, *ba*, *ki*, him, for him, to him; *nugahé*, *nugagahé*, *nuguihé*, we, or us; *nuguégúi*, *nuguehu*, *nûygúi*, *nûyhu*, you, to you; *nuyu*, they; *ma*, mine; *ni*, thine; *na*, his.

Verbs are conjugated with the assistance of particles, which designate tense and person. Every tense has three persons, also a singular, and a plural. The plural is

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Hassel, Mex. Guat., p. 152; *Mühlenpfordt, Mejico*, tom. ii., pt ii., p. 364; *Conder's Mex. Guat.*, vol. ii., p. 119.

always designated by the syllable *hé*, we; *wi*, *gúi*, or *hu*, you; *yu*, they. All nouns may also be verbs, for the Otomís, unable to segregate the abstract idea of existence from the thing existing, confound both and have no substantive verb;—*nho*, good; *di nho*, I good, or I am good

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB NEE, I WILL.

	PRESENT INDICATIVE.		
I will,	di nee	We will,	di nee hé
Thou willest,	gui nee	You will,	gui nee gúi
He wills,	y nee	They will,	y nee yu
IMPERFECT.		PERFECT.	
I willed,	di nee hma	I have willed,	xta nee, or da nee
	PLUPERFECT.		
I had willed,	xta nee hma		
FIRST FUTURE.		SECOND FUTURE.	
I shall will,	ga nee	I shall have willed,	gua xta nee
	IMPERATIVE.		
Will thou,	nee	Will you,	nee gúi nee hu[17]

LORD'S PRAYER.

Ma tà he ni bùy mahetsi da ne ansu ni huhu
My father we thou house heaven call holy thy name name

da ehe ga he ni bùy da kha ni hnee ngù
thy will come towards us thy house thy will do thy will as

gua na hày te ngù mahètsi ma hme he ta nà pa
here the earth as also heaven the bread us every day

rà he nar a pa ya ha puni he ma dupatè he
give us one day new and forgive us our debts

tengù di puni he u ma ndupatè he ha yo gui he he
as we forgive now debtors ours and avoid the permit us

ga he kha na tzò cadi ma na pehe he hin nhò.
do us in bad action but save us no good.

Do kha.
Thy will do.

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[17] *Yoaquin Lopez Yepes, Catecismo y Declaracion de la Doctrina Cristiana, en lengua Otomí. Francisco Perez, Catecismo de la Doctrina Cristiana, en lengua Otomí. Naxera, Disertacion sobre la lengua Othomi. Gallatin*, in *Amer. Ethno. Soc., Transact.*, vol. i., pp. 286–98; *Vater, Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., pp. 115–24; *Pimentel, Cuadro*, vol. i., pp. 120–50; *Antonio Guadalupe Ramirez, Breve Compendio....Dispuesto en lengua Othomí.* See also *Lond. Geog. Soc., Jour.*, vol. iii., p. 355; *Luis de Neve y Molina, Grammatica Della Lingua Otomí.*

The same in another dialect.

Go ṁa ta he
To guí bùy
Hé tsi
Da ma ka ni hu
Na di ni hne
Hày he heisi
Ma hme he ta pa
Sa da ke ni
Ha pu ní ma thày he
Ngù y pu ma thày tè he
Ha yo he
He ga zà tzò di

Still another version of the same.

Ma tà ki he
Gue gui bùy
Kha hetsi
Kha ni hu
Da di hnec
Bi kho na hày
Ba ña kha mahetsi
Da da sê he
Ma hme he
Yo ga zo he gee tzò di.

The grammar of the Mazahua dialect is very nearly the same as that of the Otomí, and I therefore insert the Lord's Prayer only to illustrate the connection between the two languages.

Mi yho me ki obuihui ahezi tanereho ni chuu ta ehe
Our father is heaven sanctified thy name come
ni nahmuu ta cha axoñihomue cho ni nane makhe
thou kingdom do earth ? thy will as
anzi ocha ahezi. Ti yak me mi bech me choyazmue,
also is done heaven. Give us our bread every day,
ti chotkhe me mo huezok me makhe anzi tigattotpue
forgive us our faults as also we forgive
me mache i zokhegue me pêkhecho gueguetme tezoxk-
those who offend us not us must lead
hemeyo huezok hi tipe yeziz one mácho yoñene macho
in sins deliver us from all
tenxi higaho.[18]
evil.

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[18] *Pimentel, Cuadro,* tom, ii., pp. 194–201.

CHAPTER X.

LANGUAGES OF CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN MEXICO.

The Pame and its Dialects—The Meco of Guanajuato and the Sierra Gorda—The Tarasco of Michoacan and its Grammar—The Matlaltzinca and its Grammar—The Ocuiltec—The Miztec and its Dialects—Miztec Grammar—The Amusgo, Chocho, Mazatec, Cuicatec, Chatino, Tlapanec, Chinantec, and Popoluca—The Zapotec and its Grammar—The Mije—Mije Grammar and Lord's Prayer—The Huave of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec—Huave Numerals.

North-eastward of the Otomí, is a language called the Pame, spoken in three distinct dialects; the first in San Luis de la Paz, in the Sierra Gorda; the second, near the city of Maiz, in San Luis Potosí; and the third in Purísima Concepcion de Arnedo, and also in the Sierra Gorda. I have at hand only the Lord's Prayer in three dialects; nor can I find mention of any vocabulary or grammar. It is described as difficult to acquire, principally on account of the many dialectic variations.[1]

FIRST DIALECT.

Tata mícagon indis bonigemajá: indis unajá grotztacuz: Quii unibó: Nage eu nitazá, unibó ubonigí: Urroze paricagon uvinguí ambogón bucon gatigí bajir gomór, como icagon gumorbon quipicgo hicnangó: nenanguí nandazó pacunimá: imorgo cabonjá pajanor. Amen Jesus.

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[1] 'Es mucha la dificultad del idioma, porque en treinta vecinos suele haber cuatro y cinco lenguas distintas, y tanto, que aun despues de mucho trato no se entienden sino las cosas muy ordinarias.' *Alegre*, *Hist. Comp. de Jesus*, tom i., p. 282.

SECOND DIALECT.

Caucan xugüenan, que humiju cantau impains, achscalijon gee nigiu yucant gee cumpó. Chaucat gee quimang, ac-gi cumpó acgi cantau impain. Senté caucan senda gunó yucant chiné iguadcatan caucan humunts, ac-gipain caucan hujuadptan á caucan humunts. Y mi negenk do guaik guning cacaa yeket vali ening, ac-ge-bo.

THIRD DIALECT.

Ttattahghuhggg ighegh ddih uhvoh hinh gghih qquihhmissches: ughgnjuhgh ttahghgihh innddisseh Qquihihihh uhggúho uhghg gühihh rrehhino, Ih qquih üghgghihghh wohlluhn ttáh ighschchahh, Assi uhggüghh commo ub vóhnnihghh. Uhnghehddi uhvrá hhvíhn qquihhphpohggühuhh, yhchihh uh vehvéhh ihghgühohgühuhh ih qqih ih chi wchveh ihhumhurhggühuhh uhhohddi nuch hêhôhuág. Assi commo ahpe hpˆhhddi ihec âhggühuhh kuhmhûhrûhhg uhonnddi ahphpiggühúhh. Ih qquihngnahghnhêhrrggühuhh phpahagh, Ahnâhssuhqquih huhnhéhh. Mahhsséhh Uihbbráhrhr ihhehggühuhh. Ihghgôhttahhehrêh Ggéhssúhs.

It will be observed that the third dialect displays a a most singular combination of letters. It is a manifest absurdity. Pimentel does not mention where he obtained it, nor does he intimate what sounds are produced from this huddling of consonants. I give it more as a curiosity than with the idea that philologists will ever derive any benefit from it.[3]

In the Sierra Gorda and in Guanajuato, another language is mentioned, called the Meco, or Serrano, of which no specimen but a Lord's Prayer exists:

Mataíge gui bu majetzi, qui sundat too, da guê rit tû jû da ne pa quecque ni moc canáni, ne si dac-kaá na moccanzû; tanto na sinfai, tengû, majetzi. Mat tumeje tá, át mapa, rac-je pilla, ne si gi pungagé, mat-oigajé, tengû si didi pumjéé, too dit-tuc-je, nello gijega je gatac-je ratentacion; man-aa juêgaje, gat-tit-jov llaizoonfenni.[3]

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[3] *Pimentel, Cuadro*, tom. ii., p. 267; *Col. Polidiómica, Mex., Oracion Dominical*, pp. 31–3.

Still less is said concerning the languages spoken in the state of Tamaulipas; of them nothing is known but the names, and it cannot be ascertained whether they are correctly classified or not, as no specimens exist. The languages which I find spoken of are the Yuê, Yemé, Olive, Janambre, Pisone, and a general one named Tamaulipeco.[4]

The Tarasco, the principal language of Michoacan, can be placed almost upon an equality with the Aztec, as being copious and well finished. It is particularly sweet-sounding, and on this account has been likened to the Italian; possessing all the letters of the alphabet. Each syllable usually contains one consonant and one vowel; the letter *r* is frequent.[5] From the different grammars I compile the following:

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[3] *Pimentel*, *Cuadro*, tom. ii., p. 267.

[4] *Berlandier*, *Diario*, p. 144; *Orozco y Berra*, *Geografía*, p. 296.

[5] *Mendieta*, *Hist. Ecles.*, p. 552. 'Tarascum, quod hujus gentis proprium erat et vulgare, concisum atque elegans.' *Laet*, *Novus Orbis*, p. 267. 'La Tarasca, que corre generalmente en las Prouincias de Mechoacan, esta es muy facil por tener la mesma pronunciacion que la nuestra: yassi se escriue con el mesmo abecedario. Es muy copiosa, y elegante.' *Grijalua*, *Crón. Augustin*, fol. 75; *Herrera*, *Hist. Gen.*, dec. iii., lib. iii., cap. ix; *Alegre*, *Hist. Comp. de Jesus*, tom. i., pp. 90-1; *Acosta*, *Hist. Nat. Ind.*, p. 506. 'La loro lingua è abbondante, dolce, e sonora. Adoperano spesso la R soave: le loro sillabe constano per lo più d'una sola consonante e d'una vocale.' *Clavigero*, *Storia Ant. del Messico*, tom. i., p. 149. 'Les Tarasques....célèbres....par l'harmonie de leur langue riche en voyelles.' *Humboldt*, *Essai Pol.*, tom. i., p. 255; *Beaumont*, *Crón. de Mechoacan*, p. 43; *Mühlenpfordt*, *Mejico*, tom. ii., pt ii., p. 364; *Romero*, *Noticias Michoacan*, p. 5; *Heredia y Sarmiento*, *Sermon*, p. 83; *Anales del Ministerio de Fomento*, 1854, p. 185, et seq.; *Wappäus*, *Geog. u. Stat.*, p. 35; *Hassel*, *Mex. Guat.*, p. 152. 'Die Sprache in dieser Provinz wirk für die reineste und zierlichste von ganz Neu-Spanien gehalten.' *Delaporte*, *Reisen*, pp. 313–4; *Vater*, *Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., p. 125. '*Tarasca* een nette en korte spraek, die eigentlijk alhier te huis hoort.' *Montanus*, *Nieuwe Weereld*, p. 256. Ward, speaking of the Tarasco, has made the serious mistake of confounding it with the Otomí, and seems to think that they are both one and the same. Two languages could hardly be farther apart than these two. *Mexico*, vol. ii., p. 681. *Raffinesque*, the indefatigable searcher for foreign relationships with Mexican languages, claims to have discovered an affinity between the Tarasco, Italian, Atlantic, Coptic, Pelasgic, Greek, and Latin languages. He writes that he was 'struck with its evident analogy' with the above and with the 'languages of Africa and Europe both in words and structure, in spite of a separation of some thousand years.' In *Priest's Amer. Antiq.*, p. 314.

In the alphabet there is neither *f*, *v*, nor *l*; no words begin with the letters *b*, *d*, *g*, and *r*; *k*, has a sound distinct from that of *c*, being pronounced stronger. The letter *s* is often intercalated for euphony; it must be inserted between *h* and *i*, when a word ends with *h*, and the next begins with *i*. At the end of a word it signifies same, or self; *hi*, I; *his*, I myself. When a a word ends in *s* and the next begins with *h*, the letter *x* is substituted for both. The letter *x* at the end of a word indicates the plural. *Ph* is never pronounced like *f*; the *h* after *p* only indicates an aspiration of the vowel which follows:—*p-hica*. *Hati*, third person singular of the pronoun used in conjugations, may be converted into *ndi*. The *p* immediately following *m* is converted into *b*. The *r* and *t* next following *n* are converted into *d*; and *e* and *q* next following *n* are converted into *g*. There are three kinds of nouns—rational, irrational, and inanimate. The last two are indeclinable in the singular. The plural of irrational animals is formed simply by the addition of the particle *echa*. Two other particles are used to express the plural of inanimate things;—*uan*, and *harandeti*, many, much. Five words of this species use, however, the particle *echa* in the plural; *uata*, mountain; *ambocuta*, street; *ahchiuri*, night; *tzipaé*, morning; *hosqua*, star.

DECLENSION OF THE WORD FATHER.

	SINGULAR.		PLURAL.
Nom.	tata	Nom.	tata echa
Gen.	tataeueri, or hihchiuiremba	Gen.	tata echa eueri
Dat.	tata ni	Dat.	tata echa ni
Acus.	tata ni	Acus.	tata echa ni
Voc.	tata e	Voc.	tata eche e
Abl.	tata ni himbo	Abl.	tata echa ni himbo

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB POMI, TO TOUCH.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

	ACTIVE.		PASSIVE.
I touch,	pohaca	I am touched,	pogahaca
Thou touchest,	pohacare	Thou art touched,	pogahacare
He touches,	pohati	He is touched,	pogahati
We touch,	pohacachuchi	We are touched,	pogahacachuchi
You touch,	pohacarechuchi	You are touched,	pogahacachuchi
They touch,	potix	They are touched,	pogatix

	IMPERFECT.		
I touched,	pohambihca	I was touched,	pogahambihca
	PERFECT.		
I have touched,	poca	I was touched,	pogaca
	PLUPERFECT.		
I had touched,	pophihca	I had been touched,	pogaphica
	FIRST FUTURE.		
I shall touch,	pouaca	I shall be touched,	pagauaca
	SECOND FUTURE.		
I shall have touched,	thuvin pouaca		
I shall have been touched,	thuvin pogauaca		
	IMPERATIVE.		
Let me touch,	popa	Let us touch,	popacuche
Touch thou,	po	Touch you,	paue
Let him touch,	poue	Let them touch,	pauez
I might touch,	popiringa	I might be touched,	pogapiringa [6]

LORD'S PRAYER.

Tata huchaeueri thukirehaca auándaro santo arikeue
Father our thou who art heaven in holy be said
thucheueti hacangurikua uuehtsini andarenoni thucheue-
thy name make us arrive thy
ti irechekua ukeue thucheueti uekua iskire auándaro
kingdom be done thy will as in heaven in
umengahaca istu umengaue ixu echerendo. Huchaeueri
it is made as it be made as earth in. Our
curinda anganaripakua instcuhtsini iya canhtsini uepou-
bread daily give us to-day and to us .
achetsnsta huchaeueri hatzingakuareta iski hucha ueh-
forgive our fault as also we
pouacuhuantstahaca huchaeueri hatsingakuaecheni ca
forgive our debtors and
hastsini teruhtatzemani terungutahperakua himbo. Eu-
not us lead us temptation but
ahpentstatsini caru casingurita himbo.[7]
deliver us also evil of.

West of the valley of Anáhuac, in the ancient kingdom of Michoacan, and in the district which is now called Toluca, was an independent nation, the Matlaltzincas, whose language, of which there are several dialects, notwithstanding the assertion of some writers that it was connected with or related to the Tarasco, must still stand as an individual and distinct tongue. Comparisons may develop a few phonetic similarities, but otherwise the two do not approach one another in the least.[8]

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[6] *Pimentel, Cuadro*, tom. i., pp. 275–309; *Gallatin*, in *Amer. Ethno., Soc., Transact.*, tom. i., pp. 245–52; *Moxo, Cartas Mejicanas*, p. 68; *Vater, Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., p. 126; *Manuel de San Juan Crisostomo Nájera, Gram. Tarasca*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, 2da época, tom iv., pp. 664–681.

[7] *Pimentel, Cuadro*, tom. i., p. 304; *Vater, Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., pp. 126–7; *Araujo, Manual de los Santos Sacramentos en el Idioma de Michuacan.*

There are twenty-one letters used in the Matlaltzinca language:—*a*, *b*, *ch*, *d*, *e*, *g*, *h*, *i*, *k*, *m*, *n*, *o*, *p*, *q*, *r*, *t*, *tz*, *th*, *u*, *x*, *y*, *z*. Compounded words are frequently used and are considered very elegant;—*kimituhoritakimindutzitzi*, to look for something to eat; *kituteginchimuthohuinikuhumbi*, I give a good example. Gender is expressed and there is also a declension. There is a singular, a dual, and a plural; the dual is designated by the preposition *the*;—*huema*, the man; *thema*, the two men. The plural is designated by the preposition *ne*;—*nema*, the men; but there are some inanimate substantives with which this latter preposition is not used.

The personal pronouns are:—*kaki*, I; *kakuehui*, *kakuebi*, *kakuehebi*, we two; *kakohuiti*, *kakehebi*, we; *kahachi*, thou; *kachehui*, you two; *kachohui*, you; *inthehui*, he; *inthehuehui*, they two; *inthehue*, they. Possessives;—*niteyeh*, mine; *kaxniyeh*, thine; *niyeh inthehui*, his.

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB TO LOVE.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

SINGULAR.

I love,	kitututochi
Thou lovest,	kitutochi, or kikitutochi
He loves,	kitutochi

DUAL.

We two love,	kikuentutochi
You two love,	kichentutochi
They two love,	kikuentutochi

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[8] 'Estos tolucas, y por otro nombre *Matlatzincas*, no hablaban la lengua mexicana, sino otra diferente y obscura....y su lengua propia de ellos, no carece de la letra R.' *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. iii., lib. x., p. 129; *Grijalva*, *Crón. Augustin*, fol. 75; *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, *Esquisses*, p. 33.

PLURAL.

We love,	kikuchentutochi
You love,	kichehentutochi
They love,	kirontutochi

IMPERFECT.		PERFECT.	
I loved,	kimitututochi	I have loved,	kitabutochi

FUTURE.

I shall love,	kirutochi, or takimitututochi

IMPERATIVE.

Let me love,	kutochi

PASSIVE.

I am loved,	kitochikikaki	We are loved,	kitochikakehebi
We two are loved,	kitochihuehuikakuebi.		

REFLEXIVE.

I love myself,	kituteoochi

He who loves,	inmututochi	He who will love,	inkakatutochi

LORD'S PRAYER.

Kabotuntanki kizhechori ypiytiy tharehetemeyuhbu-
Father our thou art above in heaven sanctified be
tohui inituyuh tapue nitubeye tharetehehui inunihami
thy name come thy kingdom do above the earth
inkituhenahui ipuzka hetehehui ypiytiy. Achii ripah-
thy will as it is done in heaven. To-day
kehbi inbotumehui indahmutze dihemindikebi inbo-
give us our bread every day forgive us
tubuchochi pukuehentukahmindi indorihuebikeh nuxi-
our fault as we forgive our debtors
menkarihechi kehbi muhe dishedanita kehbi pinita
let us not fall us and deliver us from
inbuti.[9]
evil.

A language spoken in Toluca, the Ocuiltec, is mentioned by Sahagun and Grijalua, about which, excepting the name only, no information can be obtained.[10]

Principally in the state of Oajaca, but also in parts of the present states of Puebla and Guerrero, the Miztec language is spoken even to this day. Of this language there are many dialects, of which the following are mentioned as chief;—the Tepuzculano, the Yangüistlan, the Miztec bajo, the Miztec alto, the Cuixlahuac, the Tlaxiaco, the Cuilapa, the Mictlantongo, the Tamazulapa, the Xaltepec, and the Nochiztlan. As related to the Miztec, the Chocho, or Chuchon, also an Oajaca idiom, is mentioned.[11] As the Miztecs are generally classed among the autochthones of Mexico, their language is considered as of great antiquity, being spoken of in connection with that of the Ulmecs and Xicalancas.[12] Almost all of the old missionaries complained of the difficulty of acquiring this tongue and its many dialects, which necessitated often a threefold or fourfold study.[13]

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[9] *Pimentel*, *Cuadro*, tom. i., pp. 499–539; *Guevara*, *Arte Doctrinal*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*, *Boletin*, tom. ix., pp. 197–260; *Vater*, *Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., p. 126.

[10] '*Ocuiltecas*, viven en el distrito de Toluca, en tierras y terminos suyos, son de la misma vida, y costumbre de los de la Toluca, aunque su lenguage es diferente.' *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. iii., lib. x., p. 130. 'Ocuilteca, que es lengua singular de aquel pueblo, y de solo ocho visitas, que tenia sujetas àsi, y assi somos solos, los que la sabemos.' *Grijalua*, *Crón. Augustin*, fol. 75.

The Miztec may be written by means of the following letters:—*a*, *ch*, *d*, *e*, *h*, *i*, *j*, *k*, *m*, *n*, *ñ*, *o*, *s*, *t*, *u*, *v*, *x* or *ks*, *gs*, *y*, *z*, *dz*, *nd*, *tn*, *kh*. The pronunciation is very clear; the *h* is aspirated; *v* is as in English; *kh*, *nd*, and *tn*, are *nasal*. Long words are of frequent occurrence. I give two of seventeen syllables each;—*yodoyokavuandisasikandiyosanninahasahan*, to walk stumbling; and *yokuvuihuatinindiyotuvuihuatusindisahata*, to conciliate the good graces of a person. Words are compounded or agglutinated in five different ways;—First, without changing either of the component words, as;—*yutnu*, tree; and *kuihi*, fruit; *yutnukuihi*, fruit-tree. Second, one of the component words changes, as;—*huaha*, good, and *ñaha*, no; *ñahuaha*, bad. Third, words which are first divided and cut up, are afterward, so to say, patched together again. Fourth, one word is intercalated with another; as;—*yosinindi*, I know; *mani*, an estimable thing; *yosinimanindi*, I love or esteem.

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[11] 'Y aunque la lengua los haze generalmente à todos vnos en muchos partes la han diferenciado en sylabas, y modo de pronunciarlas, pero todos se comunican, y entienden.' *Burgoa*, *Geog. Descrip.*, tom. i., fol. 127, 130; *Grijalua*, *Crón. Augustin*, p. 75; *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, *Esquisses*, pp. 34–6; *Laet*, *Novus Orbis*, p. 260; *Herrera*, *Hist. Gen.*, dec. iii., lib. iii., cap. xii–xiii.; *Orozco y Berra*, *Geografía*, pp. 189–96; *Villa-Señor y Sanchez*, *Theatro*, tom. ii., p. 137; *Remesal*, *Hist. Chyapa*, p. 712.

[12] *Torquemada*, *Monarq. Ind.*, tom. i., p. 32. 'Ein Volk, das zu den Autochthonen von Mexico gehört.' *Buschmann*, *Ortsnamen*, p. 18.

[13] 'Mistica, cuya entera pronunciacion se vale algunas vezes de las narizes, y tiene muchos equiuocos que la hazen de mayor dificultad.' *Dávila Padilla*, *Hist. Fvnd. Mex.*, p. 64. 'La lengua dificultosissima en la pronunciacion, con notable variedad de terminos y vozes en vnos y otros Pueblos.' *Burgoa*, *Palestra*, *Hist.*, pt i., fol. 211. 'Que como eran Demonios se valian de la maliciosa astucia de varias la vozes y vocablos en esta lengua, asi para los Palacios de los Caziques con terminos reuerenciales, como para los Idolos con parabolos, y tropos, que solos los satrapas los aprendian, y como era aqui lo mas corrupto.' *Id.*, *Geog. Descrip.*, tom. i., fol. 156. 'La lengua de aquella nacion, qne es dificultosa de saberse, por la gran equiuocacion de los bocablos, para cuya distincion es necessario vsar de ordinario del sonido de la nariz y aspiracion del aliento.' *Remesal*, *Hist. Chyapa*, p. 321. 'Ser la Lengua dificultosa de aprender, por las muchas equiuocaciones que tiene.' *Dávila*, *Teatro Ecles.*, tom. i., p. 156.

There are many words in this language which express quite different things, according to the connection in which they are used, as;—*yondakandi*, I accompany somebody, means also I ask; *yoyuhuindi*, I counsel, signifies also, I go to receive somebody on the road; also, let us go; etc. Reverential terms are of frequent occurrence, necessitating almost a separate language when addressing superiors. For instance;—*noho*, teeth; *yeknya yuchixa*, teeth of a lord; *dzitui*, nose; *dutuya*, nose of a lord; *dzoho*, ears; *tnahaya*, ears of a lord. There is no regular plural, but plurality is expressed by the word 'many,' or the number. Personal pronouns are;—I, speaking to inferiors or equals, *duhu*, *ndi*; I, speaking with superiors, *ñadzaña*, *ñadza*, *ñdza*; thou, *doho*, *ndo*; thou, used by females speaking to their children, *diya*, *nda*; you, or your honor, *disi*, *maini*, *ni*; he, *ta*, *tay*, *yukua*; she, *ña*, (also used by women speaking of men); he or she, speaking respectfully, *ya*, *iya*; we, *ndoo*; you, *doho*; they, *ta*, *tay*, *yukua*. The pronouns, *ndi*, *ndo*, *ta*, are affixed to the verb; and the pronouns, *duhu*, *doho*, and *tai*, are prefixed; *ñadzaña*, is usually prefixed; *ñadza* or *ndza*, affixed; *disi*, and *maini*, are generally prefixed, *ni* is affixed; *diya*, is prefixed and *ña*, *ndoo*, and *ya*, are affixed.

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB TO SIN.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

I sin,	yodzatevuindi	He sins,	yodzatevuita
Thou sinnest,	yodzatevuindo	We sin,	yodzatevuindoo

	IMPERFECT.		PLUPERFECT.
I sinned,	nidzatevuindi	I had sinned,	sanidzatevuindi
	FIRST FUTURE		SECOND FUTURE.
I shall sin,	dzatevuindi	I shall have sinned,	sadzatevuikandi

IMPERATIVE.

Let me sin,	nadzatevuindi	Let us sin,	nadzatevuindoo
Sin thou,	dzatevui	Sin you,	chidzatevui
Let him, or them sin,	nadzatevuita		

Verbal nouns are formed by prefixing the syllable *sa*, or *sasi*, to the present indicative of the verb. Regarding the dialects of the Miztec, Pimentel quotes the following from Father Reyes' grammar. All the dialects may be grouped into two principal languages, which are those of Tepuzculula and Yangüitlan. That of Tepuzculula is the best understood throughout the district of Mizteca.

The Pater Noster in the Tepuzculula dialect is as follows.

Dzutundoo yodzikani andevui nakakunahihuahandoo,
Our father thou art heaven let us praise,
sananini nakisi santoniisini nakuvui ñuuñayevui inini
thy name come thy kingdom be done (in the) world thy will
dzavuatnaha yokuvui andevui. Dzitandoo yutnaa yutnaa
as also be done (in) heaven. Our bread each day
tasinisindo huitno dzaandoui kuachisindoo dzavuatnaha
give us much to-day forgive us our sins as well as
yodzandoondoo suhani sindoo huasa kivuiñahani nukui-
we forgive debtor ours not lead us we
tandodzondoo kuachi tavuiñahani sañahuahua. Dzavua
will fall in sin deliver you from evil. So
nakuvui.
be it made.

For the purpose of illustrating the difference between the dialects, I insert two other Pater Nosters, the first of Miztec bajo, and the second of the alto dialect:

Dútundo hiadícani andívi ñacùú hii ña nániní: naquíxidíca satónixiní: nacúu ndúdu ínìní ñunahívi yóhò daguatnaha yo cúu ini andivi. Ditàndo itián itían taxinia nundi vichi: te dandooni cuachindi dagua tnaha dandoondi naa ni dativi nundi: te maza dáñani ntziuhu uncaguandi ña dativindi: te cuneguahanindi nuu nditaca ña unguaha. Duha na cuu Jesus.

Dzutuyo iyoxicani andivi nacui hii ñanánini. Naquixi xatòniixini. Nacúhui ndudzuinìni uñaiviyóhò, sahuatna yocúhui ini andivi. Dzitàyo itian itian taxini nundi vichi: sandoo-ni cuáchiyo, sahuatanha yo sandondi nanidzativi nundi taun-sayáhani ñacanacahuandi zadzativindi. Sacacunino ñahani nuu nditaca ña hunhua. Dzaa nacuu Iya Iesus.[14]

Another language, said to be connected with the Miztec is the Amusgo. Wedged in between the Miztec and Zapotec are several tongues, of which, excepting a few Lord's Prayers, I find nothing mentioned but the names; it is not improbable that some of them were only dialects of either the Miztec or Zapotec. These are the Mazatec, Cuicatec, and Chinantec, which latter is described as a very guttural tongue, with a rather indistinct pronunciation, so that it is difficult to distinguish the vowels; further there are mentioned the Chatino, Tlapanec, and Popoluca.[15] Orozco y Berra declares that the following names designate the Popoluca in different states. Thus the Chocho, Chochona, or Chuchon, is said by him to have been called,—in Puebla, the Popoluca; in Guerrero, the Tlapanec; in Michoacan, the Teco; and in Guatemala, the Pupuluca.[16] Of these languages I have the following Lord's Prayers:

CHOCHO OR CHUCHON.

Thañay theeñingarmhi athiytnuthu y ñay dithiñi achuua dinchaxiñi atatçu ndithetatçu cagūñi, nchiyatheetatçu ngarmhi andaatatçu saçermhi y tçama caatuēnesacaha cahau cahau atzizhuqhee caa tuēnesacaha di ēñihay a taanguyheene cagūñi, ditheethaxengaqhine tuēnesacaha nchiyaquichuu, ditheetaanguyheene cagūquichuu....sacaha, thiytheecheēxengaqhine quichuu sacaha netçanga yhathamiñi çixitçeyasacaha yhee cheecaamiñi cheecaaqhi nemiñi caatuēnesacaha caanenndiñaña andataazu.

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[14] *Pimentel, Cuadro*, tom. i., pp. 41–79; *Vater, Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., pp. 31–41; *Catecismo del P. Ripaldo, traducida al Misteco*; *Catecismo en idioma Mixteco.*

[15] *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, p. 712. Chinantec 'con la dificultad de la pronunciacion, y vozes tan equiuocas que con vn mesmo termino mas blando ò mas reciò dicho significa disonante sentido.' 'Por que la locucion es entre dientes, violenta, y con los accentos de consonantes asperas, confusas las vocales, sin distincion vnas de otras que parecian bramidos, mas que terminos de locucion.' *Burgoa, Geog. Descrip.*, tom. i., fol. 183., tom. ii., fol. 284, 286; *Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Theatro*, tom. ii., pp. 137, 141, 163, 187, 189, 197; *Orozco y Berra, Geografía*, pp. 187–197; *Hakluyt's Voy.*, vol. iii., p. 497.

[16] *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, tom. iii., lib. x., p. 135; *Pimentel, Cuadro*, tom. ii., p. 262.

Of the Mazatec there are two specimens, which do not appear to accord, thus showing how little regard was paid to names:

Nadminá Nainá ga tecni gahami, sandumí ili ga tirrubanajin nanguili. Cuaha catama janimali, jacunit dic nangui cunit gahami. Niño rrajinna tey quitaha najin; qntedchatahanajin gadchidtonajin jacunitgajin nedchata alejin chidtaga tedtunajin. Guquimit tacuntuajin, tued tinajin cuacha ca tama.

Tata nahan xi nacá nihaseno: chacuca, catoma ñieré; catichová rico manimajin. Catoma cuazuare, donjara batoó cor nanguí, bateco, nihasen: niotisla najin ri ganeihinixtin, tinto najin dehi; nicanuhi ri guitenajin donjara batoo, juirin ni canojin ri quiteisjajin, quiniquenahi najin ri danjin quis anda nongo niqueste. Meé.

Of the Cuicatec there are also two dialects:

Chidao, chicane cheti jubí chintuico ña; cobichi, jubi ña; chichií, chicobi no ns: ñendi ña; cobichi ñenoña. Duica ñahán, ñahán tando cheti jubi. Nondo ñecno; chi jubi, jubi; techi ni nons: má dinenino, ni chi canticono, dinen, tandonons; dineninono chi canti co ñehen nons, ata condicno; na tentac ioñ, ante danhi, dinenino ni chin que hé danhi.

Chida deco, chicanede vae chetingue cuivicu duchi dende cuichi nusun dende vue chetingue cui, tundube vedinun dende tica nañaa, tandu vae chetingue yn dingue deco de huehue techide deco guema yna dechecode deco ducue ticu tica, tandu nusun nadecheco deevioducue chichati cusa yati, tumandicude cuitao vendicuido nanguaedene ducue chiguetae.[17]

The ancient kingdom of Zapotecapan, in which the Zapotec language was spoken, extended from the valley of Oajaca as far as Tehuantepec. The different dialects were, the Zaachilla, Ocotlan, Etla, Netzicho, Serrano de Ixtepec, Serrano de Cajones or Beni-Xono, and Serrano de Miahuatlan.[18] The Zapotec is a more harmonious language than the Miztec, and is spoken with considerable elegance, metaphors and parables abounding.[19] Yet it is in some places pronounced indistinctly; so much so that Juan Córdova, the author of a grammar, complains that the letters *a* and *o*, *e*, *y*, and *i*, *o* and *u*, *b* and *p*, and *t* and *r*, are often confounded. The *h* is used only as an aspirate. The following letters of the alphabet represent the sounds of the Zapotec: *a*, *b*, *ch*, *e*, *g*, *h*, *i*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *ñ*, *o*, *p*, *r*, *t*, *u*, *y*, *x*, *z*, *th*. There are also five diphthongs: *œ*, *œ*, *ei*, *ie*, *ou*. The plural is expressed either by numerals or by adjectives;—*pichina*, deer; *ziani pichina*, many deer. Like the Aztec, Miztec, and others, the Zapotec has reverential terms. The personal pronouns are;—*naa*, *ya*, *a*, I; *lohui*, *loy*, *looy*, *lo*, thou; *yobina*, your honor (when speaking to superiors); *nikani*, *nike*, *nikee*, *ni*, *ke*, he or they; *yobini* or *yobina*, he, (speaking respectfully); *taono*, *tono*, *tonoo*, *tona*, *no*, *noo*, we; *lato*, *to*, you.

Possessives;—*xitenia*, mine; *xitenilo*, thine; *xitenini*, his; *xitenitono* or *xitenino*, ours; *xitenito*, yours. Interrogatives used with animate beings, are;—*tuxa* or *tuia*, *tu* or *chu*; and with inanimate things: *xiikaxa*, *xiixa*, *xii*; *koota* is used for either animate or inanimate objects.

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[17] *Pimentel, Cuadro*, tom. ii., pp. 259–62.

[18] *Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Theatro*, tom. ii., pp. 190–9; *Museo Mex.*, tom. ii., p. 554; *Mühlenpfordt, Mejico*, tom. ii., p. 186; *Wappäus, Geog. u. Stat.*, p. 36; *Orozco y Berra, Geografía*, p. 177; *Burgoa, Geog. Descrip.*, tom. ii., fol. 312.

[19] 'Su lenguage era tan metaforico, como el de los Palestinos, lo que querian persuadir, hablaban siempre con parabolas.' *Burgoa, Geog. Descrip.*, tom. i., fol. 196. 'La langue Zapotèque est d'une douceur et d'une sonorité qui rappelle l'Italien.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Esquisses*, p. 35.

There are four conjugations, which are distinguished by the particles with which they commence. The first uses, in the present, *ta*, in the past, *ka*, and in the future, *ka*; the second has *te*, *pe*, and *ke*; the third, *ti*, *ko*, *ki*; and if they are passives, *ti*, *pi*, *ki*, or *ti*, *ko*, and *ka*; the fourth uses *to*, *pe*, and *ko*.

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB TO DIG.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

I dig,	tanaya	We dig,	tieenano
Thou diggest,	tanalo	You dig,	tanato
He digs, or they dig,	tanani		

IMPERFECT.		PERFECT.	
I dug,	tanatia, konatia, or konaya	I have dug,	zianaya

PLUPERFECT.

I had dug,	huayanaya, konakalaya, zianakalaya,
or,	huayanakalaya

FIRST FUTURE.

I shall dig,	kanaya

IMPERATIVE.

Dig thou,	kona
Let us dig,	lakeyanano, or kolakieenano
Dig you,	kolakana

OTHER FORMS.

If I would dig,	nianalayaniaka
If I have dug,	zianatilaya
If I shall dig,	nikanaya

The following is an example of the differences between the dialects. Child in the Zaachilla is *batoo*; in the Ocotlan, *metho*; in the Etla, *binnito*; in the sierra, *bitao*; in the tierra caliente, *bato*.

The Pater Noster with literal translation taken from the *Catecismo* of Leonardo Levanto, reads as follows.

Bixoozetonoohe kiiebaa nachiibalo nazitoo ziikani
Father our heaven thou who art above great has been done
laalo kellakookii xtennilo kita ziika ruarii nitiziguee-
thy name kingdom thine will come here thy will
lalo ziika raka kiaa, kiiebaa laaniziika gaka ruarii
as is done above, heaven as be done here
layoo. Xikonina kixee kixee peneche ziika anna chela
earth. The bread of all us to-morrow give also to-day and
a kozaanañaaziikalo tonoo niiani ya kezihuina: peziilla
not lead us us that we sin: deliver

zika	tonoo	niiaxtenni	kiraa	kellahuechiie.	Gaga	ziiga
also	us	of	all	evil.	Will be done	so

ziika.[20]
so.

Between the head waters of the Rio Nexapa and Goatzacoalco the Mije language is spoken. It is described as guttural and rough, and by some as poor in words, necessitating auxiliary gestures. The bishop of Oajaca, to whose diocese they belonged, in a letter to Archbishop Lorenzana stated that he had a people under him, who could only converse during daylight, for at night they could not see their gestures and without these were unable to understand each other.[21] The following alphabet is used by Pimentel in writing this language;—*a*, *b*, *ch*, *e*, *h*, *i*, *k*, *m*, *n*, *ñ*, *o*, *p*, *t*, *u*, *v*, *x*, *y*, *tz*. Two and more consonants frequently follow one another in the same syllable, as;—*akx*, *epx*, *itzp*, *otzk*, *mma*, *mne*, *mpi*, *mto*, *mxu*, etc. Vowels are also frequently double, as;—*kôô*, arms; *teikkaa*, and *tinaak*, stomach. In declensions the genitive is formed by prefixing the letter *i*;—*xêuh*, name; *dios ixêuh*, name of God. The plural is formed by the terminal *toch*;—*toix*, woman; *toixtoch*, women.

PRONOUNS.

I	ôtz, n, nôtz
Thou	ix, mitz, mi, mim, n
Thou, speaking with reverence	mih
He	t, i
He, or they who	hudiiphee, hudii
He, or they who (affixed)	phee, hee
This, these	phee, hee, yaat
Who	pôn
We	ôôtz, n
They	yáó
Mine	nôtz
Thine	m, mitzm
His	i
Our, ours	ôôtzn, nôôtz, n

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[20] *Pimentel, Cuadro*, tom. i., pp. 321–60; *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1841, tom. xcii., p. 260, et seq.

[21] 'Expressa el Illm^{o} Señor Obispo de Oaxaca en su Pastoral, que en su Diocesis hay una Lengua, que solo de dia se entienden bien, y que de noche en apagándoles la luz, ya no se pueden explicar, porque con los gestos significan.' *Lorenzana y Buitron, Cartas Pastorales*, p. 96, note 1. 'Tambien su idioma tiene fuerça y energia.' *Burgoa, Geog. Descrip.*, tom. ii., fol. 271. 'Lingua illorum, rudis et crassum quid sonans instar Allemanorum.' *Laet, Novus Orbis*, p. 262; *Barnard's Tehuantepec*, pp. 224–5; *Villa-Señor y San-*

ADVERBS, PREPOSITIONS, AND CONJUNCTIONS.

Here	ya
No	katii
Thence	heem
Always	xûma
Never	kahundiin
More	niik
Then	hueniit
When	ko
For, in, to, above, with	kûxm
Of	kûxmit, it
In, between	hoitp
In	huiñ
With	môôt
Inside, within	akuuk
Before	huindui
Why, what for	heekûxm
That	huen
As much, so that	ixtanôm
Not yet	katiinam
How, since	ixta

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

Nteitôôtz tzaphoitp mtzônaiphee konuikx itot mitzm
Father our in heaven who lives blessed be thy

xêuh momoikôôtz mitzm konkion itunot mitzm tzokn
name give us thy kingdom be done thy will

ya naxhuiñ ixta ituiñu tzaphoitp. Oôtzn kaik opo-
as in earth as is done in heaven. Our bread

mopomit momoikôôtz yoniit etz moyaknitokoikôôtzn
daily give us to-day and forgive us

pokpa ixta ôôtz niaknitokoi ôôtzn yachotmaatpa etz
sin as we forgive our offender and

katii ôôtz ixmomatztuit heekuxm katii ôôtz nkedai
not as lead that not as let us carry

huinonn kûxn. Etz mokohuankôôtz nañihum kaoiaphee
temptation in. And deliver all evil

kuxmit.[22]
from.

The language of the Huaves spoken on the isthmus of Tehuantepec, is, according to tradition, not indigenous to the country. It is related that these people came by water from a place down the coast, although the lo-

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ches, *Theatro*, tom. ii., pp. 155, 199–201; *Mühlenpfordt*, *Mejico*, tom. ii., p. 143; *Museo Mex.*, tom. ii., p. 555; *Orozco y Berra*, *Geografía*, p. 176.

[22] *Pimentel*, *Cuadro*, tom. ii., pp. 173–88.

cality whence they came is not given.[23] I have only the following numerals as a specimen of the language.

One	anoeth	Ten	agax-poax
Two	izquieó	Eleven	agax-panocthx
Three	areux	Twelve	agax-pieuhx
Four	apequiú	Thirteen	agax-par
Five	acoquiaú	Fourteen	agax-papeux
Six	anaiú	Fifteen	agax-pacoigx
Seven	ayéiú	Twenty	nicumaio
Eight	axpecaú	Thirty	nieumiaomcaxpó
Nine	axqueyeú	One hundred	anoecacocmiau[24]

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[23] 'Y se dixo antes, que la nacion destos Indios huabes avian venido de tierras muy lexanas, de allà de la Costa del Sur, mas cerca de la Eclyptica vezindad del Perù, y segun las circunstancias de su lengua, y trato de la Provincia ò Reyno de Nicarahua.' *Burgoa*, *Geog. Descrip.*, tom. ii., fol. 396; 'El huave, huavi, guave, llamado tambien en un antiguo MS. guazonteca ó huazonteca, se habla en el Estado de Oaxaca, Los huaves son originarios de Guatemala; unos les hacen de la filiacion de los peruanos, fundándose en la semejanza de algunas costumbres, mientras otros les suponen hermanos de los pueblos de Nicaragua. La segunda opinion nos parece la mas acertada, y aun nos atreveriamos á creer que el huave pertenece á la familia maya-quiché.' *Orozco y Berra*, *Geografía*, pp. 44, 74. 'Il paraît démontré, cependant, que la langue des Wabi a de grandes analogies avec quelqu'une de celles qu'on parlait à Nicaragua.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. iii., p. 36.

[24] *Sivers*, *Mittelamerika*, p. 290.

CHAPTER XI.

THE MAYA-QUICHÉ LANGUAGES.

THE MAYA-QUICHÉ, THE LANGUAGES OF THE CIVILIZED NATIONS OF CENTRAL AMERICA—ENUMERATION OF THE MEMBERS OF THIS FAMILY—HYPOTHETICAL ANALOGIES WITH LANGUAGES OF THE OLD WORLD—LORD'S PRAYERS IN THE CHAÑABAL, CHIAPANEC, CHOL, TZENDAL, ZOQUE, AND ZOTZIL—POKONCHI GRAMMAR—THE MAME OR ZAKLOPAHKAP—QUICHÉ GRAMMAR—CAKCHIQUEL LORD'S PRAYER—MAYA GRAMMAR—TOTONAC GRAMMAR—TOTONAC DIALECTS—HUASTEC GRAMMAR.

The languages of the civilized nations of Central America, being all more or less affiliated, may be not improperly classified as the Maya-Quiché family, the Maya constituting the mother tongue. Commencing in the neighborhood of the river Goazacoalco, thence extending over Tabasco, Chiapas, Yucatan, Guatemala, and portions of Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua, it occupies the same relatively important position in the south as the Aztec farther north. Besides spreading out over this immense area, there are two branches still farther north, isolated from the mother tongue, yet conterminous to each other, the Huastec and the Totonac of Tamaulipas and Vera Cruz. Without including the last mentioned, probably the fullest enumeration of all these languages, is given by the Licenciado Diego García de Palacio, in a letter addressed to the King of Spain, in the year 1576. Omitting the Aztec, which he includes in his catalogue, his summary is substantially as follows. In Chiapas, the Chiapanec, Tloque, Zotzil, and Zeldal-Quelen; in Soconusco, a tongue which he designates as the mother language and another called the Vebetlateca; in Suchitepec and Guatemala, the Mame, Achi, Guatemaltec, Chinantec, Hutatec, and Chirichota; in Vera Paz, the Pokonchi, and Caechicolchi; in the valleys of Acacebastla and Chiquimula, the Tlacacebastla, and Apay; and in the valley of San Miguel, the Poton, Taulepa, and Ulua. Other authors mention, in Guatemala the Quiché, the Cakchiquel, the Zutugil, the Chorti, the Alaguilac, the Caichi, the Ixil, the Zoque, the Coxoh, the Chañabal, the Chol, the Uzpanteca, the Aguacateca, the Quecchi; and in Yucatan, the stock language, the Maya. Among all these languages thus enumerated by different authors, it is not at all unlikely that some have been mentioned twice under different names.[1] Most, if not all of them, are related to, if indeed they did not spring from one mother tongue, the Maya, of which a dialect called the Tzendal is said to be the oldest language spoken in any of these countries. In fact, they all appear to be dialects and variations of some few tongues of yet greater antiquity, which again have sprung from the oldest of all, the Maya. This latter, I may say, forms the linguistic centre, from which all the others radiate, decreasing in consanguinity according to the distance from this centre, losing, by intermixture, and the adoption of foreign words, their aboriginal forms, until on reaching the outer edge of the circle, it becomes difficult to trace their connection with the source from which they sprang.[2]

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[1] *Palacio, Carta*, p. 20; *Juarros, Hist. Guat.*, p. 198; *Registro Yucateco*, tom. i., p. 166; *Galindo*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc., Jour.*, vol. iii., pp.95, 63; *Gallatin*, in *Amer. Ethno. Soc., Transact.*, vol. i., pp. 4–7; *Mühlenpfordt, Mejico*, tom. ii., pp. 8, 17; *Wappäus, Geog. u. Stat.*, p. 245; *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, dec. iv., lib. x., cap. ii–xiv.; *Laet, Novus Orbis*, pp. 277, 317, 325; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, tom. i., p. 267; *Heller, Reisen*, p. 380; *Galindo*, in *Antiq. Mex.*, p. 67; *Norman's Rambles*, p. 238; *Haefkens, Cent. Amer.*, p. 412; *Prichard's Nat. Hist. Man*, vol. ii., p. 513; *Behrendt's Report*, in *Smithsonian Rept.*, 1867, p. 425; *Squier's Monograph*, p. ix.; *Villagutierre, Hist. Conq. Itza*, p. 84.

[2] The languages of the Maya family are spoken in the old provinces of Soconusco, Chiapas, Suchitepec, Vera Paz. Honduras, Izalcos, Salvador, San Miguel, Nicaragua, Xerez de Choluteca, Tegucigalpa, and Costa Rica, says the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, MS. *Troano*, tom. ii., p. vi. 'La plu-

The Maya, with its many affiliations, may be well compared in its grammatical construction and capacity to the Aztec. It has in this respect been likened to the ancient Greek which it is said to resemble in many points. Although monosyllabic words are of frequent occurrence, it has not, as is common to monosyllabic languages, many very harsh and guttural sounds, but is generally called soft and well-sounding. The dialects spoken on the coast of Yucatan and near Belize, are the purest and most elegant of the Maya family, and the greater the distance from this region, the greater are the variations from the pure Maya.[3] Some remarkable hypotheses, which, if proven,

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part des langues de cette contrée, si multiples au premier aspect, se réduisent en réalité à un petit nombre. Ce sont des dialectes qui ne diffèrent les uns des autres que par le mélange de quelques mots étrangers, une certaine variété dans les finales ou dans la prononciation.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1855, tom. cxlvii., p. 155. 'Il me paraît indubitable que la langue universelle des royaumes guatémaliens devait être, avant l'invasion des tribus que les Espagnols trouvèrent en possession de ces contrées, le maya d'Yucatan ou le tzendal qui lui ressemble beaucoup.' *Ib.* 'Lacandons....les *Mames*, *Pocomames*, etc., qui parlent encore aujourd'hui une langue presqu'en tout semblable à celle des Yucatèques.' *Id.*, p. 156. 'Le *Tzendal* ou *Tzeldal* et un dialecte de la langue *zotzile* dont il diffère fort peu.' *Id.*, *Palenqué*, p. 34. 'Toutes sont issues d'une seule souche, dont le *maya* paraît avoir gardé le plus grand nombre d'éléments. Le *quiché*, le *cakchiquel*, le *mame*, le *tzendal*, sont marqués eux-mêmes au sceau d'une très-haute antiquité, amplement partagée par le *mexicain* ou *nahuatl* malgré les différences que comporte sa grammaire; car si ses formes et sa syntaxe sont très-distinctes de celles du *maya*, on peut dire, néanmoins, que tous ces vocables sont composés de racines communes à tout le groupe. *Id.*, *MS. Troano*, tom. ii., pp. vii., viii. 'La langue primitive forme le centre; plus elle s'avance vers la circonférence, plus elle perde de son originalité la tangente, c'est-à-dire le point où elle rencontre un autre idiome, est l'endroit où elle s'altère pour former une langue mixte.' *Waldeck*, *Voy. Pitt.*, pp. 24, 42. 'Les Taitzaes, les Cehatches, les Campims, les Chinamitas, les Locènes, les Ytzaes et les Lacandons. Toutes ces nations parlent la langue maya, excepté les Locènes, qui parlent la langue Chol.' *Ternaux-Compans*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1843, tom. xcvii., p. 50; *Id.*, 1840, tom. lxxxviii., p. 6. 'La de Yucatan, y Tabasco, que es toda vna.' *Bernal Diaz*, *Hist. Conq.*, fol. 25; *Solis*, *Hist. Mex.*, tom. i., p. 89. 'Zoques, Celtales y Quèlenes, todos de lenguas diferentes.' *Remesal*, *Hist. Chyapa*, pp. 264, 299; also in *Montanus*, *Nieuwe Weereld*, p. 269; *Helps' Span. Conq.*, tom. iii., p. 252; *Squier*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1855, tom. cxlviii., p. 275, *Id.*, 1857, tom. cliii., pp. 175, 177–8. The natives of the island of Cozumel 'son de la lengua y costumbres de los de Yucatan.' *Landa*, *Relacion*, p. 12; *Orozco y Berra*, *Geografía*, pp. 18–25, 55–56.

[3] 'La simplicité originale de cette langue et la régularité merveilleuse de ses formes grammaticales, c'est la facilité avec laquelle elle se prête á l'analyse de chacun de ces vocables et à la dissection des racines dont ils sont dérivés.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, *MS. Troano*, tom. ii., pp. iii., vi., v. 'The *Maya* tongue spoken in the northern parts of Yucatan, is remarkable for its extremely guttural pronunciation.' *Gordon's Hist. and Geog. Mem.*, p. 73. 'The whole of the native languages are exceedingly guttural in their pro-

would revolutionize many existing theories, ethnologic and philologic, have latterly been brought forward by the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg. This gentleman, who has devoted himself to the study of ancient Central America and Mexico for many years, and who is fully conversant with the languages of Yucatan and Guatemala, the Maya and Quiché, claims to have discovered a close connection between the Maya, Quiché, Cakchiquel, Zutugil, and others, with most of the chief languages of Europe; prominent among which he places the Greek, but mentions also Latin, French, English, German, Flemish, Danish, and others. Although on examination many of the abbé's so-called roots display similarities, both phonetic and in meaning, with some European words, still a large majority are evidently twisted to conform to the writer's ideas, and it will require not alone further investigations, but unprejudiced studies, such as are not made for the purpose of proving any particular hypothesis, to substantiate his theories. Until such impartial comparisons are made, and a clearer light thrown upon the subject, these Central American languages must remain content to be treated as strangers to those of the old world.[4] Of the languages previously enumerated I have the following specimens.

The Lord's Prayer in Chañabal, spoken in Comitan, in the state of Chiapas:

Tattic hayá culchahan tanlinubal á vihil jacué eg

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nunciation.' *Dunn's Guatimala*, p. 265. 'Diese Sprache war wohlklingend und weich.' *Müller, Amerikanische Urreligionen*, p. 453; *Ternaux-Compans*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*,1843, tom. xcvii., p. 32; *Squier*, in *Id.*, tom. cliii., p. 178.

[4] 'Dans ces langues kakchiquèle, kichée et zutugile, les mots qui n'appartiennent pas au Maya, m'ont tout l'air d'être d'origine germanique, saxons, danois, flamands, anglais même.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1855, tom. cxlvii., pp. 156-7. 'Je fus frappé, dès mon arrivée....de la similitude qu'une quantité de mots de leur langue offrait avec celles du nord de l'Europe.' *Id.*, *Lettre à M. Rafn*, in *Id.*, tom. clx., 1858, pp. 263, 281-90. 'The fundamental forms and words of the languages of these regions (except the Mexican) are intimately connected with the Maya or Tzendal and that all the words, that are neither Mexican nor Maya, belong to our languages of Northern Europe, viz., English, Saxon, Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, Flemish and German, some even appear to belong to the French and Persian, and altogether they are really very numerous and astounding.' *Id.*, *Letter in the New York Tribune*, November 21, 1855.

bagtic á guajan acotuc á guabal hichuc ili luhum jastal culchahan. Yipil caltzil eg güiniquil tic aquitic sva yabanhi soc culanperdon eg multic hichuc qucj ganticon guazt culanticon perdon machá hay smul sigilticon soc mi ztagua concoctic mulil mas lec coltayotic scab pucuj jachuc.

Lord's Prayer in Chiapanec:

Pua manguemé nilumá cané nacapajó totomomo copamimé chambriomo chalayā guipumutamū gadilojá istanacupū cajilucá nacopajó: cajilo baña yacameomo nuori may tarilū mindamū oguajimē lla copomimemo taguajime nambucamuňeme cuqueme gadilucā si memu casimemu tagnagimē nambucamuňeme copá tipusitumu bica tipucapuimu mujarimimuňame mangueme. Diusi mutarilú nitangame chacuillame caji Jesus.

Lord's Prayer in Chol:

Tiat te lojon, aué tipuchan utzat alvilacaval trictic tolejón han gracia chulee viliç á pucical vafchec ti paniumil chee tipanchan. Laa cual ti juun pel quin, de vennomelojón gualee sutven lasvet baschee mue sutvenlaa y vetob laspibulob. Llastel ti lolontecl cotanon melojon y chachan jaipel y tiué nialoloion. Amen Jesus.

Lord's Prayer in Tzendal, as spoken near the celebrated ruins of Palenque:

Tatic, ta nacalat tāchulchan: chulalviluc te ajalalvilé: acatalúc te aguajualé: acapastayuc: te tuxacanē tajich ta chulchan jichucnix ta valumilal. Ecuctae jujhan acabeyaotic te guag vixtum cuntic tajujun caal chaybeyaotic te multic achiotic chaybetic ate hay smul cagtojoltique soyoc mameaguac yalucotic ta mulil colta yaoticnax tastojol piscil te colae. Amen Jesus.

Lord's Prayer in Zoque, as spoken in Tabasco, Chiapas, and parts of Oajaca.

Theshata tzapguesmue itupue yavecotzamué mis nei, yaminé mis yumihacui, ya tuque mis sunoycui, yecńasquesi tzapquesmuese. Tesané hoimuepe homepe tzihete

yshoy, yatocoyates mis hescova hes jaziquet mis atocoipasé thesquesipue jatzi huitemistetzaeu hocysete cuijomue ticomaye ya cotzocamisthe mumuyatzipue quesi, tese yatuque. Amen Jesus.

Lord's Prayer in Zotzil:

Totit ot-te nacal oi ta vinagel-utzilaluc á vi-acotal aguajualel-acopas huc á chul cano-echuc nox ta vinagel-eclusé tā valumil-acbeotic ē cham-llocom llocomutic-ech xachaibeutic-cuiē tag tojolic-ma á guae llalucuntic-ta altajoltic-ech xacolta utic nox ta stojol ti coloc. Amen Jesus.[5]

Of the Pokonchi Language I have a short grammar, by Thomas Gage, which has also been used by Vater and Gallatin. Following are a few of its prominent features:

Nouns are declined by the aid of particles, of which there are two kinds, varying accordingly as the word to be declined commences with a consonant or with a vowel. For words commencing with a consonant the particles *nu*, *a*, *ru*, *ca*, *ata*, and *quitacque* are used; and for those commencing with a vowel, *v*, *av*, *r*, *c*, or *q*, *ta*, *qu*, and *tacque*. These particles are partly prefixed and partly affixed, as will appear in the following examples. So the word *pat*, house, and *tat*, father, are by Gage declined in the following manner.

My house	**nupat**	**Our house**	**capat**
Thy house	**apat**	**Your house**	**apatta**
His house	**rupat**	**Their house**	**quipattacque**
My father	**nutat**	**Our father**	**catat**
Thy father	**atat**	**Your father**	**atatta**
His father	**rutat**	**Their father**	**quitattacque**

The declension of the word *acun*, son, and *ixim*, corn, are given by Gage, as follows:

My son	**vacun**	**Our son**	**cacun**
Thy son	**avacun**	**Your son**	**avacunta**
His son	**racun**	**Their son**	**cacuntaque**
My corn	**vixim**	**Our corn**	**quixim**
Thy corn	**avixim**	**Your corn**	**avicimta**
His corn	**rixim**	**Their corn**	**quiximtacque**

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[5] *Pimentel, Cuadro*, tom. ii., pp. 231–45.

Verbs in like manner change the particles, by means of which they are conjugated, accordingly as the word commences with a consonant or a vowel. For those commencing with a consonant the particles are;—*nu*, *na*, *inru*, *inca*, *nata*, *inquitacque*. Thus the word *locoh*, to love, is conjugated as follows:

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB LOCOH, TO LOVE.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

I love,	nulocoh	We love,	incalocoh
Thou lovest,	nalocoh	You love,	nalocohto
He loves,	inrulucoh	They love,	inquilocohtacque

PRESENT PASSIVE.

I am loved,	quiloconhi	We are loved,	coloconhi
Thou art loved,	tiloconhi	You are loved,	tiloconhita
He is loved,	inroconhi	They are loved,	quiloconhitacque

PERFECT PASSIVE.

I have been loved,	xinloconhi
Thou hast been loved,	ixtiloconhi
He has been loved,	ixloconhi
We have been loved,	xoloconhi
You have been loved,	ixtiloconhita
They have been loved,	xiloconhi tacque

IMPERATIVE.

Be thou loved,	tiloconhi
Let him be loved,	chiloconho
Let us be loved,	chicaloconho
Be ye loved,	tiloconhota
Let them be loved,	chiquiloconho taque

I can love,	inchoinulocoh
I will love,	inranulocoh
I have been willing to love,	ixnulocoh
I have been able to love,	ixcholixnulocoh
I can love thee,	tichol nulocoh
I will love thee,	tira nulocoh

Sometimes the verb I will is added to express the future:—*inva*, I will; *nava*, thou wilt; *inra*, he will.

Verbs beginning with a vowel have the following particles;—*ino*, *nav*, *inr*, *inqu*, or *inc*, *nauta*, *inqu tacque*, or *inc tacque*. Thus the verb *eça*, to deliver, is conjugated.

I deliver,	inveça	We deliver,	inqueça
Thou deliverest,	naveça	You deliver,	naveçata
He delivers,	inreça	They deliver,	inqueça tacque

Adjectives are indeclinable, and the plural of nouns cannot be distinguished from the singular, as;—*kiro uinac*, good man; *kiro uinac*, good men.

The following Lord's Prayer comes from the same source:

Catat taxah vilcat; nimta incaharçihi avi; inchalita avihauripau cana. Invanivita nava yahvir vacacal, he invataxab. Chaye runa cahuhunta quih viic; naçachtamac, he inçachve quimac ximacquivi chiquih; macoacana chipam catacchyhi, coaveçata china unche tsiri, mani quiro, he inqui. Amen.[6]

Of the Mame, or Zaklohpakap, the following extract is from a grammar written by Diego de Reynoso. The letters used are: *a*, *b*, *ch*, *e*, *h*, *i*, *k*, *l*. *m*, *n*, *o*, *p*, *t*, *u*, *v*, *x*, *y*, *z*, *tz*. There are no special syllables or signs to express gender, but distinct words are used, as;—*mama*, old man; *ahkimikeia*, old woman; *mamail*, old age of a man; *keiail*, or *ahkimikil*, old age of a woman. The plural of animate beings is expressed by the particle *e* prefixed to the word;—*vuinak*, person; *evuinak*, persons; but it is considered as elegant also to affix the same *e*;—*kiahol*, son; *ekiahole*, sons. For inanimate things, either numerals or adjectives expressing the plural are used;—*abah*, stone; *ikoh abah*, many stones. Personal pronouns are;—*ain*, I; *aia*, thou; *ahu* or *ahi*, he; *ao* or *aoio*, we; *ae* or *aeie*, you; *aehu* or *aehi*, they.

Me, to me, in me	vuih
Thee, to thee, in thee	tiha
Him, to him, in him	tihu
Us, to us, in us	kiho
You, to you, in you	kihae
Them, to them, in them	kihaehu
Of me, by me	vuxm
By thee	tuma
By him	tumhi
By us	kumo
By you	kume
By them	kumhu
By myself	tipa
By himself	tiphi
By ourselves	kibo
By yourselves	kibe
By themselves	kibaehu or kibhu

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[6] *Gage's New Survey*, pp. 465–477, et seq.

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB TO BE.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

I am,	ain in, or ain inen	We are,	ao, or aoia
Thou art,	aia	You are,	ae, or aeie
He is,	ahu	They are,	aehu

IMPERFECT.		PERFECT.	
I was,	ain took	I have been,	ain hi

PLUPERFECT.

I had been,	ain tokem

FIRST FUTURE.		SECOND FUTURE.	
I shall be,	in abenelem, or ain loiem	I shall have been,	ain lohi

IMPERATIVE.

Be,	a u ia

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB XTALEM, TO LOVE.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

I love,	ain tzum chim xtalem	We love,	tzum ko xtalem o
Thou lovest,	tzum xtalem a	You love,	tzum che xtalem e
He loves,	tzum xtalem hu	They love,	tzum che xtalem hu

IMPERFECT.

I loved,	tzum tok chim xtalem

PERFECT.

I have loved,	ini xtalim, uni xtale, ma chim xtalim, ma ni xtale, or ma uni xtale

PLUPERFECT.

I had loved,	ixtok chim xtalim

FIRST FUTURE.

I shall love,	uni xtalibetz, or ain chim xtalem

SECOND FUTURE.

I shall have loved,	ain lo in xtalem

IMPERATIVE.

Love thou,	ixtalin o ia
Let him love,	ixtalin o hu
Let us love,	ko ixtalin o
Love you,	ixtalin ke ie
Let them love,	ixtalin ke hu [7]

Of the Quiché, there is an abundance of material. The letters used are;—*a*, *b*, *c*, *e*, *g*, *h*, *i*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *o*, *p*, *q*, *r*, *t*, *u*, *v*, *x*, *y*, *z*, *tz*, *tch*. Gender is expressed by prefixing the noun *ixok*, woman, to the word, as;—*coh*, lion; *ixok coh*, lioness; *mun*, slave; *ixok mun*, female slave. The sound *ish* expressed by the letter *x* denotes inferiority, and is therefore frequently used to express the feminine of inferior beings. *U* in the Quiché and *ru* in the Cakchiquel are either possessive pronouns or denote the possession of the word which follows. The particles *re* and *ri* are at times used for the same purpose;—*u chuch ahpop*, the mother of the prince; *qui quoxtum tinanit*, the ramparts of the town. Before the vowels *a*, *o*, and *u*, they are changed to *c*; and before *e* and *i*, to *qu*. Derivatives are formed with the preposition *ah*, either prefixed or affixed to the primitive noun;—*car*, fish; *ahcar*, the fisherman; *tzih*, word; *ahtzih*, the speaker; etc. No positive rule can be given for the formation of the plural, as there are several different methods in use. The most common appears to be by the affixes *ab*, *eb*, *ib*, *ob*, *ub*;—*beom*, merchant; plural, *beomab*; *ixok*, woman; plural, *ixokib*; *ahau*, lord; plural, *ahauab*. In the Cakchiquel language the last letter *b* is omitted, as;—*ixokib*, women, in Quiché, is *ixoki* in Cakchiquel. With adjectives the syllables *ak*, *tak*, *ic*, *tic*, etc., are used instead;—*nim*, great; *nimak ha*, great houses; *rihi*, old; *rihitak vinak*, old people; *utz*, good; *utzic va*, good eatables. Adjectives are always placed before the substantives;—*zak*, white; *zaki ha*, white house. Substantives are formed from adjectives by adding one of the particles, *al*, *el*, *il*, *ol*, *ul*;—*nim*, great; *nimal*, the greatness; *zak*, white; *zakil*, the whiteness; *ut*., good; *utzil*, the goodness. These same substantives can be turned into adjectives again by adding the particle *ah*;—*nimalah mak*, great sin; *utzilah achi*, good man. In the same manner all substantives may be turned into adjectives by adding one of the particles *alah*, *elah*, *ilah*, *olah*, *ulah*, etc.; *ahau*, king or lord; *ahaualah*, royal.

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[7] *Pimentel, Cuadro*, tom. i., pp. 84-110.

To express the comparative, the present participle of the verb *iqou*, to surpass, which is *iqouinak*, is used, and sometimes also the word *yalacuhinak*, from *yalacuh*, to exceed. For example;—*nim*, great, comparative, *iqouinak chi nim*, he who surpasses in greatness; *iqouinak chi nim u hebeliquiil ka xokahau Gapoh maria chiqui vi conohel ixokib*, (literally) surpasses in great beauty our Lady the Virgin Mary all other women. The superlative is expressed by the syllable *maih*, very great or much; *nim*, great or greatly; *tih*, *xoo*, *quĩ*, much; all of which are placed before the word and are followed by the syllable *chi*;—*maih chi nim*, very great; *maih chi hebel*, very fine; *maih chi tinamit*, very great city; *xoo qatan*, very great heat; *tih nima ha*, very great house. The adverb *lavolo* or *lolo* is also used for the same purpose;—*lavolo* or *lolo cou ch' a bana*, hold it strong.

The names of colors are duplicated to express the superlative, as;—*rax rax*, very green; *zak zak*, very white.

The reverential syllables in use are *lal* and *la*—*lal nu cahau*, your excellency is my father; *in alcual la*, I am the son of your excellency.

PRONOUNS.

I, or me	in, nu, nuv
Thou	at, a
He	are, ri, r'
Myself	xavi in
Thyself	xavi at
Himself	xavi are
We	oh
You	yx
They	e, he
Ourselves	xavi oh
Yourselves	xavi yx
Themselves	xavi e, he

When a noun commences with a consonant, *nu*, *a*, *u*, in the singular, and *ka*, *y*, *qui*, in the plural are used as possessive pronouns, but if it commences with a vowel, *v*, *av'*, *r*, are employed in the singular, and *k'*, *yv'*, *c'*, or *qu'*, in the plural.

My slave	nu mun
Thy slave	a mun
His slave	u mun
Our slaves	ka munib
Your slaves	y munib
Their slaves	oui munib

My wrath	v' oyoual
Thy wrath	av' oyoual
His wrath	r' oyoual
Our wrath	k' oyoual
Your wrath	yv' oyoual
Their wrath	c' oyoual

INTERROGATIVES.

Who	naki, achinak, apachinak
Who am I	apa-in-chinak
Who art thou	apa-at-chinak

INTERROGATIVES.

Who is this	apachinak-ri
Who is it	naki-la
Who would it be	naki-lalo
Who are we	apa-oh-chinak
Who are you	apa-yx-chinak
Who are they	apa-e-chinak

The verb, to be, is expressed by either *ux*, or *qo*, or *qohe*. As an example of its conjugation I insert the indicative present.

I am,	in ux	or in qolic
Thou art,	at ux	" at qolic
He is,	are ux	" are qolic
We are,	oh ux	" oh qolic
You are,	yx ux	" yx qolic
They are,	e, or he ux	" e, or he qolic

Four different kinds of verbs are given in the grammar compiled by the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, which he calls active, absolute, passive, and neuter. The following sentences are given as specimens of each kind. Active;—*can nu logoh v' ahtih*, I love my master. Absolute;—*qu' i logon*, or *logonic*, I love; *qu' i tzibanic*, I write. Passive;—*ta x-e tzonox rumal ahtzak*, then they were interrogated by the creator. Neuter;—*qu' i cam*, or *qui cam*, I die; *qu' in ul*, I come; *qu' i be*, I go; *qu' i var*, I sleep.

Following I insert the conjugation of the active verb to love, in which the word *logoh*, love, commences with a consonant, and also the conjugation of the active verb *oyohbeh*, to wait, which commences with a vowel, thus showing the different particles used.

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB TO LOVE.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

I love,	ca nu logoh	We love,	ca ka logoh
Thou lovest,	c' a logoh	You love,	qu' y logoh
He loves,	c' u logoh	They love,	ca que logoh

PERFECT.

I have loved, x-in, xi-nu, or x-nu logoh, or nu logom

PLUPERFECT.

I had loved, nu, or x-nu logom-chic

FIRST FUTURE.

I shall love, ch' in, x-ch'in chi nu, or x-chi nu logoh

PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE.

If I love, ca nu logoh-tah

If I had loved, nu logom-chi-tah

PARTICIPLE.

Loving, logonal

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB OYOBEH, TO WAIT.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

I wait,	ca v'oyobeh	We wait,	ca k' oyobeh
Thou waitest,	c' av' oyobeh	You wait,	qu' yv' oyobeh
He waits,	ca r' oyobeh	They wait,	ca c' oyobeh

PERFECT.

I have waited, xi-v' oyobeh, or av' oyobem

SECOND FUTURE.

I shall have waited, chi v', or xchi v oyobeh

PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE.

If I wait, ca v' oyobeh-tah

In the following three columns I give a specimen of the conjugation of the absolute, passive, and neuter verb.

ABSOLUTE.		PASSIVE.	
I love,	qu'i logon	I am loved,	qu'i logox
Thou lovest,	c'at logon	Thou art loved,	c'at logox
He loves,	cá logon	He is loved,	ca legox
We love,	koh logon	We are loved,	koh logox
You love,	qu'y logon	You are loved,	qu'ix logox
They love,	que logon	They are loved,	que logox

NEUTER.

I roll,	qu'i bol	We roll,	koh bol
Thou rollest,	c'at bol	You roll,	qu' yx bol
He rolls,	ca bol	They roll,	que bol

ABSOLUTE.		PASSIVE.	
I have loved,	x-i logon, or in logoninak	I was loved,	x-i logox, or in logoxinak

NEUTER.

I have arrived, x-in ul, or in ulinak

FIRST FUTURE.

ABSOLUTE.		PASSIVE.	
I shall love,	x-qui logon	I shall be loved,	x-qui logox

NEUTER.

I shall arrive, x-qu'in ul

There are further mentioned a reciprocal and a distributive verb.

Of the former the following is an example.

I love myself,	ca nu logoh uib
Thou lovest thyself,	c'a logoh rib
He loves himself,	c'u logoh rib
We love ourselves,	ca ka logoh kib
You love yourselves,	qu'y logoh yvib
They love themselves,	ca qui logoh quib

Of the second form this is an example.

Thee I love,	cat nu logoh
He loves his father,	cu ri, or are logoh a cahau
You love us,	koh y logoh
Thee they love,	cat que logoh

The prepositions—*ma*, *man*, or *mana*, and *mave*, are negatives. When *man*, or *mana*, is used with a verb, the particle *tah* must be added;—*man ca v' il-taḥ*, I do not see. Father Ximenez calls the following irregular verbs, *qo*, *qoh*, or *qolic*, *pa*, *ux*, or *uxic*; *qaz*, to live, and *oh*, or *ho*, to go.

The conjugation of the last mentioned is as follows.

INDICATIVE PRESENT.

I go,	h'in	We go,	o'ho
Thou goest,	h'at	You go,	h'yx
He goes,	oh, or ho	They go,	h'e

The Zutugil and Cakchiquel appear to bear a closer relationship to each other, than the Cakchiquel and Quiché. Some of the principal differences between the three are the following. The plural of nouns which in the Quiché is formed by the affixes *ab*, *eb*, *ob*, *ib*, *ub*, is in the Cakchiquel designated by simply affixing the vowels of the above syllables, and in the Zutugil by the affixes *ay*, or *i*. The pronouns which in the Quiché and Cakchiquel are *in*, I, etc., are in the Zutugil doubled, as;—*in-in*, I, etc. The possessive pronouns differ in all three of the languages. The Quiché has *vech*, mine; *avecha*, thine; *rech*, his; *kech*, ours; *yvech*, yours; *quech*, theirs. In the Cakchiquel these are;—*vichin*, *avichin*, *richin*, *kichin*, *yvichin*, *quichin*, and the Zutugil changes the *ch* of the Cakchiquel into *n*;—*vixin*, *avixin*, *rixin*, *kixin*, *yvixin*, *quixin*, The dative in the Quiché is *chuvech*, to me, in the Cakchiquel *chuvichin*, and in the Zutugil, *chuvixin*. Reciprocal pronouns in the Quiché are *vib*, *avib*, *rib*, *kib*, *yvib*, and *quib*, and in the Zutugil they are *vi*, *avi*, *ri*, *ki*, *yvi*, *qui*. The verb *ganeh*, which also means to love, is in the Cakchiquel and Zutugil conjugated as follows.

I love,	tin ganeh	We love,	ti ka ganeh
Thou lovest,	tah ganeh	You love,	ty ganeh
He loves,	tu ganeh	They love,	ti qui ganeh

There are also many other words which differ in one or more letters in the three languages, but it appears that they are nevertheless so much alike that the different people speaking them can understand one another.

Lord's Prayer in the Quiché:

Ka cachau chi cab lal qo-vi, r'auazirizaxic-tah bi la. Chi pe-tah ahauarem la. Chi ban-ta ahauam la, varal chuvi uleu queheri ca ban chi cah. Yah la chikech ka hutagihil va. Zacha la ka mak, queheri ca ka zacho qui mak rii x-e makun chike ruq m'oh ocotah la pa takchiibal mak, xata noh col-ta la pa itzel. Quehe ch'uxoc.

Lord's Prayer in Cakchiquel:

Ka tata r'at qoh chi cah, r'auazirizaxic-tah a bi. Ti pe-ta-ok av' ahauarem. Ti ban-tah av'ahoom vave chuvi uleu, querери tan-ti ban chi cah. Ta yata-ok chike vacamic ka hutagihil vay. Ta zach-ta-qa-ok ka mak, quereri tan-ti ka zach qui mak riy x-e makun chike. Ruquin qa maqui-tah koh av'ocotah pa takchiibal mak, xatah koh a colo pan itzel. Quere ok t'ux.[8]

Of the Maya Grammar, the following is a brief compendium:

The following alphabet is used to write the Maya language: *a*, *b*, *c*, *ç*, *z*, *tz*, *ɔ*, *cti*, *ch*, *e*, *h*, *i*, *y*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *o*, *p*, *pp*, *t*, *th*, *u*, *x*.

The letter *ç* is pronounced like the English *z*, or as if for example the word *cambeç*, were spelled *cambez*. The *ɔ* is pronounced as if spelled *dj*, *ɔib* is pronounced as if written *djib*, to write; *h*, not aspirated, and very frequently omitted; *k*, rather guttural; *pp* and *p*, sharp and with force; *th*, hard, at the same time approximating slightly the English *tt*. The gender of rational beings is denoted by the prefixes *ah*, for masculine, and *ix*, for feminine;—*ah cambezah*, master; *ix cambezah*, mistress. With animals the particles *xibil*, for males, and *chupul*, for females, is prefixed. An exception to this rule is the word *pal*;—*xibil pal*, the boy; and *chupul pal*, the girl. Nouns form the plural by adding the particle *ob*;—*ich*, eye; *ich ob*, eyes. Adjectives ending in *nac*, in the plural lose their two last syllables and substitute for them the syllable *lac*;—*kakatnác*, an idle thing; *kaklác*, idle things. When an adjective and substantive are joined together, the adjective is always placed before the substantive, but the plural is expressed only in the substantive;—man, *uinic*; good, *utzul*; *utzúl uinicob*, good men. To form the comparative, the last vowel of the adjective with the letter *l* added to it is affixed; frequently, the particle *il* is simply affixed;—further, the pronoun of the third person *u* or *y* is always prefixed, in the comparative;—*tibil*, a good thing; *ú tibilil*, a better thing; *utz*, good; *yutzil*, or *yutzul*, better; *lob*, bad; *ulobol*, or *ulobil*, worse; *kaz*, ugly; *ukazal*, or *ukazil*, uglier. The superlative is expressed by the particle *hach*, which is prefixed;—*lob*, bad; *hachlob*, very bad. *Il* added to nouns and adjectives serves to make them abstracts, *uinic*, man; *uinicil*, humanity.

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[8] *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Grammaire de la Langue Quiché; Pimentel, Cuadro*, tom. ii., pp. 126–47.

There are four kinds of pronouns used in the Maya, all of which are used in conjugating verbs. But the two last are also used, united with nouns, or as possessive pronouns, and never alone, or as absolute pronouns.

PRONOUNS.

I	**ten**	**We**	**tóon**
Thou	**tech**	**You**	**téex**
He	**lay**	**They**	**lóob**
I	**en**	**We**	**on**
Thou	**ech**	**You**	**ex**
He	**laylo**	**They**	**ob**
I, mine	**in**	**We, ours**	**ca**
Thou, thine	**a**	**You, yours**	**a-ex**
He, his	**ú**	**They, theirs**	**ú-ob**
Mine	**u**	**Ours**	**ca**
Thine	**au**	**Yours**	**au-ex**
His	**y**	**Theirs**	**y-ob**

RECIPROCAL PRONOUNS.

Myself	**in-ba**	**Ourselves**	**ca-ba**
Thyself	**a-ba**	**Yourselves**	**a-ba-ex**
Himself	**ú-ba**	**Themselves**	**ú-ba-ob**

CONJUGATION OF THE AUXILLARY VERB TENI, TO BE.

INDICATIVE PRESENT.

I am,	ten	We are,	tóon
Thou art,	tech	You are,	téex
He is,	lay	They are,	lóob

IMPERFECT.

I was, ten cuchi

PERFECT.

I have been, ten hi

PLUPERFECT.

I had been, ten hi-ili cuchi

FIRST FUTURE.

I shall be, bin ten-ac

SECOND FUTURE.

I shall have been, ten hi-ili coshom

IMPERATIVE.

Be, ten-ac

PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE.

If I be, ten-ac en

IMPERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE.

If I were, hi ten-ac

FIRST CONJUGATION OF THE VERB NACAL, TO ASCEND.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

I ascend,	nacal in cah	We ascend,	nacal ca cah
Thou ascendest,	nacal a cah	You ascend,	nacal a-cah-ex
He ascends,	nacal ú cah	They ascend,	nacal ú-cah-ob

IMPERFECT.		PERFECT.	
I ascended,	nacal in cah-cuchi	I have ascended,	nac-en

PLUPERFECT.

I had ascended, nac-en ili-cuchi

FIRST FUTURE,		SECOND FUTURE.	
I shall ascend,	bin nacac-en	I shall have ascended,	nac-en ili-cuchom

IMPERATIVE.

Ascend, nacac-en

SECOND CONJUGATION CAMBEZAH, TO INSTRUCT.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

I instruct,	cambezah in cah,	or	ten cambezic
Thou instructest,	cambezah á cah,	"	tech cambezic
He instructs,	cambezah ú cah,	"	lay cambezic
We instruct,	cambezah ca cah,	"	tóon cambezic
You instruct,	cambezah á cah-ez,	"	téex cambezic
They instruct,	cambezah ú cah-ob,	"	lóob cambezic

IMPERFECT.

I instructed, cambezah in cah cuchi

PERFECT.

I have instructed, in cambezah

PLUPERFECT.

I had instructed, in cambezah ili-cuchi

FIRST FUTURE.

I shall instruct,	bin in cambez

SECOND FUTURE.

I shall have instructed,	in cambezah ili-cochom

IMPERATIVE.

Let me instruct,	in cambez
Instruct thou,	cambez
Let him instruct,	ú cambez
Let us instruct,	ca cambez
Instruct you,	á cambez ex
Let them instruct,	ú cambez ob

PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE.

If I instruct,	ten in cambez

The third and fourth conjugations not differing from the above, I do not insert them.

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

Cayum	ianeeh	ti	càannob	cilichthantabac	akaba:
Our father	who art	in	heaven	blessed be	thy name;

tac	a	ahaulil	c'	okol.	Mencahac	a	uolah	uai
it may come	thy	kingdom	us	over.	Be done	thine	will	as

ti	luun	bai	ti	caanè.	Zanzamal	uah	ca	azotoon
on	earth	as	in	heaven.	Daily	bread	us	give

heleae	caazaatez	c'	ziipil	he bik	c'	zaatzic	uziipil
to-day	us forgive	our	sins	as	we	forgive	their sins

ahziipiloobtoone	ma ix	appatic	c'	lubul	ti	tuntah,
to sinners	not also	let	us	fall	in	temptation

caatocoon	ti	lob.[9]
us deliver	from	evil.

To the two languages the Huaztec and Totonac spoken respectively in the states of Tamaulipas and Vera Cruz, great antiquity is ascribed. I include them both in this chapter, and classify them with the Maya family; the Huaztec because its relationship has already been satisfactorily established by Vater and his successors, and the Totonac on the statements of Sahagun and other good authorities.[10] Of both of these languages I insert some grammatical notes. The Totonac is divided into four principal dialects, named respectively that of the Sierra Alta or Tetikilhati, that of Xalpan y Pontepec, or Chakahuaxti, the Ipapana and the Naolingo or Tatimolo. The following grammar refers specially to the last dialect.

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[9] *Beltran de Santa Rosa Maria, Arte*; *Ruz, Catecismo Historico*; *Id., Cartilla; Id., Gram. Yucateca; Gallatin*, in *Amer. Ethno. Soc., Transact.*, vol. i., pp. 252, et seq.; *Heller, Reisen*, p. 381, et seq.; *Vater, Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., pp. 4–24; *Pimentel, Cuadro*, tom. i., pp. 5, 223, tom. ii., pp. 119, 229; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Grammaire*, in *Landa, Relacion*, pp. 459–479; *Id.*, in *MS. Troano*, tom. ii.

The letters used are *a*, *ch*, *e*, *g*, *h*, *i*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *o*, *p*, *t*, *u*, *v*, *x*, *y*, *z*, *tz*, *lh*. Compounded or agglutinated words are of frequent occurrence; they seem to be joined without any particular system, although it appears that the last letter is oftentimes omitted. The following shows the composition of a word;—*lioxilhmagatlakachalikihuin*, to go prophesying; composed of the particle *li*, the verb *oxilha*, the adverb *magat*, the substantive *lakatin*, and the verbs *chaan* and *likihuin*. There are no particular signs or letters to express the gender, but in most cases the words *huixkana*, male, and *pozkat*, female, are prefixed to words.

The plural for animated beings is formed by one of the following terminations;—*n*, *in*, *nin*, *itni*, *nitni*, *an*, *na*, *ne*, *ni*, *no*, *nu*;—*oxga*, youth; *oxgan*, youths; *agapon*, heaven; *agaponin*, heavens; *pulana*, captain; *pulananin*, captains; *makan*, hand; *makanitni*, hands; *ztako*, star; *ztakonitni*, stars; *xanat*, flower; *xanatna*, flowers; etc., etc.; *in* and *itni* are used when the word ends with a consonant, and *nin* and *nitni* when it ends with a vowel.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

I	akit	We	akin
Me	kin	Us	kila, or kinka
Thou	huix	You	huixin
He	amah, or huata	They	huatonin

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[10] 'Estos Totonaques.....decian ser ellas de *Guastelas*.' 'Otros hay, que entienden la lengua Guasteca.' *Sahagun*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. iii., lib. x., pp. 131-2. 'Im alten Centralamerika also waren die Sprachen der Totonaken, Otimier, Huasteken, Macahuer unter sich sowohl als auch mit der Sprache in Yucatan verwandt.' *Müller*, *Amerikanische Urreligionen*, p. 453; *Mexikanische Zustände*; tom. i., p. 143; *Montanus*, *Nieuwe Weereld*, p. 251; *Hassel*, *Mex. Guat.*, p. 245; *Almaraz*, *Memoria*, pp. 18, 20; *Villa-Señor y Sanchez*, *Theatro*, tom. i., pp. 287-91; *Gallatin*, in *Amer. Ethno. Soc.*, *Transact.*, vol. i., p. 4; *Ternaux-Compans*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1840, tom. lxxxviii., p. 7; *Vater*, *Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., p. 106; *Orozco y Berra*, *Geografía*, pp. 18-20, 204.

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB IK-PAXKI-Y, I LOVE.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

I love,	ik-paxki-y	We love,	ik-paxki-yauh
Thou lovest,	paxki-a	You love,	paxki-yatit
He loves,	paxki-y	They love,	paxki-goy

IMPERFECT.

I loved, xak-paxki-y

PERFECT.

I have loved, ik-paxki-lh, or ik-paxki-nit

PLUPERFECT.

I had loved, xah-paxki-nit

FIRST FUTURE.

I shall love nak-paxki-y

SECOND FUTURE.

I shall have loved, ik-paxki-lh nahuan, or ik-paxki-nit nahuan

IMPERATIVE.

Love, ka-paxki

PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE.

If I love, kak-paxki-lh

IMPERFECT.

If I loved, xax-paxki-lh

The difference between the three dialects may be seen:

Heart	nako	alkonoko	lakatzin
World	kiltamako	katoxahuat	tankilatzon
Moon	malkoyo	papa	laxkipap
Maize	koxi	tapaxni	kizpa
Good	tzey	tlaan	kolhana
Truth	ztonkua	loloko	tikxllana
To believe	akaeniy	kanalay	katayahuay

The Lord's Prayer in the dialect of Naolingo:

Kintlatkane nak tiayan huil takollalihuakahuanli ó
Our father in heaven art sanctified be

mimaokxot nikiminanin ó mintakakchi tacholakahuanla
thy name come thy kingdom be done

ó minpahuat cholei kaknitiet chalchix nak tiayan. O
thy name as world as in heaven.

kinchouhkan lakalliya nikilaixkiuh yanohue kakilamat-
Our bread daily give us to-day forgive

zankaniuh kintakallitkan chonlei ó kitnan lamatzanka-
us our faults as we ourselves we forgive

niyauh ó kintalakallaniyan ka ala kilamaktaxtoyauh
our debtors and not us lead

nali yoyauh naka liyogni. Chon tacholakahuanla.
that we be in temptation. So be it done.

The descriptions or grammatical remarks of Vater and Pimentel, vary in many points. For instance, Vater says that the letters *k* and *v* are not used in this language, while Pimentel mentions them both as being used. The expression of the plural is also given differently by both, as are also several other points.[11]

From the grammar of Carlos de Tapia Zenteno, which was also used by Gallatin and Pimentel, I offer the following remarks on the Huaztec:

The letters used in writing this language are: *a*, *b*, *ch*. *d*, *e*, *g*, *h*, *i*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *o*, *p*, *t*, *u*, *v*, *x*, *y*, *z*, *tz*. The pronunciation is soft. Gender is denoted by the addition of the words *imik*, man, and *uxum*, woman;—*tzalle*, king; *uxumtzalle*, queen; *tzejelinik*, young man; *tzejeluxum*, young girl. The affix *chick* is used to express the plural;—*atik*, son; *atikchick*, sons; but there are a few exceptions to this rule. Diminutives are expressed by the preposition *chichick*, as;—*te*, tree; *chichikte*, small tree. In some cases the preposition *tzakam*, or the affix *il*, is used for this purpose. In the superlative the syllable *le* is used before the word, as;—*pullik*, great; *lepullik*, very great. Personal pronouns;—*nana*, I; *tata*, thou; *jaja*, he; *huahua*, we; *xaxa*, you; *baba*, they.

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB TAHJAL, TO HAVE.

INDICATIVE PRESENT.

I have,	nana utahjal or intahjal	We have,	huahua yatahjal
Thou hast,	tata atahjal or ittahjal	You have,	xaxa yatahjal
He has,	taja, intahjal	They have,	baba tahjal

IMPERFECT.

I had, nana utahjalitz or intahjalitz

PERFECT.

I have had, nana utahjaitz or utahjamal, or utahjamalitz

PLUPERFECT.

I had had, nana utahjalak or utahjamalak, or utahjamalakitz

FIRST FUTURE.

I shall have, nana ku or kin, or kiatajah

IMPERATIVE.

Have, tata katahja

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[11] *Pimentel*, *Cuadro*, tom. ii., pp. 223–68; pp. 223–61; *Vater*, *Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt iii., pp. 44–60.

PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE.

If I have,	nana kutahja or kiatahja

IMPERFECT.

If I had,	nana kin or intahjalak

INFINITIVE.

To have,	tahjal

Verbal nouns and participles are formed by adding *x* or *chix*, to the infinitive, as;—*tzobnal*, to know; and *tzobnax*, he who knows. There are said to be several different dialects of this language in use. Following is the Pater Noster as given by Zenteno in his Doctrina, and as spoken in the mountains of the district of Tampico.

Pailomê anitquahat tiaeb, quaquauhlu anabi, cachich
Father art heaven holy said thy name come
anatzalletal. Katahan analenal têtitzabal, nuantiani hua-
thy kingdom. Be done thy will on the earth as to
tahab tiaeb. Ani tacupiza xahue cailel yabacanil ani
have heaven. And thou give to-day each day our bread and
tacupaculamchi antuhualabchic, antiani huahua tupacu-
thou forgive sins as we for-
lamchial tutomnanchixlomchik, ani ib takuhila tincal
give debtors and not lead that we
ib cucuallam tin exextalab. Timat taculouh timbâ ana ib
not fall us in temptation. But save us from no
cuacua. Anitz catahan.
holy (evil) so be it done.[12]

Lord's Prayer in the dialect spoken in the Department of San Luis Potosí:

Tatu puilom huahuá, itcuajat, ti eb chie pelit santo jajatz abi cachic atzale tal ti eb al huahua: catajatz taculbetal hantzaná titzabal hantini tiaeb ani cap ud patalaguicha tacubinanchi, xoque ani tacupaculanchi; cal igualab, ani ela tegui tacupalanchi cal y at guitzab ani il tacujila cugualan cal junhi fataxtalb, maxibtaculohu cal han atax mal tajana guatalel.

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[12] *Zenteno, Lengua Huasteca*; *Gallatin*, in *Amer. Ethno. Soc.*, *Transact.*, vol. i., pp., 276–85; *Pimentel*, *Cuadro*, tom. i., pp. 5–34.

Lord's Prayer in the dialect spoken in another part of the district of Tampico:

Pailon qüa que cuajat tiá el: tu cab tajal hanchaná enta bi ca chix hanti ca ilál cataja na aquiztal hanchana antich aval quinitine tiá el. An pan abalgüa ti patás hüicha ha, tu piza segue, tu placuanchi ni gualal anchaná jontinégüá y placuanchal in at qualablom, il tú en gila cu cualan anti atás cha lablal, tu en librari ti patas an ataz tabal, anchaná juntam. Anchanan catajan.[13]

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[13] *Col. Poliodómica, Mex.*, *Oracion Dominical*, pp. 8–10.

CHAPTER XII.

LANGUAGES OF HONDURAS, NICARAGUA, COSTA RICA, AND THE ISTHMUS OF DARIEN.

The Carib an Imported Language—The Mosquito Language—The Poya, Towka, Seco, Valiente, Rama, Cookra, Woolwa, and other Languages in Honduras—The Chontal—Mosquito Grammar—Love Song in the Mosquito Language—Comparative Vocabulary of Honduras Tongues—The Coribici, Chorotega, Chontal and Orotiña in Nicaragua—Grammar of the Orotiña or Nagradan—Comparison between the Orotiña and Chorotega—The Chiriquí, Guatuso, Tiribi, and others in Costa Rica—Talamanca Vocabulary—Diversity of Speech on the Isthmus of Darien—Enumeration of Languages—Comparative Vocabulary.

In Honduras there is a long list of tribal names, to each of which is attributed a distinct tongue. Vocabularies have been taken of three or four only, and one, spoken on the Mosquito coast, has had its grammatical structure reduced to writing. It is therefore impossible to make comparisons and therefrom to determine how far their number might be reduced by classification. The first which I introduce is generally conceded to have been imported. It is the Carib, spoken on the shores of the bay of Honduras and on the adjacent islands, and has been proven to be almost identically the same as the one spoken on the West India Islands. From Cape Honduras to the Rio San Juan, and extending inland as far as Black River, the Mosquito language is in general use. Of it I shall insert a few grammatical remarks. In the Poya Mountains a like-named tongue is spoken; on the headwaters of the Patook River is the Towka, and on the Rio Secos, the Seco. Further in the mountains, near the boundary of Nicaragua, and extending into that state are the Valiente and Rama, said to be both separate tongues; and in the interior of the state there are the Cookra and Woolwa, the latter spoken in the province of Chontales. Others mentioned are the Tonglas, the Lenca, the Smoo, the Teguaca, the Albatuina, the Jara, the Taa, the Gaula, the Motuca, the Fantasma, and the Sambo. Of these nothing but the names can be given. The oldest authorities mention, as a principal language the Chontal, the name of a people and language met in many variations in almost every state from Mexico to Nicaragua. As there are no specimens of this language existing, it is impossible to say whether one people and language extended through all this territory or whether certain wild tribes were designated by this general name, as, according to Molina's Mexican dictionary, *chontalli* means stranger or foreigner; and *popoluca*, which seems to be also used like chontalli, is defined as barbarian, or man of another nation and language. I am therefore of the opinion that no such nations as Chontals or Popolucas exist, but that these names were employed by the more civilized nations to designate people speaking other and barbarous tongues.[1]

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[1] A classification has been made by Mr Squier, but in the absence of reliable data on which to base it, it cannot be accepted without reserve. He says: 'it appears that Honduras was anciently occupied by at least four distinct families or groups.' These he names: the Chorti or Sesenti, belonging to the Maya family, the Lenca, under the various names of Chontals and perhaps Xicaques and Poyas;—in the third he includes the various tribes intervening between the Lencas proper and the inhabitants of Cariay, or what is now called the Mosquito shore, such as the Toacas, Tonglas, Ramas, etc., and lastly in the fourth, the savages who dwelt on the Mosquito shore from near Carataska Lagoon southward to the Rio San Juan. *Cent. Amer.*, pp. 252–3. See also *Squier*, in *Palacio*, *Carta*, note iii., pp. 100–5; *Froebel*, *Aus Amerika*, tom. i., pp. 399–403; *Id.*, *Cent. Amer.*, pp. 133–36; *Boyle's Ride*, vol. i., p. 287; *Squier*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1858, tom. clx., pp. 134–5; *Palacio*, *Carta*, p. 20. 'Variis et diversis linguis utebantur, Chontalium tamen maxime erat inter eos communis.' *Laet*, *Novus Orbis*, p. 337. 'Tenian diferencias de lenguas, y la mas general es la de los Chonta-

Of the Mosquito language, which is understood throughout the whole Mosquito Coast, and of which I here give a few grammatical remarks, Mr Squier remarks that "it is not deficient in euphony, although defective in grammatical power."[2] There is but one article, the numeral adjective *kumi*, one, used also for a and an. The adjectives are few in number, having no uniform termination, and are discovered only by their signification, except when participles, when they always terminate in *ra* or *n*. Adjectives form the comparative by adding *kara* to the positive and the superlative by adding *poli* except in two words, *uia* and *silpe*, which have distinct words for each degree of comparison, thus;—*silpe*, small; *uria*, smaller; *katara*, smallest; *uia*, much; *kara*, more; *poli*, most. Comparison is usually formed in the manner following; —*yamne*, good; *yamne kara*, better; *yamne poli*, best; *konra*, strong; *konra kara*, stronger; *konra poli*, strongest.

In composition, to express excess or diminution, comparison is sometimes formed in this manner;—*Jan almuk*, *Samuel almuk apia*: John is old, Samuel is not old.

ADJECTIVES.

Old	almuk	Bad	saura
Every	bane	Green	sane
Tight, close	bitne	Black	sixa
Spotted	bulne	Small	silpe
Greedy	slabla	Transparent	slilong
Dull	dimdim	Slippery	swokswaka
Circular	iwit	Sour	swane
Less	kausa	Damp	tauske
More	kara	Great	tara
Hot	lapta	Thin, flat	tanta
Rich	lela-kera	Thick	twotne
Round	marbra	Poor	umpira

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les.' *Herrera*, *Hist. Gen.*. dec. iv., lib. viii., cap. iii.; *Juarros*, *Hist. Guat.*, p. 62; *Galindo*, *Notice of the Caribs*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc.*, *Jour.*, vol. iii., p. 290–1; *Orozco y Berra*, *Geografía*, p. 20. 'Die Karaiben bedienen sich noch gegenwärtig ihrer ganz eigenthümlichen Sprache, welche bedeutend von allen übrigen abweicht, und von den anderen Indianerstämmen nicht. verstanden wird.' *Mosquitoland*, *Bericht*, pp. 19–20, 140; *Bell's Remarks on Mosquito Ter.*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc.*, *Jour.*, vol. xxxii., pp. 258–9; *Wells' Explor. Hond.*, pp. 552–3.

[2] *Bard's Waikna*, p. 363. 'Die Sprache....der Sambos oder eigentlichen Mosquitos, am meisten ausgebildet, allgemein verbreitet und wird im ganzen Lande von allen Stämmen verstanden und gesprochen. Sie ist wohlklingend, ohne besondere Kehlaute aber ziemlich arm und unbeholfen.' *Mosquitoland*, *Bericht*, p. 140.

ADJECTIVES.

Sharp	mata	Much	uia
White	pine	Smaller	uria
Red	paune	Weary	wet
Most, very	poli	Heavy	wira
Grey, light blue etc.	popotne	Chief	wita
New	raiaka	Good	yamne

THE PERFECT TENSE USED AS AN ADJECTIVE.

Dry	lawan	Angry	palan, or luan
Lazy	shringwan	Fearful	sibrin
Slack, loose	langwan	Sore	latwan
Wet	buswan	Sick, troubled	warban
Dirty	klaklan	Dead	pruan
Generous	kupia-pine		

The gender is commonly marked by adding *waikna* for the male and *mairen* for the female, or, for beasts, *wainatka* for the male, and *mairen*, as before, for the female. Thus;—*lupia waikna*, a son; *lupia mairen*, a daughter; *bip wainatka*, a bull; *bip mairen*, a cow. In nouns relating to the human species the plural is formed by adding *nani* to the singular; as;—*waikna*, a man; *waikna nani*, men; *yapte*, mother; *yapte nani*, mothers. Other nouns have the plural the same as the singular, although sometimes a plural is formed by adding *ra* to the singular;—*inska*, a fish; *inskara*, fishes.

There are four cases, distinguished by their terminations, the nominative, dative, accusative, and ablative.

DECLENSION OF THE WORD AIZE, FATHER.

	SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
Nom.	Father	aize	Fathers	aize-nani
Dat.	To father	aizera	To fathers	aize-nanira
Acc.	Father	aize	Fathers	aize-nani
Abl.	With father	aize-ne	With fathers	aize-ne-nani

WITH AFFIX KE.

	SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
Nom.	My father	aize-ke	My fathers	aizeke-nani
Dat.	To my father	aizekra	To my fathers	aizeke-nanira
Acc.	My father	aizeke	My fathers	aizeke-nani
Abl.	With my father	aize-ke-ne	With my fathers	aizeke ne nani

WITH AFFIX KAM.

	SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
Nom.	Thy father	aizekam	Thy fathers	aizekam-nani
Dat.	To thy father	aizekamra	To thy fathers	aizekam-nanira
Acc.	Thy father	aizekam	Thy fathers	aizekam-nani
Abl.	With thy father	aizekam-ne	With thy fathers	aizekam ne nani

	SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
Nom.	His people	ai upla	Their people	ai upla-nani
Dat.	To his people	ai uplara	To their people	ai upla-nanira
Acc.	His people	ai upla	Their people	ai upla-nani
Abl.	With his people	ai uplane	With their people	ai uplane-nani

To form the possessive case of nouns, the word *dukia*, signifying 'belonging', is added. The word, being subject to a declension peculiar to itself, is on that account not put as an affix in the usual declension of nouns.

DECLENSION OF THE WORD DUKIA, BELONGING, POSSESSION.

Belonging, possession	dukia
Belonging to him, to them	ai dukiara
Belonging to thee, to you	ai dukiamra
In my possession, belonging to me	dukia-ne

SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
Of me, mine	yung dukia	Of us, ours	yung-nani dukia
Of thee, thine	man dukia	Of you, yours	man-nani dukia
Of him, his, hers, its	wetin dukia	Of them, theirs	wetin nani dukia

There are twelve pronouns, mostly declinable. Six of them are personal.

I	yung	Self	bui
Thou	man	Our	wan
He	wetin	He, his, her, hers, I, me, etc.	ai

Three are relative, and three adjective.

ADJECTIVE.		RELATIVE.	
This	baha	What	naki
That	naha	Which	ansa
Other	wala	Who	dia

The first three are declined alike; thus

DECLENSION OF THE WORD YUNG, I.

	SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
Nom.	I	yung	We	yung-nani
Dat.	To me	yungra	To us	yung-nanira
Acc.	Me	yung	Us	yung-nani
Abl.	In me	yung-ne	With us	yung-nani kera

DECLENSION OF THE WORD MAN, THOU.

	SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
Nom.	Thou	man	You	man-nani
Dat.	To thee	manra	To you	man-nanira
Acc.	Thee	man	You	man-nani
Abl.	In thee	man-ne	With you	man-nani-kera

DECLENSION OF THE WORD WETIN, HE.

	SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
Nom.	He	wetin	They	wetin-nani
Dat.	To him	wetinra	To them	wetin-nanira
Acc.	Him	wetin	Them	wetin nani
Abl.	In him	wetin-ne	With them	wetin-nani kera

Affixes are also joined to pronouns to increase, vary, or change their signification, such as *sa*, *ne*, *ra*, *am*, and others, as well as prepositions and adverbs.

There are but three interjections: *alai!* alas! *kais!* lo! and *alakai!* O dear!

Adverbs are numerous, and admit of certain variations in their signification by the use of affixes, thus;—*nara*, here; *narasa*, here it is; *lama*, near; *lamara*, nearer.

Quickly	**ane**	**Never**	**tara**
When	**ankia**	**Where**	**ansera**
Every	**bane**	**Together**	**aika-aika**
Yesterday, the other day	**eua-wala**	**There**	**bara**
		There it is	**barasa**
Presently	**kanara**	**Yonder**	**bukra**
When	**kanka**	**Near**	**lama**
Again	**kli**	**Nearer, close**	**lamara**
Soon	**mit**	**Farther**	**liwara**
To-day	**naiua**	**Here**	**nara**
Next, by and by	**naika**	**Here it is**	**narasa**
Already	**put**	**No more**	**yulakane**
Immediately	**tiske**	**Yes**	**au**
To-morrow	**yunka**	**Anything**	**deradera**
After to morrow	**yawanka**	**Sweetly**	**dumdum**
No, not	**apia**	**Exactly**	**kut**
Only	**baman**	**Strangely**	**pale**
For nothing	**barke**	**Very, truly**	**poli**
Not, never	**para**	**Enough**	**sipse**
Not	**sip**	**Truly**	**kosak**
It is not	**sipsa**		

There are twenty-eight prepositions. Some of them are also used as conjunctions; and some, like the adverb, admit of a variation.

At, near, about	**baila**	**For**	**mata**
To, there	**bara**	**Beneath**	**maira**
In	**bela**	**Below**	**monunta**
Into, within	**belara**	**Under**	**monuntara**
Against	**dara**	**Behind**	**ninara**
Beyond	**kau**	**After**	**ninka**
With	**kera**	**Without, destitute**	**para**
Through	**kranan**	**Over, upon**	**pura**
With, together	**kuki**	**Upon, above**	**purara**
In front	**lalma**	**Before, anterior**	**pus**
Opposite, before	**lalmara**	**Without, exterior**	**skera**
Unto, close	**lama**	**Among**	**tilara**
Without, outside	**latara**	**With**	**wal**
Between, centre	**lilapos**	**From, out of**	**wina**

CONJUNCTIONS.

Then	**baha**	**Until**	**kut**
Since	**baha-wina**	**Now**	**mek**
Like	**bako**	**How**	**naki**
Because, for	**bamna**	**Next**	**naika**

So thus	bun	But	sekuna
So it is	bunsa	Lest	sia
If	kaka	And, also	sin
Yet	kau	And	wal
Still	kause		

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB KAIA, TO BE.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

I am,	yung ne	The same, only placing *nani* after the pronouns.
Thou art,	man kam	
He is,	wetin	

PERFECT.		FUTURE.	
I have been,	kare	I shall be,	kamne
Thou hast been,	karum	Thou wilt be,	kama
He has been,		He will be,	kabia

IMPERATIVE.

Be thou,	kama	Let us be,	kape
Let him be,	kabia	Be ye,	man-nani-kama
		Let them be,	wetin nani kabia

OTHER FORMS.

I have not been,	kerus
Thou hast not been,	kerum
He has not been,	keruiskan
I shall not be,	kamue-apia
Thou wilt not be,	kama-apia
He shall not be,	kabia-apia
We shall not be,	yung-nani kamne-apia
Ye shall not be,	man-nani kama-apia
They shall not be,	wetin-nani kabia-apia
Shall I not be?	kamne-apiake
Wilt thou not be?	kama-apiake
Shall he not be?	kabia-apiake

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB DAUKAIA, TO MAKE.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
I make,	daukisne	We make,	yung-nani daukisne
Thou makest,	daukisma	You make,	man-nani daukisma
He makes,	daukisa, or dauki	They make,	wetin-nani dauki, or daukisa

IMPERFECT.

I did make,	daukatne
Thou didst make,	daukatma
He did make,	daukata

In the same way every tense forms the plural, having no difference in the terminations.

PERFECT.		FUTURE.	
I have made,	daukre	I shall make,	daukamne
Thou hast made,	daukrum	Thou wilt make,	daukama
He has made,	daukan	He will make,	daukbia

IMPERATIVE.

Make,	daux	Let us make,	daukpe
Let him make,	daukbia, or daukbiasika	Make ye,	man nani daux
		Let them make,	wetin nani daukbia, or daukbiasika

OTHER FORMS.

I make not,	daukrusne
I did not make,	daukruskatne
I have not made,	yung daukrus
I shall not make,	daukamme-apia
Make not,	daukparama, or man daukpara
Let him not make,	daukiera, or wetin daukbiera
Let us not make,	yung nani daukbiera
Make ye not,	man nani daukpara, or daukparama
Let them not make,	wetin nani daukbiera
I may or can make,	yung shep daukisne
I should make,	daukaiakatne
I may have made,	yung shep daukre
I might have made,	yung daukatnekrane
I shall have made,	daukaiakamne
Do I make?	daukisneke
Do I not make?	daukrusneke
Dost thou not make, or makest thou not?	daukrusmake
Does he not make?	daukruske
Shall I not make?	daukamne·apiake
If I make,	yung daukikaka
If I had not made,	yung daukruskaka[3]

As a specimen of this language I have the following love song:

Keker miren náne, warwar páser yamne krouekan. Coope nárer mi koolkun I doukser. Dear máne kuker cle wol proue. I sabbeáne wal moonter moppara. Keker misére yapte winegan. Koker sombolo barnar lippun, lippun, lippunke. Koolunker punater bin biwegan. Coope nárer tánes I doukser. Coope nárer mi koolkun I doukser.

Of this the translation is given as follows:

Dear girl, I am going far from thee. When shall we meet again to wander together on the sea-side? I feel the sweet sea-breeze blow its welcome on my cheek. I hear the distant rolling of the mournful thunder. I see the lightning flashing on the mountain's top, and illuminating all things below, but thou art not near me. My heart is sad and sorrowful; farewell! dear girl, without thee I am desolate.[4]

Following is a comparative vocabulary of some of the other languages.

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[3] *Mosquitoland, Bericht*, pp. 241–68; *Alex. Henderson's Grammar, Moskito Lang.*, N. York, 1846.

[4] *Young's Narrative*, pp. 77–8.

	LENCA						
	GUAJIQUERO	OPATORO	INTIBUCAT	SIMILATION	WOOLWA	XICAQUE	CARIB
Man.........		taho	amaske		all	jomé	
Woman		move	napu	mab	yall	pitmé	
Head.......	toro	tohoro	cagasí	toro	tunni	laipuco	waichie
Face	amptiga	amptiga	tije				
Ear..........	yang	yan	yangaga	yoan		fora	
Eye	saing	saringla	saring	saarim	miniktaka	non	
Nose	napse	napseh	nepton	nepse	nágnitak	meguin	
House.......	tahü	taoo	tahu		u	chef	
Sun	gasi	gashi	gashi		maa	behapoy	wello
Fire	uga	ua	yuga	yuca	cukh	iqueamoos	wat
Water	guass	uash	guash	güas	uass	sur	dunna
Stone	caa	coa	tupan			pai	
Dog	shui	shui	shushu	sui	sulo	soyo	
White	shogo	shogo	shogo			sae	
Black	sihiri	sihiri	seriga			tiltique	
To eat.......	coorta	gorkin	gormal	ulanta	tecuting		
To drink	supatah	talgui	talmal				
One	ita	ita	itaska	eta	alaslach	pani	abama
Two	naa			pé	muyebu	matis	biama
Three	lagua			lágua	muyebas	contis	irwa
Four	aria			eslea	muyarunca	urupau	biamburi
Five	saihe	saihe		sai	muyesinca	casanpani	abanawajap
Ten	isis	siis		isis	muyhasluy	camaspus	sunwajp [5]

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[5] *Squier's Cent. Amer.*, pp. 253–6; *Id.*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1858, clx., p. 135; *Froebel, Aus Amerika*, tom. i, pp. 400–1.

Besides the Aztec, which I have already spoken of in a previous chapter, there were four distinct languages spoken in Nicaragua:—The Coribici, Chorotega, Chontal, and Orotiña.[6] Of the Orotiña, which Mr Squier calls the Nagrandan, I have the following grammatical notes.

Neither articles nor prepositions are expressed. The plural is formed by the affix *nu*;—*ruscu*, bird; *ruscunu*, birds. Comparatives and superlatives are expressed by *mah*, better or more, and *pooru* or *puru*, best or most;—*meheña*, good; *ma-meheña*, better; *puru-meheña*, best. Diminutives, or deficiency, are expressed by *ai* or *mai*;—*ai-meheña* or *mai-meheña*, bad or lacking good.

PRONOUNS.

I	icu	Those	caguinu
We, masc.	hechelu	This, m.	cala
We, fem.	hecheri	This, f.	hala
Thou	ica	These, m.	cadchinulu
You, m.	hechela	These, f.	cadchici
You, f.	hechelai	Mine, m.	cugani
He	icau	Mine, f.	icagani
She	icagui	Yours, m.	cutani
They, m.	icanu	Yours, f.	icatani
They, f.	icagunu	His	cagani
That	cagui		

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[6] 'Ay en Nicaragua cinco lenguajes muy diferentes: Coribici, que loan mucho, Chorotega, que es la natural, y antigua: y assi estan enlos que lo hablan los heredamientos, y el Cacao, que es la moneda, y riqueza dela tierra..... Choudal es grossero, y serrano. Orotiña, que dize mama, por lo que no otros (nosotros). Mexicano, que es la principal.' *Gomara*, *Hist. Ind.*, fol. 264. 'Á quatro ó çinco lenguas distintas é diverssas las unas de las otras. La prinçipal es la que llaman de *Nicaragua*, y es la mesma que hablan en México ó en Nueva España. La otra es la lengua que llaman de *Chorotega*, é la terçera es Chondal.. Otra hay ques del golpho de Orotiñaruba háçia la parte del Nordeste, ó otras lenguas hay adelante la tierra adentro.' *Oviedo*, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. iv., pp. 35, 37. Herrera, who has copied from Gomara almost literally, has made a very important mistake; he speaks of five languages and only mentions four. As Herrera mentions a place Chuloteca, some writers, and among them Mr Squier, have applied this name to a language, but seemingly without authority. Herrera's copy reads: 'Hablauan en Nicaragua, cinco lenguas diferentes, Coribizi, que lo hablan mucho en Chuloteca, que es la natural, y antigua, y ansi estauan en los que la hablauan....Los de Chondal son grosseros, y serranos, la quarta es Orotina, Mexicana es la quinta.' *Hist. Gen.*, dec. iii., lib. iv., cap. vii. Purchas has copied Gomara more closely, and cites the five like him. *Pilgrimes*, vol. v., p. 887. Mr Squier makes the following division: Dirian, Nagrandan, Choluteca, Orotina, and Chondal. Those speaking the Aztec dialect he names Niquirans and also counts the Cholnteca as a dialect of the same. *Nicaragua*, vol. ii., p. 310–12; *Buschmann*, *Ortsnamen*, p. 132; *Froebel*, *Cent. Amer.*, p. 59, et seq.; *Boyle's Ride*, vol. i., p. 267, vol. ii., pp. 286–7; *Hassel*, *Mex. Guat.*, p. 397; *Palacio*, *Carta*, p. 20.

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB SA, TO BE.

		PRESENT INDICATIVE.	
SINGULAR.		**PLURAL.**	
I am,	sá	We are,	so
Thou art,	sá	You are,	soa
He is,	sá	They are,	sula
		IMPERFECT.	
I was,	caná	We were,	cananá
Thou wast,	caná	You were,	cananoá
He was,	caná	They were,	lacananá
		PERFECT.	
I have been,	sá cá	We have been,	sá cuá
Thou hast been,	'sachu	You have been,	sá cuahi
He has been,	sacá	They have been,	sa gahu
		PLUPERFECT.	
I had been,	mucasini	Plural the same	
Thou hadst been,	mucanasini		
He had been,	mucanasadini		
		FIRST FUTURE.	
I shall be,	lamanambi	We shall be,	lamananna
		SECOND FUTURE.	
I shall have been,	malamana	We shall have been,	lamana

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB AIHA, TIHA, AHIHA, TO COME.

		PRESENT INDICATIVE.	
SINGULAR.		**PLURAL.**	
I come,	icunaha	We come,	hechelunagubi
		IMPERFECT.	
I came,	incunahalu	We came,	hechelunagubalú
		PERFECT.	
I have come,	icusanaha	We have come,	hechelusagualalu
		PLUPERFECT.	
I had come,	icuschisalu	We had come,	hechelunigualalu
		FIRST FUTURE.	
I shall come,	icugaha	We shall come,	hecheluguha
		SECOND FUTURE.	
I shall have come,	icuvihiluniha	We shall have come,	hechehivihiluingualalu
		IMPERATIVE.	
Come,	ahiyaica	Let us come,	ahiyohechea
I should come,	icugahalu	We should come,	hechelugualalu
If I had come,	icumahaluvihilu	If we had come,	hechelumainueamaguiha[7]

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[7] *Squier's Nicaragua*, vol. ii., pp. 315–319.

Of the Orotiña and Chorotega I also insert a short vocabulary.

	OROTIÑA	CHOROTEGA		OROTIÑA	CHOROTEGA
Man	rahpa	nuho	Water	eeia	nimbu
Woman	rapaku	nahseyomo	Stone	esee, or esenu	nugo
Head	a'cu, or edi	goochemo	Wood	bara	nanguima
Face	enu	grote	To drink	mahuia	boprima
Ear	nau	nuhme	To go	aiyu, or icu	paya
Eye	setu	nahte	Dead	ganganu	gagame
Nose	ta'co	mungoo	White	mesha	andirume
Arm	pa'pu	deno	I	icu	saho
House	gua	nahngu	Thou, he	ica	sumusheta
Sun	ahca	numbu	We	hechelu	semehmu [8]
Fire	ahku	nahu			

More scanty still is the information regarding the tongues of Costa Rica. Only one vocabulary is at hand of the languages spoken by the Blancos, Valientes, and Talamancas, who inhabit the east coast between the Rio Zent and the Boca del Toro. Besides these there are mentioned, as speaking separate tongues, the Chiripos, Guatusos, and Tiribis. Of the language of the Talamancas I give a few words.

Man	signa-kirinema	Water	dí-tzítá
Woman	signa-arágre	Stone	ák
Head	sa-za-kú	Wood	u-ruk
Face	sa-kar-kú	Dog	tschi-tschi
Ear	su-kú-ke	Good	buisi
Eye	su-wu-ákétéi	Bad	be-so-i
Nose	su-tshu-ko-tó	I	be-hé
Hand	sa-fra-tzin-sek	Thou	tschi-si
House	suhú	He	se-dé
Sun	kan-hué	We	sa-ta-war-ke
Moon	tu-lu	You	se hetsch-te
Fire	tschú-ko	They	be-zo [9]

On the isthmus of Darien there is nothing to be mentioned but the names of tongues said to have been spoken there, and of specimens nothing but a few scanty vocabularies exist. Oviedo, speaking of Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and the ancient province of Tierra Firme, thinks there were as many as seventy-two distinct tongues spoken in that region. He specially mentions the Coiba, the Burica, and the Paris.[10] Andagoya speaks of a distinct language in the province of Acla; another called the Cueva as spoken in the provinces of Comogre and Biruqueta, on Pearl Island, about the gulf of San Miguel, and in the province of Coiba; at Nombre de Dios the Chuchura; to each of the provinces of Tobreytrota, Nata, Chiru, Chame, Paris, Escoria, Chicacotra, Sangana, and Guarara, a distinct language is assigned.[11] Another tongue spoken of by an old writer is that of the Simerones.[12] To the different surveying and exploring expeditions of later years we are indebted for a few notes on the languages spoken in Darien at this day. The Tules, Dariens, Cholos, Dorachos, Savanerics, Cunas, and Bayamos, are new names not mentioned by any of the older writers; of some of them vocabularies have been taken, but otherwise we are left in darkness.[13]

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[8] *Id.*, pp. 320–23.

[9] *Wagner and Scherzer, Costa Rica*, p. 562; *Scherzer, Vocab.*, in *Sitzungsberichte der Akad. der Wissensch.*, *Wien*, vol. xv., no. i., 1855, pp. 28–35.

[10] 'Pienso yo que son apartados del número de las septenta y dos.' *Ovi-*

	CHOLO	TULE	WAFER'S DARIEN VOCAB.
Water	payto	tee	doola
Fire	tuboor	cho	
Sun	pesea	ipé	
Moon	hedecho	nee	nee
Tree	pachru	chowala (pl.)	
House	dhé	neka	
Man	mochina	mastola	
Woman	wuèna	pundola	poonah
Thunder	pá	marra	
Dog		achu	
Ear		uwa	
Eye		ibia	
Nose		an uchuu	
Mouth		kagya	
Father			tautah
Mother			naunah
Brother			roopah
Go			chaunah
Sleep			cotchah
Fine			mamaubah

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edo, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. i., lib. ii., cap. xliii. 'En tierra firme....ai mui diversas, i apartadas Lenguas.' *Oviedo, Proemio*, in *Barcia. Historiadores*, tom. i., p. 12. 'Ai entre ellos lenguas diferentes.' *Fernando Colon*, in *Barcia, Historiadores*, tom. i., fol. 106. 'Son trà lor diuerse lingue.' *Colombo, Hist. Ammeraglio*, p. 405.

[11] *Andagoya, Relacion*, in *Navarrete Col.*, tom. iii, p. 393, et seq.; *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, dec. iv., lib. i., cap. xi.

[12] *Baptista Antonio, Relation*, in *Hakluyt's Voy.*, tom. iii., fol. 554.

[13] *Vater Mithridates*, tom. iii., pt ii., p. 707; *Cullen's Darien*, p. 65; *Fitzroy*, in *Lond. Geog., Soc., Jour.*, vol. xx., p. 164; *Latham*, in *Id.*, pp. 189–90; *Seeman's Voy. Herald*, vol. i., p. 312; *Bidwell's Isthmus*. pp. 33–38; *De Puydt, Explor.*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc., Jour.*, vol. xxxviii., p. 91.

	CHOLO	TULE	WAFER'S DARIEN VOCAB.
One		quenchaqua	hean
Two		pocoa	dlv
Three		pagwa	tree
Four		pakegua	caher
Five		aptali	cooig
Ten		ambe	deh [14]

Although from a perusal of what has here been gathered we might wish to know more of the weird imaginings that floated through the minds of these peoples, and to follow further the interminable intermixture of tongues and dialects, spoken, grunted, and gestured between the Arctic Ocean and the Atrato River, we must content ourselves with what we have. I have gathered and given in this volume all that I have been able to find; and from the readiness with which the Americans were wont to adopt the dogmas and creeds of Europeans, supernatural conceptions supposedly superior to their own, and insist upon their being aboriginal, and from the rapid and bewildering changes that so quickly mar and destroy the original purity of tongues, there is little hope of our learning further from living lips, or of our ever being able to study these things from the scattered and degraded remnants of the people themselves.

He who carefully examines the Myths and Languages of the aboriginal nations inhabiting the Pacific States, cannot fail to be impressed with the similarity between them and the beliefs and tongues of mankind elsewhere. Here is the same insatiate thirst to know the unknowable, here are the same audacious attempts to tear asunder the veil, the same fashioning and peopling of worlds, laying out and circumscribing of celestial regions, and manufactuing, and setting up, spiritually and materially, of creators, man and animal makers and rulers, everywhere manifest. Here is apparent what would seem to be the same inherent necessity for worship, for propitiation, for purification, or a cleansing from sin, for atonement and sacrifice, with all the symbols and paraphernalia of natural and artificial religion. In their speech the same grammatical constructions are seen with the usual variations in form and scope, in poverty and richness, which are found in nations, rude or cultivated, everywhere. Little as we know of the beginning and end of things, we can but feel, as fresh facts are brought to light and new comparisons made between the races and ages of the earth, that humanity, of whatsoever origin it may be or howsoever circumstanced, is formed on one model, and unfolds under the influence of one inspiration.

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[14] *Cullen's Darien*, pp. 99-102; *Latham*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc., Jour.*, vol. xx., p. 190; *Wafer's New Voy.*, pp. 185-188.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.